

A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
AND

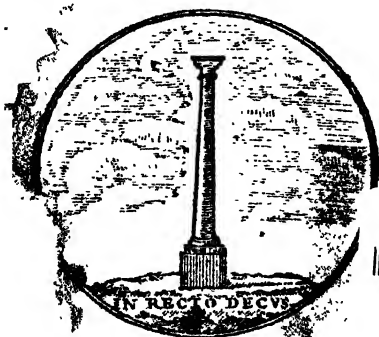
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

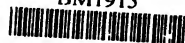
Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίαι ἐξέρχονται μὴ καταναίηεν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσκει
ἀκόπως, ἀλλ' ἕτεροι συνήσαν ἐγκόμισ.

Bafil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XIX.



BM1915



L O N D O N :

& al. See for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in
Strand; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVIII.

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. XIX.

B O O K IV.

The History of the GERMANS.

C H A P. XXVI.

from the antient Germans, to their breaking
and falling of the Roman empire, invasion of Gaul, and ex-
Germ. fonesi fion of it by the Franks.

THIS is universally acknowledged, that the farther northward Germans, we move from antient Gaul, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vast regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube, which, we have seen in the last chapter, were, in a great measure, the limits between the Gauls and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they settled themselves in: antient authors commonly confound them under the names of *Celtes*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-scythians*; and, among

^a CÆSAR. comment. TACIT. PLIN. STRAB. JUSTIN. ex Trog. & al. See also vol. vi. p. 1, & seq.

them, such a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient *Germans*, which they write of them under those other names, without some concurring circumstances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no small number of modern^b, and some of the antient writers^c, that they were originally one and the same nation with the *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and both descended from the antient *Gomerians*, or descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*. Only the *Germans* were very much intermixed with the old *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, on that side which joined their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the last chapter, between the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Danube*^d: and these, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their customs among them, as well as intermingled some of their language with their own; but in all other parts of *Germany* we find such an exact conformity in their religion, laws, customs, and (what may appear still more surprising to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by some of the modern authors last quoted) in their very language^e, as leaves scarce any room to doubt but that they were descended from the same antient stock with the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and came, by gradual migrations, from *Asia*, as we have already shewn these did^f (A).

but inter-
mixed
with the
Scythians.

How

^b CLUVER. BOCHART. PHALEG. PEZRON. antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. CALMET. comment. Geog. & al.
^c JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. ANTIOCH. in Hexamer. Hieron. tradit. Hebr. Jos. BEN. GOR. ap. BOCHART. ISIDOR. ORIG. EUSEB. CÆSAR. Chronic. ZONAR. & al.^d Vol. xviii. p. 533, 534.
^e PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. i. c. 15. p. 165, & seq. PEZRON. antiq. Celt. KEYZLER. antiq. septentr. pass.
^f See below on fore.

(A) The truth is, as *Pliny* (1) rightly observes, that the *Germans* were little known to the *Romans*, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of *M. Agrippa* into those parts; and many things which even *Tacitus* has written of them, pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous: so that we must fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from those

moderns who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to strike light out of darkness: among whom, besides those already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, to wit, *Remer* and *Muscov*, whose curious discoveries, in many points, have added no small evidence to those who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almost unavoidable fondness with which they have all of them en-

(1) *N. Hist.* l. iv. c. 28.

How this country came to be called *Germany*, and its inhabitants *Germans*, is not easy to guess, nor hardly worth inquiring; the most probable conjecture is, that they were so called, either from their near affinity to the *Celts*, or from the *Celtic* words *Ghar man*, a warlike man, to which last their after-name of *Allman* likewise alludes, and signifies a complete man. But it is plain, it was not their original name, but is of a more modern date, and seems to have had its rise on the other side of the *Rhine*, when the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cærafi*, and *Pæmani*, crossed that river, after the example of some others of their countrymen, and went to settle in *Gaul*. These, it seems, were the first to whom the name of *Germans* was given, and which therefore extended no further than the *Khenish* shore on the *Gallic* side, but soon after passed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the same original language and customs, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, *Germania*, or *Germany*. But whether it was given to them by the *Gauls* on their coming over to their assistance against the *Romans*, or by these on account of the affinity of their religion and customs, or, lastly, whether assumed by them on their settling themselves among the *Gauls*, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of *Dutch* extract; so that if they really called themselves by it, as *Tacitus* says they did, it is surprising it should not have been rather preserved by them, and handed to us in their own language.

If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have observed from their original descent from the antient *Gomerians* or *Celts*, and from several monuments they have left in several parts of *Germany*, especially towards the north, such as *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and such-like; it is not improbable, that they called themselves *Cimri*, or *Cymbri*, which is but a harsher pronunciation of the original *Gomari*: for these *Cimbri* are allowed to have been an antient, if not the antientest people of *Germany*, and inhabited a very considerable part of that country.

We have already hinted, that they gave their name to the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which was a kind of peninsula extending

* Antiq. Germ. hist. Ant. Germ. Engl. by LEDIARD.

deavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our business to enter, unless we could do it with greater

certainly than the subject will possibly admit of; we may venture to follow them as sure guides in other respects.

Cimbrica from the mouth of the river *Elbe* into the north sea^h: and if Chertone- they really were the same, as they were antiently supposed, with
fus, so call- the *Cimmerians* that inhabited the countries about the *Palus*
ed from them. *Mæotis* and *Possidonius* seems to confirm it (from the great like-
ness of their namesⁱ), they must have spread themselves vastly
along that northern tract. We are, moreover, told, by *Strabo*
and *Livy*, that the *Cimbri* alone penetrated into *Noricum* and
Illyricum, and, about the 640th year of the *Roman* æra, defeated
the consul *Atyrius Carbo* near *Noreia*^k. Some years after, they
sent an embassy to *Rome*, to desire the senate to assign them lands
to inhabit in, in consideration of which they would serve them
in their future wars. Their suit being denied, gave occasion
to a bitter war which they waged against them, in conjunction
with the *Tigurini*, of which we shall have further occasion to
speak, and which is only hinted here, to shew how powerful
and numerous they were by this time, and how, probably, they
were some branch of the old *Gomerai*, and the antientest inha-
bitants of *Germany*. We shall see, in the sequel, their valour,
and various fortunes, against the *Romans*, *Gauls*, and other
nations. As for those who remained in their native country,
or returned thither after their defeat, they, in time, joining in
their excursions with the *Saxæ*, who likewise inhabited some
parts of the forementioned peninsula, it is supposed, that they
became so blended with them, that their name was swallowed
up in that of *Saxon*, so that nothing was retained of it but the
denomination of *Cimbrica*, which was still given both to their
country, and to the sea that surrounded it.

Grown
very nu-
merous and
powerful.

Whence
called
Saxons

Allemands. THE name of *Allemands* and *Alemans*, still retained by the
Teutones. *French*, we have already spoken of. That of *Teutones*, from
which their present one of *Teutschen*, or *Dutch*, is thought to
be derived, is another by which they were antiently known,
and is of a much older date than that of *Germans*; but the etymon
of which is not easily guessed at, unless we fetch it from *Ibeut*
the *Celtic*, as we shall shew further in the sequel. These, ac-
cording to *Mela*^l, antiently inhabited the neighbouring coasts
and islands of the east, or *Baltic* sea; but growing too numerous
for those narrow territories, the most daring part went, with
their wives and families, to seek new settlements in other coun-
tries; but when, and where, is not easy to guess. We shall
see them, in the sequel of this history, often joined with the
Cimbri, *Cimbrones*, and others, and making excursions into *Gaul*,
Italy, and *Spain*, till at length a number of them, who were
fit to guard the heavy baggage along the *Rhine*, being greatly

^h CÆS. COMM. l. ii. c. 4. TACIT. Germ. c. 2. See MASCOV.
l. i. c. 6. ⁱ Vide PLUT. in Mario. ^k Apud STRAB. l. vii.
^l L. iii.

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harassed on all sides, fought their way quite to *Belgic Gaul*, *Atuatici* where they settled, and became, in time, known by the name *in Belgia*. of *Atuatici*^m (B).

WE took notice in the preceding chapter, that the *Rhine*, *The extent* according to the *Roman* authors, divided the antient *Gau* from and limits the *Germans* on the west, and the *Danube* on the south; the of *Ger-Hercynian* forest, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined many them on the north, the *German* and northern ocean on the north-west, and *Scythia* and *Sarmatia* on the east, where they were as much intermixed with those two nations, as they were on the west with the *Gauls*, and where it is still more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reason of their constant fluctuation, and change of abode, as they so frequently invaded and drove each other out of them.

OF those several nations which the *Romans* reckoned of *German* extract, we shall have the less to say in this chapter, because we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of those antient writers in a former volume, to which we shall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader

^m STRAB. lib. iii. & v.

That much shall suffice to the most noted common names of the antient *Germans*. A vast variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and jostling each other out of their habitations, or were jostled out of them by the *Gauls*, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the *Rhine*, sometimes penetrating as far as the *Hercynian* forest, at others spreading themselves far and wide, along the sides of it, and beyond; insomuch that, as we observed in the last chapter, there was scarce a country from that river to the east sea, or the most northern verge, but had some of that nation either intermixed with the *Germans*, or settled in some territories between them; it were labour lost to endeavour

to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the *Gauls*, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own history, and were still more unknown than they, both to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourse with, or by their wars against the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known to them, and their names, countries, and history, recorded by their writers. In our settling, therefore, the confines of *Germany*, and of those cantons and territories which each different nation of that vast tract of ground possessed, we shall go no farther back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is said of them. We have already spoken of the *Cimbri*, and their neighbours the *Saxons*, who inhabited the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, on the other side the *Elbe*.

The Chau-
ci. ON this side that river were the *Chauci*, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the *Visurgis*, now the *Veser*; their country contained what is now called *Bremen* and *Lünenburgh*, *Friesland* and *Groninghen*; the upper had the *Cherusci*, and the lower the *Chamavi* on the south-east, and the *German ocean* on the north-west ⁿ.

Frisii. THE *Frisii* upper and lower, were divided from the lower *Chauci* by the river *Amasia*, now *Ems*; from each other by an arm of the *Rhine*^o. Their country still retains the name of *Friesland*, and is divided into east and west; but the latter of the two is now dismembered from *Germany*, and is one of the seven united provinces.

Bruſteri,
Marſi,
and Uſi-
pii. FROM them were parted by the *Isela*, now *Isel*, the country of the *Bruſteri*, since called *Broekmorland*, and the *Marſi*, situate about the river *Luppia*, or *Luppe*, of whom we have also formerly given an account ^p. On the other side of that river were the *Uſpii*, or *Uſipetes* ^q, but these were famed for often changing their habitation, and are therefore found in other territories.

Tenſteri. THE *Tenſteri* were next to them, who had been driven from their old habitation by the *Cotti*, and came and settled on the *Rhine*, and in the country of the *Menapii* ^r, and were afterwards subdued by *Drusus*. Next to these the *Fubones*, or inhabitants of *Juliers*, between the *Maſſe* and the *Rhine*: the *Cotti*, another ancient warlike people, who inhabited part of *Hesse* and *Thuringia*, from the *Hartzian* mountains to the *Rhine* and *Weser*, and of whom we have formerly spoken ^s; among whom were comprehended the *Mattiaci*, whose capital was called from them *Mattiacum*, and by others *Matticum*, by some taken to be *Marpurgh*, and by others *Baden*, on account of its hot waters ^t.

Sedufii.
Nariſci.
Marco-
mani. NEXT to them were the *Sedufii*, bordering upon *Swabia*; *Nariſci*, or antient inhabitants of *Northgow*, whose capital is the famed city of *Nurembergh*; and the *Marcomani*, whose country antiently reached from the *Rhine* to the head of the *Danube*, and to the *Neckar*: here were the famed *Agri decu-*

ⁿ CÆSAR. COMM. l. ii. c. 29. ^o See before, vol. xiii. p. 527, & seq. and vol. xiv. p. 13, (I). ^p Ibid. p. 96, (D). ^q See vol. xiii. p. 8, (A), and vol. xiv. p. 87, (R). ^r CÆSAR, l. iv. c. 4. ^s Vid. & DIO. CASS. lib. liv. ^t Vol. xiv. p. 91, (U).
^u Ibid. p. 92.

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males, so called, among other reasons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the Romans. The *Marcomani* afterwards went and settled in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, under their general *Maroboduus*, and some of them in *Gaul*, whence they drove the *Boii*, who had seated themselves there ^{Bohemia.}

ON this side the *Rhine*, between that river and the *Mosa*, or *Maese*, were the *Ubii*, who were brought over by *Agrippa*. Their metropolis was *Colonia Agrippina*, so called from the empress of that name, who founded it, and now *Cologne* ^{Ubii.}; and next to them the *Tungri*, which are supposed to be the same whom *Cæsar* calls *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, and whose metropolis, then called *Attuatica*, is since known by the name of *Tongres* ^{Tungri.}. Higher up from them, and on the other side of the *Moselle*, were the *Treviri*, whose capital was *Augusta Trevirorum*, now *Triers* (C); next to them were the *Tribocci*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*; the former dwelt in *Alsatia*, and their metropolis was called *Argentinae*, and *Argentoratum*, now *Strasburgh*. The others lived in the cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Moguntia*, now *Mentz*. Those three, besides the *Treviri* mentioned in the last note, made the *Germania Prima*; and those below them the *Germania Secunda*, which reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was divided from *Belgia* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter has always divided the seas of *Liege* and *Cambray*. ^{Treviri. Tribocci, &c.}

THE *Mediomatrici* were situated along the *Moselle*, about the city of *Metz* in *Lorraine*; above them, on the same river *Rhine*, were seated the *Raurici*, called also *Rauraci*, and *Rauriaci*, another antient German nation, who inhabited that part of *Helvetia*, or *Switzerland*, about *Basil*: their capital was *Rauracum*, or *Augusta Rauracorum* ^{Medio-}.

^u Ibid. p. 14, (L). ^w Ibid. p. 75, (E). ^x De hac vid. CÆS. COMM. l. vi. c. 31, 34. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 2. p. 339, & seq. ^y See MASCov. l. iii. c. 5.

(C) When *Germany* came to be divided into *Prima* and *Secunda*, the former being that which was nearest the *Alps*, the *Treviri* have been supposed to have belonged to it (2), as they boasted themselves of German extraction; but this is much questioned by others, who rather think, that they, with some others who obtained their liberty, and are by *Pliny* (3) called *liberæ civitates*, were ex-

cluded from that division (4). The other cities mentioned by that author were those of the *Nervi*, *Suessones*, *Sylvanectes*, and *Luci*; those on the other hand of the *Rhemi* and *Lingones* in *Gaul*, that is, of the provinces of *Rhems* and *Champaigne*, he there calls *civitates federatæ*.

The *Treviri*, however, became in time the principal nation of *Belgica Prima*.

(2) *Buchnerus*, *Belg. Rom.* l. i. c. 12. *cov.* l. iii. c. 5.

(3) *Nat. Hist.* l. iv.

(4) *Vid. Hist.*

BETWEEN the heads of the *Rhine* and of the *Danube*, were seated the antient kingdoms of *Vindelicia*, whose capital was called *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Ausburgh*²; and below it, along the banks of the same river, those of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the former of which was divided into *Noricum Ripense* and *Mediterraneum*, and contained a great part of the provinces of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, and some others of less note³; and the latter the kingdom of *Hungary*, divided into upper and lower, and extending from *Illyricum* to the *Danube* and the mountains *Cætii*, in the neighbourhood of *Vindobona*, now *Vienna*, the metropolis of *Austria*⁴.

ON the other side of the *Danube*, which was more properly called *Germany*, and *Germania magna*, besides the *Marcomans* (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly situate between the *Rhine* and it, were the *Hermunduri*, whose country ran northwards from it, and extended itself along the *Hercynian* mountains quite up to the river *Sala*. These possessed, particularly, the country now called *Misnia*, in *Upper Saxony*, though some make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond the kingdom of *Bohemia*. On the other side those mountains was the above-mentioned kingdom of *Boiohemum*, now *Bohemia*⁵, once one of the seats of the *Boii*; and beyond them, north of the *Danube*, was another seat of the *Marcomani* along the river *Albis*, now *Elbe*; from which they spread themselves into *Bohemia*, and drove the *Boii* out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have spoken of these in a former volume, to which we refer the reader⁶. The *Quadi* were situate next to *Bohemia*: their territories extended from the *Danube* to *Moravia*, and the northern part of *Austria*⁷; these are likewise comprehended under the antient name of *Suevi*, part of whom forced their way into *Spain*, and settled a kingdom there, as hinted under the last

² See vol. xiii. p. 518. sub not. vol. xvi. p. 181. ³ Vol. xii. p. 452, & seq. Vid. & comm. & CELLAR. ubi sup. & seq. ⁴ Id. ibid. vid. & MASCOW, lib. iii. c. 5. & vol. xiii. p. 524, (S). ⁵ Ibid. p. 161, & p. 517, N). ⁶ Ibid. & seq. ⁷ Vol. xiv. p. 138, (A).

(D) These, the *Quadi*, and some others we shall have occasion to mention, were of that tribe of antient *Germans* known by the name of *Suevi*: they antiently possessed a considerable part of *Germany*, that is, the greatest part of it from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; but, in process of time, some of them removed more northward, and settled along the *Danube*, whilst another part went into *Spain*, and formed a kingdom there, as we shall shew in a subsequent chapter (5).

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note. The *Bastarnæ* were situated eastward of the *Quadi*, and parted from them by the *Granna*, now *Gran*, a river that falls into the *Danube*, and by the ridge of the *Carpatian* mountains, called from them *Bastarnicæ Alpes*: their country made, indeed, part of the *European Sarmatia*, and so out of the limits of *Germania Propria*; but they antiently lived on this side the *Danube*^f, were concerned with the *Marcomans*, *Quadi*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi*, and a number of other *German* nations, in the famed war against *M. Antoninus*, and are accounted of *German* extract by *Pliny*^g; and it was not till the reign of *Probus* that they were transplanted over the *Danube* thither by that emperor, to repeople those countries which were become desolate by the wars and pestilence. These, *Pliny* tells us^h, soon conformed to the *Roman* laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country (E).

BETWEEN those nations we have seen seated along the other side of the *Danube*, and the *Hercynian* forest, were several other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whose exact situation we are quite in the dark: such as the *Maringi*, *Burii*, *Borades*, *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, ^{The Mar-}tingi, Bu-

^f Vid. *MASCOW*, ubi sup. lib. vi. c. 8. Notit. Germ. l. vi. c. i. rii, &c.
^g *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 12, & al. ^h *Nat. hist.* l. iv. c. 28. Vid. & *JUL. CAPITOL.* in vit. Marc. c. 22. Ubi sup.

(E) We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was settled in *Thrace* by *Probus* (6), but where the original seat of them was before their removal, is not easy to guess; it has been, for that reason, much questioned whether they were of *German* or *Sarmatian* extract: we, however, quoted *Pliny* in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the *German* nation (7). We may add to his evidence that of *Strabo*, who plainly distinguishes them from the *Sarmatians*; and that of *Tacitus*, who ranks them

among the former (8). We read of their assisting *Perfus* and *Mithridates* against the *Romans* (9), but after their conquest by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the *Goths*, and as for those who staid in their native country, if any such there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with those *Piccinigi*, or *Patavnicæ*, which we find mentioned in the *Byzantine* and *Polish* history, and which *Strabo* and *Tacitus* mention in the place above quoted, with the *Bastarnæ* and some other *German* tribes (1).

(6) *Vopisc.* in vit. *Probus*. c. 28.

(7) *Pol.* xv. p. 475. 500. *Nat. hist.* l. ii. c. 4.
(8) *Geogr.* l. iii. p. 306. *Nat. Germ.* c. 46.
in vit. Æmil. Appian. de bell. *Mithrid.* p. 325.

(9) *V. de Iutarich.*

(1) See *Leland*, vol. ii.

and some others, who are placed by our geographers along the forest above-mentioned, between the *Danube* and the *Vistula*. The *Burii* are reckoned the same with the *Borades*, and are mentioned as assistants to the *Marcomani* in their war against *M. Antoninus*; and the *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, as assisting *Vibullius*, king of the *Hermunduri*, against the haughty *Vannius*, king of the *Suevi*: and their bordering one upon another is collected from a passage of *Pliny* which places the latter between the *Danube* and the forest above-mentionedⁱ, but with no sufficient exactness to lead us to the right situation of either: only the *Silesian* historians affirm, that the *Lygii*, and part of the *Quadi*, remained still in their own original country^k. The last we shall mention on this side the *Hercynian* forest, were the famed *Rhætii*, now *Grisons*, who were seated on the *Alps*: their country, which was antiently called *Western Illyricum*, was divided into *Rhætia Prima*, or *Propria*, and *Secunda*, and was then of a much larger extent, spreading itself towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*. This country, and that of *Noricum*, and others, became a *Roman* province, and belonged to the kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*; but upon the declension of it they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*, about which time the name of *Bavarians* first became noted in history^l.

Suevi. ON the other side of the *Hercynian* forest were the antient seats of the *Suevi*, whom we have shewn above to have been an old tribe of *Germans*, and spread themselves from the *Vistula* to the *Elbe*, and beyond, though they in time did, at least a great part of them, either penetrate through that forest, or wind themselves about it, and came and settled in the more pleasant southern parts of *Europe*, such as *Belgium*, *Gaul*, and even *Spain*, as shall be seen in a subsequent chapter.

Longo-
bardi. THE most famous of these were the *Longobardi*, so called, according to some, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their consisting of two nations, viz. the *Bardi* and *Lingones*; these dwelt along the river *Elbe*, and bordered southward on the *Chauci*, mentioned a little higher, and both these were reduced by *Tiberius*, as we have shewn in a former volume^m. But the *Longobardi*, having passed the *Danube*, invaded and defeated the *Heruli*ⁿ, afterwards crossed the *Alps*, and settled in *Italy*, where they founded the kingdom of *Lombardy*^o, and, in process of time, quite forgot their antient *German*, and adopted that of *Italy*^p. The *Bur-*

ⁱ H. N. l. iv. c. 25.^k Vide inter al. HANKIUM de major.

Silesior. c. 21. MASCOW. l. xi. §. 21.

^l See before,

vol. xiii. p. 517, & seq. and notes.

^m Ibid. vol. xiv. p. 13,

& (1)

ⁿ See before, vol. xvi. p. 362.^o Vol. xvii. p. 2.^p Vide GIANNON. hist. Neapol. p. 294. MASCOW. l. xv. c. 14.

C. XXVI. *The History of the Germans.*

gundi are the next of note. *Pliny* affirms them likewise to be of German extract, and ranks them with the *Vindili*, *Varini*, *Carini*, *Guttones* and *Ingeuones*, which last he makes to have been a mixed people, partly *Cimbric*, partly *Teutonic*, and partly *Chauci*¹. It were labour lost to inquire after their original seat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, inticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated first into *Germany*, where they assisted *Valentinian* against the *Alemanni*², they afterwards crossed the *Rhine*, and settled in *Gaul*, where they founded a kingdom in that province which still retains the name of *Burgundia*, as we shall shew in some of the subsequent chapters. The *Semnon*es, likewise, left their old *Semno*-habitation, and settled about the *Lionnois* in *Gaul*: we find them seated about the *Elbe*, in *Tiberius*'s time, and, in conjunction with the *Hermunduri* and other *Germans*, bravely striving to obstruct his crossing that river³; tho' at what time they passed from thence into *Gaul*, is not easy to guess: but they fell upon one of the most fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew so rich and considerable, that they are thought to have been called *Sennones* on that very account, it being an old *Celtic* word, which signifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have

¹ Ubi supra, l. iv. c. 28.

² MARCELLIN. l. xxviii. c. 5.

³ VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 106.

(F) Some have imagined the *Burgundi* and *Burgundiones* to have been two different people, but without any probability, since they are mentioned by some ancient authors as the same nation, though under those two different names. For instance, *Marcellinus* calls them *Burgundi*, whom *St. Jerom* and *Orosius* calls *Burgundiones*.

(G) Some have, indeed, sought the etymon of this name from the *Greek*, and think they were so called from the word *ξένος*, stranger, new-comer; on account of their being some of the last *German* nations that came over the *Rhine* into *Gaul* (2). Accordingly, a *Roman* historian tells us (3), that they were the very last of all the strangers that

came thither. *Servius*, indeed, thinks they were at first called *ξένοι*, and afterwards *ξένωνες*, because they received *Bacchus* into their country.

But if we must have recourse to the *Greek*, would not the word *Σεμνός* afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the ancient *Semnon*es than that of *Senonas* or *Xenonas*? We read of *Semna mysteria*, and *Sennai theai*, in which the word implies something venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the *Semnonic* tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great sway they bore above the rest, all which well agree with their history.

(2) Vide *Flacc. seg.*

(3) *Tit. Liv. Histor. l. v. c. 35.*

had occasion to shew in the history of the *Gauls* ^t. These three were the most noted nations on the other side the *Hercynian* forest, to which we shall only add the names of some others, though scarcely known to us by any thing else: such are the *Aviones*, *Reudigni*, *Eudoles*, and *Suardones*, whom we find placed between the *Elbe* and the *Suevus*, or *Viader*, on the north of the *Lombardi*; the *Rugii*, *Lemnovii*, *Heruli*, *Gothones*, or *Gothini*, the *Sidui Carini*, between the last-mentioned river and the *Vistula*: as for the *Angli*, *Saxi*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, &c. they will be spoken of in some of the following chapters. But before we pass farther, we must not omit the country of the

Æstii and *Æstii*, an antient tribe of the *Suevi*, who inhabited along the coasts of the east sea (H), so famed for the great plenty of amber that was found there, especially along those of *Prussia*, and for the vast quantity that was fetched from thence both by the

Greeks and *Romans*, of which we find particular mention in most antient authors, such as *Herodotus* ^u, *Diodorus Siculus* ^w, *Pytheas Maffliensis*, as quoted by *Pliny* ^x, but especially by *Tacitus* ^y, who has given us a very curious description of it, as well as of these *Æstii*, who gathered and sold it to them. These,

he says, worshiped the mother of the gods, and placed such confidence in her safeguard, that they scarcely knew the use of iron weapons, or any other sort but cudgels. They were more industrious than the rest of the *Germans* in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the seas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little use to them, except to sell it to strangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in describing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had

^t See vol. xviii. p. 567.
l. v. ^z N. H. l. xxxvii.

^u L. ^w Bibl.
^y Mor. Germ. c. 45.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting those coasts of the east sea, containing part of *Prussia*, *Courland*, and *Livonia*. These, as well as their neighbours the *Gothini*, were not unknown to *Tacitus*, who has given us a succinct description of their religion, customs, and language; in all which they differed so little from the *Celts*, or old *Gauls*, that we may take it as a further proof,

that the antient *Germans* and they were but distinct branches of the same nation, as we observed at the beginning of this and the last chapter. What is still more observable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old *British*, that is, from the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, as we have had occasion to shew in the last chapter, and elsewhere (4).

(4) See vol. xv.ii. p. 54; & seq. and vol. vi. p. 30, & seq. & notes.

of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other antient authors have written of it, we may infer, that it was in very high esteem in those days. In Nero's reign, by which time the Romans had wholly set aside *A vast* the thoughts of conquering Germany, one of that emperor's *quantity of* favourites persuaded him to send thither a kind of embassy to *amber* buy it there upon the spot, and at the first hand^z. The thing *bought by* was accordingly done, and the Roman knight, who was at the Nero. head of this expedition, setting out from Carnuntum, a fortress on the banks of the Danube (I), arrived at the place, and met with a kind reception from the Æstii, from whom he bought and brought away, according to Solinus^a, 13000 pounds weight of that commodity, which was designed, it seems, by one of their kings, as a present to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which must have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds^b. We find in Cassiodorus, a letter sent by Theodoric, king of the Goths, to the Æstii, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had sent to him of the same precious drug^c, and wherein he promises them his friendship, which, it seems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embassy, and valuable present (K).

ON

^z See PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxxv. c. 3.
c. 33.

^b PLIN. ubi supra.

^a POLYHIST.
^c Varia, l. v. epit. 2.

(I) Carnuntum was a fortress in Upper Pannonia, on the same side with Vienna, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers of the Germans and Pannonians (5). If, therefore, this embassy set out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they should sail up the Danube, and down the Rbiue, in order to coast it round to the Prussian coasts; it may be inferred, that the Hercynian forest must have had some passage cut across, for them to go thither by land: and as we are told they passed through the country of the Guthiones, or Gothini, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that they sailed

down the Vistula, at the very mouth of which were the *Fletride insule*, or *Amber islands*, so called from that commodity being either gathered upon those coasts, or brought thither as to a mart by the Æstii.

(K) By this letter it should seem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for so their ambassadors told that monarch; and added, that the sea threw it upon their coasts. These Æstii were still famed among other German nations on the east sea, in the time of Charles the Great (6). We read of the Scirri, Hirri, Galindi, and Sudeni, in Ptolemy, which some have en

(5) Vide itiner. Ant. Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
Mag. c. 12.

(6) Eginbard. in vit. Carl.

Gepidæ, ON this side the *Æstii*, and, as is supposed, near the mouth of the *Vistula*, now *Weychse*, were the *Gepidæ*; and farther east, and ther north, on the coasts of the east sea, between these and the kingdom. *Æstii*, were the *Chaiboni*. It is not easy to determine whether

Probably
of Celtic
extract;

these two were of *German*, *Scythic*, or *Gothic* extract: the *Gepidæ* are indeed affirmed to be *Germans* by some antient authors^d; but we have had frequent occasion to observe, that they frequently confound those nations, so that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we should rather think them of *Celtic* origin. We have already observed in the *Gaulish* history, that the *Celtæ* had spread themselves towards the farthestmost parts of the north, as the *Cimbrians* in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and the *Teutones* in the islands adjacent: and, indeed, it seems as if those antient *Gomerians* were either elbowed by new-comers, farther and farther northwards, as our *Welsh* were here in *England*; or, if we suppose them to have been *Celtic* colonies, sent afterwards in search of new habitations, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that they found the more temperate parts already so well inhabited, that they were forced to take up with such climates as they found still uninhabited by reason of their extreme coldness. In either case the *Cimbrians*, *Teutones*, *Gepidæ*, *Chaiboni*, and *Æstii*, being found all in one line, and under the same climate, may, probably enough, have been all of the same extract, considering the conformity of their manners, language, &c. but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the *Chaiboni*, indeed, we know but little, except what we read of their invading *Gaul* in the time of *Dioclesian*^e, and of their being totally routed by *Constantine the Great*^f. The *Gepidæ* are famed in history for having reared themselves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into *Pannonia*; and taking the famed city of *Sirmium*, or *Sirmish*, from the emperor *Mar-*

found joined
with
other na-
tions.

^d Vide PROCOPIUS de bell. Vind. l. i. c. 2. & MASCOV. l. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 21.

^e CL. MAMERTIN. panegy. i. c. 4, & 5.

^f NAZAR. int. panegy. vet. ix. c. 18.

deavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the *Æstii* (7), or antient inhabitants of *Prussia*, but with very little likelihood: as for the name of *Prussia*, it is of much more recent date, as shall be seen in the modern part

of this work. All that needs be added, with respect to the *Æstii*, is, that they were at length conquered, with some other nations, by *Ermanaric*, king of the *Goths* (8).

(7) Vide Hartknoch. *Prus. A. & M.* part. i. c. 1. *Goth. l. iv.*

(8) Jornand. *hiff.*

cian (L); as likewise for their wars with the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and especially the *Romans*^g, for their invasion of *Germany* and *Belgia*, and for the terrible havock they made in both, in conjunction with the *Quadi*, *Vandals*, and other northern nations, of which *St. Jerom* gives us a particular and dreadful account^h, as may be seen by the abstract in the note (M). They kept themselves in possession of all *Dacia*, till the emperor *Justin's* reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and *Cunemund*, their last king, being overthrown and killed by *Alboin*, king of the *Longobards*, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The *Abares*, who were allied with it, and *Alboin*, took possession of *Dacia*, and the whole *Gepidæan* nation was so thoroughly dispersedⁱ, as never to recover itself again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror's expedition into *Italy*^k, and the rest went and refuged themselves where they could (N), as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

THUS

^g See vol. xiv. p. 15, & seq. ^h Epist. ad Ager. de monogam. ep. 92. ⁱ Excerpt. ex MENAND. ^k Vide PAUL. DIAC. hist. Longobard. l. ii. c. 26.

(L) It seems that emperor had suppressed the annual pension which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*, who had already conquered *Dacia*, passed the *Danube*, and added some part of *Pannonia* to their kingdom. The reader may see what we have said of it in a former volume (9).

(M) These barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, but into *Gaul* likewise, and even as far as *Spain*. In the former they destroyed, among other cities, those of *Strasburgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Mentz*; and in *Belgia* those of *Rheims*, *Amin*, *Tournay*, *Arras*, and *Terouane*; and carried the inhabitants captive into *Germany*. They likewise ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of *Aqui-*

tania, *Lugdunensis*, and *Narbonensis*, and carried off an immense plunder. The rest the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is supposed, that the poor remains of the *Gepidæ* took refuge under the emperor *Justinian*, and he assumed, upon that account, the title of *Gepidicus*, which we find afterwards added to the imperial ones, as appears by the preamble of some of his successors letters, especially that of *Maurice*, who styles himself there, *Almanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Anticus*, *Vandalicus*, *Herulicus*, *Gepidicus*, *Africanus*, &c (1).

As for the unfortunate *Cunemund*, the use which *Alboin* made of his body was, to make a drinking-cup of his skull, a custom descended to them from their barbarous ancestors, of which we have had occasion to speak in

(9) Vol. xiv. p. 16, (N).

(1) See Massey. l. xiv. c. 3. & 24.

THUS much shall serve for the names and situation of the antient *Germans*, according to their different tribes and nations at the time of the *Romans* first invasion of them, as far as a subject so involved in darkness and confusion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In *Augustus's* reign it was divided into *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, that is, *Upper* and *Lower*, as Germany, into *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, that is, *Upper* and *Lower*, as how since we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of *Roman* forces, divided. which were, according to custom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other useful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field¹. This division seems to have continued till about the time of the emperor *Jovinus*, when, though the constitution still subsisted with regard to *Germania Prima*, yet it was then, in all probability, lost, with respect to *Germania Secunda*, which was by that time become, in a great measure, subject to the *Franks*: for in the *Notitia Imperii*, which is thought to have been written then about, though the state of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* be there still intire, yet there is no farther mention of *Germania Secunda*.

The natural climate and produce misrepresented by the Romans.

As for the country of *Germany* itself, we have such a dreadful account given us of it, both by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*^m, even of those parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almost incredible that such a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither strength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleasant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worst parts of it, as they are now, by the description they give us of the best (O). And thus far may be owned,

¹ BUCHER. Belg. Rom. c. 12, 17, & 18.
c. 2. Comment. l. iii. c. 1.

^m Mor. Germ.

the history of the *Celts* and *Scythians*; and which, it appears by this, was still rife among a vast many nations of their descendants so many ages after their embracing Christianity. As to the *Gepide* we have nothing to add concerning them, but that they professed *Arianism* in common with the *Goths*(2), as will be seen in some of the following chapters.

O) According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its

variety of soil and climate added to the horror of it from the dreadful forests, stinking and unwholesome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampness of its seas, lakes, and rivers, and harshness of its soil. But as, on the one hand, we must allow for exaggeration in historians, who plainly sought in every thing to magnify their own courage and prowess, by the difficulties and hardships they met with in the conquests of those countries and nations; so we must grant, on

(2) Procop. bet. Pandal. l. i. c. 2.

owned, that the coming of the *Romans* into *Germany*, as well as into *Gaul*, contributed much to the fertilizing and enriching of those two countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who, as we hinted in the last chapter, thought this, and every occupation, besides the martial trade, too much below their fierce and warlike genius. We are told, *Vines*, in particular, that the emperor *Probus* was the first who permitted vines to be brought into *Gaul* and *Germany*, and to be brought planted along the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, and other parts^a. *thither*.

AMONG those many woods and forests with which this *Vast forest* country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this side in *Germany* the *Rhine*, was that famed one called the *Hercynian*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Orcinian* forest, the longest and thickest in *Europe*, and reckoned by *Julius Cæsar* to have extended sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer^o: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the forests, woods, and groves, in *Germany*, even the trees, boughs, and leaves, *Why not* were reckoned sacred; and this is the reason why the ancient *suffered to* *Germans* made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, *be cut* unless it were some branches of the oak, and some other trees *down*, which they carried with them, on particular solemnities^p; but since their conquest by the *Romans*, a good many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly out of a dislike of those superstitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many *Many of* more were destroyed, since their embracing of Christianity, *them since* upon the same account, and some are still remaining; and, *destroyed*, amongst others, one which is known by the name of the *Black* *The Black forest*: the *Bacenian* is another famed one, which parted the forest. *Suevi* from the *Cherufci*, by some supposed to be that of *Thu-* *The Cæ-* *ringia*, and by others the *Black forest* last mentioned. The *Thian*. *Cæsan* forest, or *Cæsa Sywa*, was also very famous: some suppose it to have likewise been a remnant of the *Hercynian*, and part of it remains still in the duchies of *Cleves* and *West-*

^a VOPISC. in vit. Prob. c. 18.^o Vol. xiv. p. 14, (M).

p. 91, (U).

^p Vide CLAUDIAN. in laud. Stilic. LUCAN. l. iii.

VEL. 429. AGATHIAS hist. l. i. KEYZLER. antiq. septentr. c. 4. §. 7.

the other, that the *Romans* proved the means of cultivating those, till then, barren and inhospitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of forests, draining of wet and marshy grounds, and other such-like improvements as they were able to admit of. So that we need not now tell our

readers, that this pretended barrenness and unhealthiness was rather owing to the supineness of the inhabitants, than to any defect in its soil or climate, since we find it now capable of bearing all sorts of grain, vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance, and due maturity.

The Her-
culcan.

phalia. Tacitus tells us of a famous one dedicated to *Hercules*, and called, from him, the *Herculean* forest⁴; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other *Roman* deities: so that if there was any such forest of that name, it must have been called, so upon some other account than a religious one. For, as we have observed in the last chapter, the *Germans* made a much longer stand against the *Roman* polytheism than the *Gauls*⁵.

Rivers.

RIVERS of note they had in abundance, of which we shall only mention the most considerable ones, and what is most remarkable in them. At the head of these may justly be placed the *Danube*, now *Ister*, by far the largest in *Europe*. It has its rise in *Swabia*, and flowing through that province, and those of *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Besserabia*, and part of *Tartary*, and receiving about sixty other rivers in its course, falls into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, in two arms. It was once the boundary between *Sarmatia* and *Germany*, but became afterwards subject to the *Romans* to its very source, under the emperor *Trajan* (P).

Rhine.

THE Rhine, another famous river, which antiently divided *Germany* from *Gaul*, and springs from the *Rhetian Alps* in the western borders of *Switzerland*; and northern of the *Grisons*: as it rises from two springs, which unite their waves near *Chur*, now *Coire*; so it divided itself into two streams, one of which falls into the *Maese*, and the other into the *German* ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by *Virgil*, *Rhenus bicornis*, or *bicorniger*. It has now no passage into that ocean, but with the *Maese* above-mentioned, below *Briel*, unless that branch of the one part of it called the *Yffel*, which empties itself into the *Zuyder-Zee*, may be said to do it⁶.

Its two
branches.

Mouth.

THIS mouth, which was antiently known to the *Romans* by the name of *Flavum*, and still retains that of *Vlie*, or *Flie*, had a strong castle built by it, to guard the passage out of the *Zuyder*, or south, into the north sea (Q).

THE

⁴ L. ii. c. 12. ⁵ See vol. xviii. p. 560. & seq. ⁶ See *Mascov. German.* & *Ledfard. ibid.* sub ind.

(P) We are told, that he established at *Zarnigstobus*, the capital of *Sarmatia*, the famed colony called *Ulpia Trajana*; and had a bridge over the *Danube*, as appears from several antient medals, and, particularly, from

the column erected in honour of him, and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted below (3).

(Q) As for the *Rhine*, it became afterwards a barrier between the *Romans* and the *Ger-*

(3) See *Gruter's inscriptions. Clauon. Bellow. & Fabret.*

THE *Vistula*, now *Weichsel*, was another considerable river, *Vistula*, which divided *Germany* from the *European Sarmatia*, whence the latter was called *Germania Transvistulana*. It had its rise in the *Carpatian* mountains in *Higher Silesia*, and, crossing the *Hercynian* forest, disembogued itself, by three streams, into the *Baltic* sea, not far from *Dantzick*. The *Drave*, or *Draw*, *Drave*, springs from the *Alps* in the *Tyrol*, and, dividing *Upper* and *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*, falls into the *Danube* near *Esseck*.

THE *Moraw* rises in the confines of *Bohemia*, divides *Mo-Moraw*, *ravia* into two parts, and falls into the *Danube* not far from *Vienna*.

THE *Nab*, in *Nortgow*, hath its source near that of the *Nab*, *Main*, and falls into the *Danube* a little above *Ratisbon*.

THE *Neckar*, in *Suabia*, rises from the *Black forest*, not *Neckar*, far from the *Danube*, but takes a different course, and falls into the *Rhine*.

REGEN rises in *Nortgow*, on the borders of *Bohemia*, and *Regen*, empties itself into the *Danube* at *Ratisbon*, thence called *Regensburgh*.

THE *Veser*, antiently *Visurgis*, descends from *Franconia*, *Veser*, and, passing by *Arcmen*, falls into the *German* ocean between the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Em*. The former of these, called *Elbe*, by the *Romans* *Albus*, and by the *Germans* *Elue*, *Elbe*, and now *Elb*, is a very large and considerable one, and hath its spring in the mountains called the *Giant Mountains*, *Montes Hercoum*, in *Silesia*, on the confines of *Bohemia*, and, passing through it and *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into the above-mentioned sea at *Ritzbuttel*, twenty leagues below *Hamburg*.

THE latter, viz. *Ems*, antiently *Amisia*, rises in the bishoprick *Ems*, of *Paderborn*, and, passing by *Emden*, the metropolis of *East Friseland*, and through the bay of *Didlert*, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the *Visurgis*, or *Veser*.

mans, upon the overthrow of *Varus* by the latter, who unwisely spent their time in destroying the fortresses of the former along that river, instead of pursuing the advantage of that signal victory; so that they only shortened the extent of the *Roman* territories, which before reached as far as the *Weser*, if not beyond (4). The same river likewise parted the *Batavi* from the other *Germans*, as has been formerly hinted (5). *Julius Cæsar*, in one of his *German* triumphs, caused, among other pageantic figures, that of the *Rhine* to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciously observed, that his successors did oftener triumph over, than conquer it (6).

(4) See *Florus*, l. v.(5) *Vol.* xv. p. 494.(6) *Florus*, l. v. c. 2.

Lippe and Yfel. THE *Luppia*, now *Lippe*, and *Isala*, or *Yfel*, fall, the one into the *Rhine*, below *Cologne*, and divided the *Bructeri* and *Marfi* from the *Uspii*; and the other into the *Fossa Drusiana*. The rest, being of less note, we shall pass by.

Cologne. CITIES of any consideration the *Germans* did not begin to build till after the coming in of the *Romans*, but were divided into cantons and districts, like the *Gauls*, and lived in villages like them: even those famous large ones they now have, were either most of them built by the *Romans*, or enlarged, beautified, and enfranchised by them. Such was the city of *Cologne*, of which we have given an account in a former volume^t, and of its being called *Agrippinæ*. It was formerly called *Colonia Ubiorum*, and was their metropolis. It is commodiously situated on the *Rhine*, and in the circle of the lower *Rhine*, and is now the metropolis of the archbishoprick of that name, an imperial city, and a famed university. To this may be added,

COLONIA TRAJANA, another antient *Roman* colony, below the former, by some thought to be the present *Keyserswaert*. *Colonia Ulpia*, now *Cleves*, the capital of *Cleveland* in *Lower Germany*, supposed to have been built by *Julius Cæsar*, as well as that of *Bonne*, antiently *Bonna Julia*, situate above *Cologne*, and on the same river. This last is now the residence of the electors of *Cologne*.

Ausburgh. AUSBURGH, i. e. *Augustus-burgh*, antiently called *Augusta Vindelicorum*^u, now the capital of *Suabia*. This is likewise an imperial city, very populous and trading, situate on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*, and famed, among other things, for the *Augustan* confession, or confession of *Ausburg*, which is that of the *Lutherans*.

Straß-burgh. ARGENTORATUM, now *Strasburgh* in *Alzacia*, the antient capital of the *Trebochi* on the *Rhine*, is reckoned one of the antientest cities in *Germany* (R), and is now famed for its magnificent

^t Vol. xiv. p. 355, & seq.

^u Vol. xiii. p. 517, (N).

(R) And well it may, if what some *German* antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before *Abraham*. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us some further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or spring, which

was used for the washing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their priests, and was from thence called *Blotkeda*, and *Blotabrum*, from the antient word *llo*, which signifies a bloody sacrifice. Hence some infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were first dashed to death against the stones, and

nificent cathedral, and the spire and curious clock of it, of which we shall say something more in the sequel; but, above all, for a living well, inclosed in that church, which was originally dedicated to superstitious and heathenish uses, such as we have mentioned in the last note.

TRIERS, another ancient city of *Lower Germany*, said to Triers. have been built by *Trebesas*, the brother of *Ninus*, 1496 years before *Christ*, and made a *Roman* colony in the time of *Augustus*. It became afterwards the most famed city of *Gallia Belgica*, and was, for some time, the seat of the western empire, in the reign of *Constantius*^w. Here *Valentinian* triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the *Alemanni*^x. *Triers* had been formerly the seat of the *Gallic* prefects, or of the *præfectura Galliarum*^y, and obtained the right of coinage from the *Romans*^z; at present it is only the metropolis of the ecclesiastic electorate of that name, though the bishops of it were formerly styled primates of those of *Gaul*, on account of its having been once the seat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to *Arles*, on occasion of the former being destroyed by the *Franks*^a.

RATISBON, in the circle of *Bavaria*, said to have been first Ratisbon. built by *Tiberius*, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there.

MENTZ, now famous for the invention of printing by *John Mentz*. *Fust*, alias *Fausus*, a gentleman of that city^b, and for being the residence of one of the ecclesiastic electors, in the lower circle of the *Rhine*, and situate on the banks of it; was formerly enlarged and fortified by *Drusus*, with several others on that river; such as *Bonne*, *Andernach*, and many others on the same river, as well as upon the *Maese*, *Elbe*, and *Wefer* (S).

S E C T.

- ^w Vide cod THEODOS. & epist. ad pop. Alex. ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 2. ^x AUSON. in laud. Mosel. v. 420. Vide MASCov. l. vii. c. 5. ^y See MASCov's list of them, l. v. c. 29. ^z POLLIO apud eund. ^a See PAGI annal. ad an. 332. ap. MASCov. l. vi. c. 32. ^b Vide MALINCROT & PALMER hist. typogr.

and then flung into it (7). This well was, after the conversion of the *Germans* to Christianity, inclosed with a wall, and consecrated, to serve for a baptismal font; and the waters of it became so famous, for some miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or resort-

ed to from all parts: but since the reformation it hath been opened, for common use (8).

(S) He built, likewise, bridges over them, especially at *Mentz* and *Bonne*, and kept a fleet, for the security of those parts (9): near the former of these was erected a monument, in form of

(7) Vide Keyzler, antiq. sept. in fin. c. 3. Ar. cent. 1617 p. 35.

(9) Flor. l. iv. c. ult.

(8) Vide Of. Schæd. descr. templ.

a funeral pile, in memory of him; by those legions which he had there commanded, some remains of which are still to be seen, and are mentioned by several antient and modern authors (1), and described by *Hutichius* (2). It is known by the name of *Eichelstein*, and stands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the same that was erected for that prince, we must depend wholly upon tradition, as we must for a vast number of other such structures, with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inscriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original design. As we mentioned these cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated by the *Romans*, we shall not take upon ourselves to go any farther with the rest, because we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern *Germany*, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

(1) *Dio, Sueton. in Claud. Otto Friz. chron. Serrav. rer. Mogunt.* (2) *Collect. antiq.*

S E C T. II.

Of the Religion, Government, Laws, and Policy of the antient Germans.

THIS subject hath been already so copiously handled in the last chapter, as it is so naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may save ourselves the pains of a needless repetition. The *Gauls* and *Germans*, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and customs, from the same hand, and both retained them, some few particulars excepted, during a long series of ages, with an invincible tenaciousness; and we have had occasion to observe, that the latter continued much longer inflexible against introducing the *Roman* superstition, than the former: so that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worshipping the Supreme Deity, under the name of *Esus*, or *Hesus*, falsely said, by *Roman* authors, to have been *Mars*, or *Mercury*. They worshiped him under the emblem of an oak, consecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itself, but for its leaves and fruit, especially the mistleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name of *gutbyl*, or *gutheyl*, that is, *good heal*, and ascribe extraordinary virtues to it, especially in epileptic diseases^a. Their method of, and time of gathering it, was the same which was observed by the *Gauls*^b.

The religion of the antient Germans almost the same with that of the Gauls. Veneration for the mistleto;

^a Vide *PLIN. H. N. l. xvi. c. 44.* Vide *CLUVER. Germ. KEYZLER. ant. sept. dissert. de visco pass. COLEBATCH and DOUGLAS on the mistleto, & al. See also vol. xviii. p. 547, 548.*
^b See vol. xviii. p. 547, 548, (I).

They held, like them, all other trees, likewise, as sacred, though not in the same degree with the oak; all woods, forests, and deserts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration (A). The druids had the sole care and direction in all religious, and the greatest sway and authority in civil matters; only it may be here observed, that though both nations held some sort of women, whom they looked upon as prophetesses, *for their* in great esteem; yet the *Germans* seem to have exceeded the *old pro-* *Gauls* in this kind of superstition, and to have shewn and re- *pheteesses*. tained a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can be gathered from

(A) In some other parts, especially in *Alsace*, they give it still the name of *marentaken*, or the bush or shrub of spectres; probably from those magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the *Germans* and *Gauls*, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may see some extravagant instances in the authors referred to below (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all shafts and offensive weapons from the person that wore it, or of effectually directing against the person or beast they intended to shoot, was so rife, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) The *Germans*, we are told, never undertook any thing of importance without consulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever so great on their side, if those women disapproved of it (3). They seem to have derived this custom from the *Celts* and *Cimmurians*, their an-

cestors, who, as we have formerly observed, looked upon them as inspired (4); and we have likewise mentioned some of them, who are reported to have foretold very strange events to some of the *Roman* emperors (5), enough to raise their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewise among the *Romans* and *Greeks*.

If we may, however, be permitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this superstition, it seems to have had its rise from this: The *Germans*, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and constantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their sick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leisure upon their hands, began to study the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this skill, which they generally intermixed with that of astrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity.

(1) *Plin. Tacit. ubi supra. Keyzer, Colebatch, Douglas, & al. de wisio. Islandorum myrb. log. c. 43.* (2) *Vide Keyzer. ubi supra.* (3) *Vide Tacit. German. c. 8. & bistor. l. v. Comment. l. i. c. 20. Strab. l. vii. Plutarch. in Cæsar. Arrian. & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. & al.* (4) *Vide Polyæn. Strateg. l. vi. & vol. xv. p. 369, (T). 489, (N).* (5) *See vol. xviii. p. 591, (K).*

from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, subject to, and obliged to receive their
Subject to directions, like the *Gauls*, from that grand druid, who, as we
the grand hinted in the last chapter, had his residence in *England*, or some
British one of the *British* isles. If there was any difference between
druid. the *Gauls* and *Germans* in point of religion, it consisted only
in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were
not only more full and tenacious of their superstitious rites, but
Cruelty to likewise more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only
their hu- offered the same expiatory human victims, and used them in
man vic- their auguries, and other parts of their religion, but treated
tims. them much more cruelly than they, and made them undergo
many grievous indignities and torments, before they dispatched
them, some instances of which we have given in the *Gaulish*
Sacrifices history^c, that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they
of beasts. likewise offered of domestic animals, and of these the horse was
reckoned the most acceptable. The flesh of them was, it seems
to be boiled, stewed, or dressed in some other way, in the heart
of their groves; the fat and the flesh were served to the votaries,
by way of feasts, and the blood was sprinkled upon the altar,
trees, and by-standers, by way of ablution; but though they
did the same by that of human victims, it doth not appear,
that they eat the flesh of them. We have formerly observed,
likewise, from *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, *Diadorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Athe-*
The Ger- *neus*, and other antient authors, that the *Germans* had no tem-
mans had ples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for
antiently that purpose, or in woods, forests, and desert places; tho' this
no temples. latter seems to have been practised after their conquest, and to
avoid the penalties of those severe edicts which the *Roman* em-
perors had issued out against the druids, and their inhuman sacri-

^c See vol. xviii. p. 555.

The old ones might likewise naturally give into dreams, visions, and other superstitious observations, such as were then practised by almost all other nations; as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and such-like kinds of fortileges; till they, at length, raised themselves to such credit and admiration, that, if *Tacitus* may be credited, they were looked upon

as a kind of goddesses: and, in particular, that famed one called *Velleda*, of whom he speaks as of a person deified, and worshiped by the whole *German* nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like high repute, as *Aurinia* (7), or *Alruna*, *Ganna* (8), *Feitha*, *Sifu*, *Thruder*, &c. Concerning whom the reader may see all the different conjectures of the learned, in the authors quoted below (9).

(6) *Hist. l. iv. c. 61, 65. l. v. c. 22. & de mor. Germ. c. 8.* (7) *Idem ibid.*
 (8) *Sax. l. i. c. 1. & 2. & 3.* (9) *Verm. ii. m. r. & Keyser, dissertat. de*
maier. fac. d. c. 54. & 55. & 56. & 57.

fices: however that be, temples were not introduced in *Germany* till long after the *Gauls* had shewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worship of *Jupiter, Mars, &c.* they still dedicated oaks, groves, woods, and whole forests to them, and performed their superstitious rites in them a considerable while before they could be brought to erect temples to them (C).

WE have already spoken of those inferior ones introduced *Their deities* among the *Gauls*, such as *Jove*, or *Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, &c.* The same, and very nearly under *Jupiter*. the same notion, were adopted by the *Germans*, though some of them under different names and attributes, as they were peculiarly given by the *Germans* to each of them. *Jupiter* was worshipped under the name of *Thor, Tharam, or Taran*, i. e. the Thunderer. This name we have already seen, in the last

(C) This is evident, from what *Tacitus* tells us of the goddess *Hertba*, one of their antient deities, whose idol was preserved in a wood, or grove, *Castum Nemus*, upon a covered cart, and had but one priest to minister to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herself, or to take a view of mankind, that priest, who was her only confident, gave notice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be seen but feasting and jollity among them, while she was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by the priest above-mentioned. His chief business was to observe when she appeared satiated with rambling, and to convey her into her sacred grove again (1). He mentions indeed a temple which he there calls the temple of *Tanfana* (2), and which, he says, the *Romans* leveled to the ground: but as in the foregoing instance of *Hertba* he first calls it a temple,

though he says in general, that the *Germans* had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove, and a private lake; might not this of *Tanfana* be of the same kind? However, suppose it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that such a building should be erected by the *Marsi*, or, at least, in their country, and, perhaps, by the *Romans*, who had, by this time, subdued them (3); since this was, in *Augustus's* reign, about eighty years before the time in which *Tacitus* wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have been some others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience to, the conquering *Romans*, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very industrious to propagate their religion amongst those nations they subdued. And if, either thro' complaisance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the same motives, erect also temples to them?

(1) *Annal.* l. v. c. 9. p. 8, *ed. seq.* vol. xiv. p. 86.

(2) *Ibid.* l. i. c. 51.

(3) See before, vol. xiii.

chapter, was given by the *Gauls* to *Mars*, also, on account of the clattering noise of the martial trade. The same was done by the *Germans*, who gave it to their *Odin*, or *Woden*, which was the same deity, as we shall see under the next article. As for the name of *Jupiter*, we have formerly shewn, that it was never adopted by the *Gauls*, nor does it appear to have been so by the *Germans*: if these had any other names for him than those we have mentioned, they have been since lost, and are not worth seeking further after.

**Mars, or
Odin.**

**Falsly
confounded
with He-
sus.**

**How re-
presented.**

MARS, called by them *Odin*, *Othin*, and *Woden* (D), has sometimes been confounded with *Mercury* by the *Roman* authors, and no wonder, when they were so unacquainted with their language, and could have so little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the *Germans*, as well as the *Gauls*, made it a constant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to strangers; and hence may be assigned the reason why some of them have even more absurdly imagined this *Olin* to have been the same with *Hesus*, or *Efus*^d, the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they observed to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might easily lead those authors to mistake him for the latter. *Mars*, when his worship came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from antient monuments, represented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked sword^e; whereas *Hesus* was only worshiped under the type of an oak, or even the bare stump of one. *Mars* was looked upon not only

^d LUCAN. Pharsal. l. i. LACTANT. l. i. c. 12. vol. vi. p. 68.

^e See before,

(D) This deity had several other names, according to the several offices they attributed to him; such as *Walfader*, and *Walladur*, the father of slaughter, and of arms; *Sigmundur*, the giver of victory, and the like. This of *Odin* seems derived from the antient word *Audun*, which signifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The *Gauls*, most likely, gave him that of *Ollodius*, as has been found by an inscription dug up near

Aix in *Provence*, which runs thus: *Vigilia Melia Maffia filia Marti Olloudio*, which last word is thought by some to be of *Greek* extract, as it was found so near *Marseilles*, where *Greek* had been so long introduced; and may be either from *ὀλλαιω*, or *ὀλλυμι*, to put to death, to destroy (4). In the same sense he is called, by *Homer*, *ὀνλός*, fatal, or murderer; as his chief business, according to the heathen theology, was, to supply hell continually with new-comers.

(4) de reg. Hæquino. Vide & Keyzler. antiq. septentr. c. 2. §. 7.

as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose souls the survivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, *Odin receive thee; mayest thou be with Odin* (E)! If you ask what they supposed was to be their employment in that place of bliss which was called by them *V'althalla*, and of ^{The dispen-} which *Odinus* was the chief disposer; some of their antient ^{ser of ju-} poets will tell you, that one of them was, to carouse with ex- ^{ture hap-} quisite beer in human skulls, whilst *Odinus* alone is allowed to ^{pinefs.} drink wine. They were, moreover, to be served by elegant virgins, whose business it was to furnish them with a constant supply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a *Mohammed's* paradise was no small spur to warlike actions, since every man's felicity there was to rise in proportion to the number of enemies they had conquered or killed (F). According

f EDDA mythol. 34, & seq. Carmen in Lodbrog. reg. ex vers. BARTHOL. Vide MASCOV. & LEDIARD. Germ. l. xiv. c. 3. n. 1.

(E) It seems from some sepulchral inscriptions, and funeral orations, still extant, that in some of the northern regions they bequeathed the souls of the deceased to *Odin*, in words to this effect: *Odin preserve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an honest servant*, and the like, even after their embracing Christianity: and the sending any one to *Odin*, was reckoned a very kind and good wish, tho' it is since looked upon, especially by the *Suevi*, as bad as sending one to the devil (5).

(F) We have properly no antient author to vouch for this their belief of a *Turkish* paradise; our authority for it is only taken from some of the oldest northern poets (6), who quoted it from more antient songs and verses of their druids, w^ho, as we have often observed, couched all their

religion and history in such kin's of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add this collateral proof, from the general agreement of Greek and Roman authors, that the antient *Celtes* and *Scythians* made use of the skulls of their slain enemies to carouse with, and that they were in general, but none more than the *Germans*, very fond of drinking to excess. So that it is very natural to suppose, the druids would carry this notion of happiness beyond the grave, in order to inspire the people with courage, and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king *Lodbrog* is introduced singing his own *requiem*, in these words, as translated out of *Edda*, by *Bartholine*.

*Pugnāvimus ensibus
Hoc ridere me facit semper*

(5) See *Relig. des Gaul.* vol. ii. c. 4. reg. *Lodbrog.* supra cit. & al.

(6) *Edda* mythol. 30, & seq. *Germ.* in

According to this notion, we need not wonder at their consecrating so great a share, and sometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often vowing their own lives to him; since they expected to be so amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with such a kind of happiness as best suited with their genius & (G).

How

² Vide inter al. BARTHOLIN. de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12.

*Quod Balderi (Odin) patris scamma
Parata scio in aula
Bibemus cerevisiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus
Non venio desperabundis
Verbis ad Odini aulam (7).*

We with swords our valour prov'd.
This my laughter always mov'd :
When with *Woden* I shall be,
Seats shall be prepar'd for me.
There our ale in brimmers flows,
And the hollow skulls of foes
For our pitchers we shall choose.
No brave man e'er shrinks at death.
When I once resign my breath,
No despairing words shall show,
That reluctantly I go
To great *Woden's* court below.

He concludes thus (8) :

*Fert animus finire
Invitant me deæ
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cervisiam cum Affis (diis)
In summa sede bibam
Vitæ clapsæ sunt horæ
Ridens moriar (9).*

The translation of this will be inserted in our history of *Britain*.

(G) The German, and other hero, whom they bring from old historians, have since trans-*Asia* into *Scandinavia*, where, formed this deity into a northern after a long and bloody prowess;

(7) Idem ibid. *Stroph.* 25.

(8) *Stroph.* 29.

(9) Vide *Vormii literat. Run.*

p. 222, & *jez. & Knyser. antiq. j. p. t. c. 2. §. 13.*

How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the Romans, is not easy to say; and we shall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the history of the Gauls; but after that time, especially after their being subdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and superstitions. However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the Romans and Greeks. The Germans, even according to the testimony of Roman writers, neither presumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to represent them under any forms^h, nor admitted into that number any but such as they saw, and received assistance and benefit from; such as the sun, moon, and Vulcanⁱ, or the god of fire (H). Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines,

^h TACIT. *ibid.* c. 9. & 43.ⁱ CÆS. *com.* l. vi. c. 21.

and a reign stuffed with the greatest wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, some of which we shall speak of in a proper place, that he might end as he began, and inspire his people with the same contempt of death, he gave himself a slight wound with an arrow, because he would not go into the other world without one, and soon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corpse was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames ascended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of those who die in battle (1). This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe off the imputation of their having given into the Greek and Roman idolatry, and to shew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, some of whom they ranked in the same number

as Hercules among the men, and Hertha, and Fria or Friga, among the women. Their mythologists, on the other hand, have split this Odin into two; the antientest of the two some suppose to have been Mars, others the sun, and the youngest to have been one of their deified heroes: yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great resemblance between the antient Germans, *Suavi, Æstii*, &c. and other most distant nations: such, for instance, we may reckon the worship of the goddess Hertha, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of *Magna diorum mater*; or, as Tacitus says of the latter (2), their worship of Fria, or Friga, under that denomination.

(H) So, at least, that author is understood by most writers. We are, indeed, told, by Plutarch (3), that Viridomarus, a king of the Gauls, who lived

(1) Snorron. *Yngliga saga*, c. 3. (2) *Germ.* c. 9, & 45. (3) *In v. Marcel.*

roines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their strength and courage, victories and conquests^k; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even sanctified their most monstrous and unnatural vices^l.

*Believed
a providence and
future
life.*

*But given
to horrid
superstitions.*

THE *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, to wit, an over-ruling providence, and the immortality of the soul. The misfortune was, that these two noble springs of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager desire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and superstitions; and some of them, as we have elsewhere hinted, were of the most inhuman and diabolical kind; so, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality proved but too fatal a spur to rashness, ambition, and cruelty, especially after they came to imbibe that poisonous notion hinted a little higher, that the surest way to that happiness was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to rise according to the number of enemies they had destroyed in this. For this not only inspired them with a barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them less

^k German c 2 ^l LACTANT. MINUT. FEL. CLEM. ALEX. 8 al.

above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war against the *Romans*, made a vow to consecrate all the aims he took from the enemy to *Vulcan* so that if that author be right in the name, the worship of that deity must have been very antient among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. But the misfortune is, as a late writer observes (4), that the *Roman* writers either mistook the names of those heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of such of their own gods as they imagined them to resemble most; by which means, that part of *German* antiquity is become so

intricate, that it can hardly be relied on

Some inscriptions shew, that they had a deity called *Fulcan*, or *Volcanus*, according to the *Roman* termination. Hence some authors have concluded, that the two branches of the *K* were worshipping him, and that the name was originally *Volkanus*, which supposition is natural enough. But *Volcan* being a *Celtic* word, which signifies either a furnace, or a fire forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened since into *Vulcan*.

(4) See *Musi* & *Germ.* l. ii. c. 35.

solicitous to inquire whether the motives of it were just or unjust (I).

NEXT in authority to these pretended prophetesses, were the ^{Their} druids, or rather priests. *Cæsar* says indeed ^m, that they had ^{priests} no druids, as the *Celtes*; but *Tacitus*, who was better acquainted with them, speaks frequently of their priests, whose office and authority, according to him, being much the same with the *Gaulish* druids, shews them to have been the same order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the same name. For these ^{Their of-} priests, he tells us ⁿ, were not only admitted to their public ^{rice, dress,} councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great &c. sway in both. And we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impose silence in those meetings, to reprove or punish offenders, which exactly agrees with what *Cæsar* says of the *Gaulish* druids, whose office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital punishment ^o (K).

As

^m Comm. l. vi. c. 21.
ibid.

TACIT. ubi supra, l. vii.

^o Idem

(I) We have already given such instances of these bloody superstitions, in the history of the ancient *Celtes* and *Scythians* (5), and lately in that of the *Gauls* (6), that our readers, we hope, will easily spare us the trouble of repeating them here, seeing they are all of the same kind, and of such a nature, that they can scarcely be read without horror. Only this we must be bound to add, that, whether the *Germans* received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in among them by degrees, as they did almost every-where else, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of those who received the gospel. One piece of superstition, common to all the *Germans* and *Gauls*, was, never to fight, or undertake any

material point, before the moon was full six days old, nor even then, if their soothsayers, who were mostly women, did not like the auguries. These were always consulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druidesses were in *Gaul*. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greatest sway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their auguries (without which they did not do any thing,) but as being esteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic spirit (7).

(K) And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is still in so much request all over *Germany*, contrary to what we find it in all other Christian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of the people, or, when that fails, some noted delinquent

(5) See vol. vi. p. 28.

(6) See v. l. xviii. p. 563, 564, 566, & seq. 574.

(7) Tacit. Germ. c. 8. & alib. pass.

Their laws and government. As for their antient laws and government, we can only say, that they discover those evident marks by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themselves into societies for their general good and preservation; to have magistrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, considering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common state, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, independent from the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common, for the better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongst themselves, that one nation should not grow too strong for the rest: in other things each

National councils. canton held their national councils at least once a year, that is, in the spring, and oftener, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other such points, according to their

is commonly condemned to it. As, therefore, one main part of the priests office among the antient *Germans* consisted chiefly in stirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and slaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their sacrifices and auguries, in condemning and executing criminals, in punishing lesser offenders with milder punishments, and the like; we need not wonder if the external part of their religion was so void of the *Greek* and *Roman* pomp, and so full of every thing, that could strike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whose devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of *Greek* and *Roman* temples, and the pageantry of their ceremonies and dress.

It is therefore no small wonder, that such men should choose a garb so contrary to their but-

cherly trade, and to affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepest crimson: and may not this contrast be a kind of proof, that their office at first was of a quite different nature, and that from singing the praises of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, some few harmless creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirst of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without some foundation, if we consider, that they received their religion from the same fountain that the *Perses*, *Brachmans*, and other *Indian* sects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conscientious adhering to their primitive institution, have ever been justly famed for a character the most opposite to theirs.

present

present exigence^p. And these assemblies were so exactly observed, that, we are told, the last comer to them was sure to lose his life, which was in imitation of the cranes, who did so by those which came last to rendezvous upon their taking their flight into other countries^q. It is very likely also, that all other matters relating to property, crimes, and such-like, were here finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be supposed to have had in these early days (L).

In those states which were under a kingly government, as a *Kings*, and great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in *their re-* matters of smaller moment; but in those which concerned the *venue*. whole nation, to the grand council of it: neither allowed they any other revenues to those monarchs but a part of the fines, and such free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cattle, and the fruits of the earth; so that they had little else to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary estates^r. Their expence was, indeed, inconsiderable, because all their subjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue; upon which account these had the free use of the prince's table, and were sometimes presented with a horse, or some of his arms^s. The subjects were distinguished *Three or-* into several ranks, or classes, such as nobles, free-born, freed- *ders of sub-* men, and bondsmen; in each of which classes those were still *jects*. most esteemed, who had signalized themselves best, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable exploit^t. As for their other *Laws*. laws, if any such they had compiled in a body, they were rather preserved by tradition and custom, than kept upon record, since we have often observed they made it a constant maxim, not to

^p Idem ibid. & c. 11, & seq. iii. c. 22. ^r TACIT. c. 11. c. 14, & seq. ^u Ibid. c. 11.

^q See Voss. de idololatr. lib. ^s Ibid. c. 15, & seq. ^t Ibid.

(L) Liberty, being by them looked upon as the *jumum bonum* (8), made them exceeding watchful against every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long law-suits, they rather chose to have them decided at once by such an assembly, and

sometimes by single combat, than stay for their next meeting. These assemblies were commonly accompanied with sumptuous banquets, as they were judged to promote friendship and mutual confidence, to inspire men with greater freedom of speech, and open a door to wholesome counsels (9).

(8) *Lucian. Pbarfal. l. vii. v. 430. Tacit. ubi supra, c. 27. c. 22.*

(9) *Idem ibid.*

Judges.

commit any thing to writing. But that some such laws they had, is apparent from this, that they still retained many of them, even after those of the *Romans* had been introduced among them. Judges they likewise had of their own, and their office was held in such esteem, that men of the highest rank were promoted to it, as well as those of the greatest probity, years, and discretion: even their princes sometimes took it upon them. Every judge had, it seems, a number of assessors, with whom he might consult upon occasion; whence, probably, the office of *scabinus*, or sheriff, had its rise ^w.

Their state
of war.
Had nei-
ther cities,
nor for-
tresses

THESE general assemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the *Germans* despised cities and fortresses, as monuments of servitude, rather than places of defence ^x; and were some of the latest of the *Europeans* that either built any for themselves, or would take refuge in them: so that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always chose to do it in the open field, and, when worsted, to retire into woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they could get provision for their cattle, and keep their pursuers at a distance, rather than to shelter themselves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap. It was, moreover, a common saying among them, that even wild beasts would lose all their strength and courage, if penned up ^y. And we are told, that this custom subsisted in *Gaul* till the eighth century, and much longer in *Germany* ^z. The whole nation being moreover, naturally of a warlike genius, and esteeming cowardice as the greatest reproach and disgrace: that could be thrown upon them, all such fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as so many shameful asylums for the weak and pusillanimous to flee to, and they, consequently, despised them, as unworthy a brave people, who always scorned to take any advantage of their enemy, whether in weapons, intrenchments, discipline, stratagems, or, indeed, in any other kind but those of strength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love of liberty.

Youth,
how edu-
cated.

IT was in these that they solely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts of gaining a superiority to those of their enemies to whom the want of these martial virtues rendered them more necessary. Accordingly, no nation could take more care than they did to inure them to all hardships (M), to inspire them with

(a con-

^y See MASCOV. German. l. ii. c. 38. ^x TACIT. ann. l. iv. c. 64. ^y CÆS. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29. ^z Vide PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 4.

(M) We are even told, that their children, as soon as born, those who lived nearest the *Rhine*, into them, in order to knit and or any other rivers, used to dip harden their limbs (1). We have

(1) Vid. *Arist. de republ.* l. vii.

indeed,

a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life ^a. It was *Armies* for this that the ambitious amongst them neglected agriculture, *easily* and despised all mercantile and mechanic employments ^b, how *raised and* necessary and advantageous soever, and obliged all who were *kept up* able to bear arms to go into the field. Hence it was that they were never at a loss how to raise, in a very short time, such powerful and numerous armies either to repulse an enemy, or to assist their friends and allies ^c: for whenever any country was disengaged from a war, the ablest soldiers were sent into foreign service, not singly, or according to their own option, but in considerable bodies, and under the command of such officers as were set over them by the state; by which means, the whole nation not only shared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewise furnished with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, to wit, that, when a canton or state became too populous, they could draw out such numbers as could be spared, to go and seek out new habitations; and these, by being trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themselves in those countries which they had the good fortune to settle in ^d.

THEY had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in *Their ca-* which they placed the main of their strength; but what they *valry, and* had of the former was extremely well disciplined, though their *foot*. horses were inferior to those of the Romans, either in bigness, swiftness, or dexterity, as well as in those evolutions which were so artfully used by the latter ^e. As for saddles and stirrups, they

^a CÆS. com. l. vi. c. 22, & seq. ^b Idem ibid. See also Essay on those countries, &c. which helped to pull down the Roman empire, p. 13--16. ^c Idem ibid. See MASCOV. l. ii. c. 37. ^d TACIT. ann. l. iv. c. 12. CÆS. comm. l. vi. c. 23. ^e TACIT. Germ. c. 6.

indeed, formerly observed from Julian the apostate (2), that the waters of that river were supposed to have some peculiar virtue above others, insomuch that they threw their children into it whenever they had any suspicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors mistook the design, or confounded the one with the

other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any such custom they had, it was rather introduced on a persuasion, that such children who were not proof against the severity of such a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be overwhelmed by the waves.

(2) See vol. xviii. p. 552, (L). *Æ Claudian. in Ruf. v. 109, & Nonn. ap. Lediard. Germ. l. ii. c. 37. 4. 2.*

Way of
fighting.

were quite neglected, by both *Gauls* and *Germans*, who were accustomed to mount and dismount by their own agility, and could, whenever occasion required, fight as well on foot as on horse-back (N). In their order of battle, every canton and district were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or disgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no small spur to them to behave in such a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in several distinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that some of them, especially the *Cimbri*, formed their whole infantry into one square battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as soon as every thing was ready for the onset, the signal was given, which was answered by an universal shout, which was redoubled in a most dreadful manner, till they came to close engagement. They used no art or stratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onset on the enemy, and continuing it with a desperate intrepidity, till they had either won or lost the day; by which means, if they once met with a stout repulse, or were put into disorder, they seldom knew how to rally again, but became stupefied and desperate, and either fought till they died, or else betook themselves to flight^f; for it was reckoned so inglorious among them to yield themselves prisoners, that we read but of few instances of their doing so, in comparison to those in which they died with sword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to trust less to their own strength and courage, and to study a little more the *Roman* discipline, and art of fighting. But they began too late: had they done so from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day.

With more
valour
than art.

Weapons.

THEIR weapons were likewise vastly inferior to those of the *Romans*; the cavalry had their shields and spears in common with the foot, but the latter had, besides, their darts, bows and slings, and seldom had recourse to their pikes and swords^g. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally despised among them; some of them even affected to fight naked: so that if any such armour was worn among them, it was ra-

^f TACIT. & CÆSAR, ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in Mar. VALER. MAX. l. ii. c. 6. See vol. xviii. p. 612, & seq. ^g TACIT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

(N) This plainly appears, by them in most of his wars; and *Cæsar's* own confession (3), who often boasts of the great services he received from them (4).

(3) *Comment. l. iv. c. 2.*

(4) *Ibid. l. vii. c. 13. Vid. Hirt. com. de bell. Alex-*

andrin. c. 23.

ther for distinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of some wild beasts. Hence those frightful figures which *Plutarch* observed among the *Cimbrian* cavalry ^h, some of which are still to be seen upon the seals and arms of those antient times. Their shields, which they distinguished only by different colours, or some particular emblem, were reckoned so sacred among them, that they looked upon it as the greatest disgrace to lose them in fight; because none durst appear either at their religious ceremonies, public assemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their arms were esteemed their favourite furniture, and chiefest ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was so earnestly wished for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them ⁱ. The sword was so sacred among them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than those they took upon a naked one ^k; neither did they appear in public, or assist at any solemn rite, without their sword, shield, and spear ^l. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar visits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they sat down, they had their sword by their side, and a servant behind, to hold their shield and spear; and when they rose, every one took them up again ^m: in a word, they looked upon themselves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extreme old age, they commonly caused them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died ⁿ (P).

IN

^h Idem *ibid.* ⁱ *TACIT.* ubi supra, c. 13. ^k *AM. MARCEL.* l. xvii. c. 12. ^l *NIC. DAMASC.* ap. *Stob.* seim. 164. *LIVY* hist. l. xxi. c. 20. *CÆS.* comm. l. vii. c. 21. ^m *TACIT.* Germ. c. 2, 13, 22. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 64. *ATHEN.* ex *Posid.* l. iv. c. 12. ⁿ *CLAUDIAN.* de bell. Get. v. 501. *Comment.* l. vi. c. 19. *TACIT.* Germ. c. 13, 27.

(O) *Tacitus* adds, that they were forced to live in disgrace all the remainder of their days, and excluded from the company of men; insomuch that they chose often to put an end to both by a voluntary death (5). He tells us farther, that the *Suevi* were the only people in all *Germany* where private men had not the liberty to wear their arms, or even to keep them at home;

(5) *Tacit. Germ.* c. 6.

and the reason he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themselves in their tyranny, stripped their subjects of them, and put them under the custody of their favourite creatures (6).

(P) It was on account of this excessive regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their antient custom of rearing a sword, pike, or spear, at the

(6) *Ibid.* c. 44.

Sieges carried on without art, &c.

Valour.

Punishments.

Murder not capital.

Disputes decided by the sword.

IN their sieges of places they were likewise vastly inferior to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in the offensive or defensive, being strangers to those destructive instruments which were used by the latter, such as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and countermining; and, placing the stress of their confidence in their missile weapons, as darts and stones, and their vigorous assaults and scalings, or in a resolute and intrepid resistance, if these failed, as they too often did, especially when they were engaged against the well-disciplined and artful *Romans* (who, besides that they used all these, and many other such warlike engines, in the greatest perfection, were likewise expert in a great variety of stratagems, with which the *Germans* were wholly unacquainted), they fell immediately into confusion, and became an easy prey to them. Hence the native strength and valour of the latter is the more conspicuous, as they defended themselves so long, and so bravely, against such powerful and dextrous enemies, and not only held out against them above 200 years, but at length conquered them by their own arts.

THE *Germans* in general, however, observed a strict discipline with their soldiery; and cowardice and neglect of duty were severely punished among them: they were not, indeed, so strict in other cases, but adapted their punishments to the different purposes of the commonwealth; were severe against some offences, and remiss towards others; insomuch that even murder was not esteemed capital amongst them^p, but was punished by such a fine, of great or small cattle, as was deemed a sufficient compensation to the family for their loss. In disputes and accusations, whenever the case appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by single combat; for in either of these they looked upon Providence as the chief

^o See MASCOV. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37. ^p TACIT. Germ. c. 12, & 21.

head of their army, round about which they all gathered themselves to perform their devotions, that they were supposed to worship them (7), though it is plain, that they only worshiped the Deity, or, at most, the god *Mars*, since adopted their grand patron and protector, under these types:

but, upon the whole, it appears, that both *Celts* and *Scythians*, and all their descendants, were accustomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundest peace, as in war; which was also practised by all the *Greeks*, *Persians*, and other ancient nations (8).

(7) See *vit. Dagobert. ap. du Chesne, tom. i. c. 31. Adam Bremenf. & al.* (8) *Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 8. Herodot. l. i. c. 6. Ammian Marcel. l. xxiii. c. 6.*

director, and therefore submitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, *Varus* endeavoured to introduce the *Roman* laws among them, we are told, that they refused it; alleging, that it was their way to decide all their controversies by the sword¹; and this custom continued among them several hundred years².

SCIENCES they were altogether strangers to, if we except *Sciences*. those who lived by the sea-coasts, and had made some considerable progress not only in navigation, and building of ships, but probably also in some branches of astronomy, as well by observation, as by their converse with other more polite nations: the rest were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the use of letters (Q). Their greatest skill *Skill in* in physic consisted in the knowledge and use of certain plants and *physic*, roots found out by observation and experience, in which these pretenders intermixed a deal of superstitious trash; such as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which served only to amuse and raise the admiration of the vulgar. Music and poetry were *music, and* much better cultivated among them, though one would be apt *poetry* to judge their tongue too harsh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But, besides that such foreign languages appear more so to us than to the natives, we may reasonably suppose, that both their music and poetry being adapted to the genius of the *German* nation and tongue, their harshness might be looked upon rather as a majestic beauty, than a defect: however that be, they had a set of men whose business it was to

¹ VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 188.
tit. 44. ap. Mascov. l. ii. c. 38.

² In vet. leg. Aleman.

(Q) At least *Tacitus*, who knew them best, and may be supposed to have been conversant with the politer sort, tells us, that neither men nor women knew any thing of them (g); unless by *literarum secreta* be meant something more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; since he tells us, in the same book, that both they and the *Switzers* made use of the *Greek* characters (1); which is also confirmed by *Cæsar* (2), and by some antient

coins and inscriptions written in that character (3).

We have already taken notice, that the *Gauls* probably received that character from the *Greek* colony that settled at *Marseilles* (4); from whence it might easily pass into *Switzerland*, and thence into *Germany*, and have been adopted by these for the same reason that they were by the *Gauls*; and this is the only way to reconcile *Tacitus* with himself, and with *Julius Cæsar*.

(g) *Germ.* c. 18. (1) *Ibid.* c. 3. (2) *Comment.* l. i. (2) *Vide*
• *Rom. subterr.* ap. *Mabillon.* *Bouterous traité des monnoies.* p. 157, & 379. *Vide*
• *Relig. des Gaul.* l. i. c. 4. (4) *Sæc.* vol. xviii. p. 622.

couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to sing them to the people, upon proper occasions, as the *Gauls* did of theirs *. And as martial deeds were the common topic of these verses, and one part of the instrumental music, which accompanied it, was the clattering their swords against their shields, it is no wonder *Julian* the apostate, whose ears were accustomed to more gentle and harmonious strains, gives such a frightful account both of the *German* tongue, music, and poetry †.

Games and exercises. THEIR sports, games, and exercises, were all, likewise, of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade.

The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, leaping, and the like. Some equestrian exercises were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horsemen. They were likewise fond of gaming, to such a degree, that, when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice †. Manufactures were not introduced very early among them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the first, if not the only one they cultivated, for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dress of their

Dress. women, priests, and men of quality †. Their original dress, when they came first to cover themselves, were the skins of beasts (R). The *Germans* and *Britons* seem to have been some of the

* Vide TACIT. Germ. c. 2, & 3. † Misopog. p. 336, & seq.

† TACIT. ubi supra, c. 24. † PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

(R) These were called by several names, according to those nations among which they were worn. In some parts of *Germany* they were called *reno*, which *Cluverius* thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whose skins they made their garments of (5); in others, *mastruga*; supposed to have been called so because it made those who wore them appear like monsters (6), or brutes in human shape. *Tacitus* adds, that the only distinction between men of quality and the vulgar consisted in the richness and fineness of those furs (7).

And here it will not be amiss to take notice of a merry jest which some *Greeks*, settled in *Scythia*, had endeavoured to impose upon *Herodotus*, as a serious truth, viz. that the *Neuri*, a northern nation, were once a year changed into wolves, and, after some time, resumed their own shape (8). He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it; but it is plain they only imposed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in some others, particularly where they told him that on the other side the *Danube* the air was,

(5) *Germ. ant.* p. 116.
Germ. c. 17.

(6) *Isidor. orig.* l. xix. c. 23.
(8) *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 105.

(7) *Tacit.*

the last who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool: these they did not wear long and full, as the *Sarmatians*, but short and strait, and fit to display every limb of their body*. As they became more acquainted with the *Romans*, they not only improved in their dress, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering those stuffs of which they were made†, but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have since excelled other nations; for it was their contempt of such trades, and not their want of a capacity for them, which made them be so long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they soon convinced the world, that their country seemed formed to produce the best artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not so soon give into the liberal arts, or even

* TACIT. ubi supra, c. 17.

† Idem ibid.

at some seasons, so full of feathers, meaning of snow, that a man could scarce see two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in such quantities, and so dangerous, in all these northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced to destroy them as fast as they could. Their skins they probably dressed, and made them into close garments, to wear during the winter, and, when spring came on, they exchanged them for some lighter habit: and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation. Unless we will suppose, not without some probability, that those *Greeks* had so far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in *Scythia*, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, understood them quite differently from what they meant.

(S) Among these, that of clocks, watches, and other such kind of useful and curious machinery, they have been long

since famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at *Mentz*, soon after the year 1440. by *John Fust*, or *Faust*, a citizen of that place, and improved by his son-in-law, *Peter Schœffer*, and from thence propagated, by some of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of *Europe*, in less than half a century (9).

In speaking of this noble and useful invention, we cannot pass by a pathetic reply which a *German* made to a *Frenchman*, who allowed, indeed, that the *Germans* were generally good mechanics, but in other cases, said, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. On which the *German* gravely asked the following question: Pray, Sir, which of the two nations shewed the brighter genius; ours, which invented the art of printing; or yours, which condemned the inventor of it to the flames for

(9) See *Palmer's history of printing*, l. i. c. 2, & seq. l. ii. c. 1, & seq.

Writing.

even that of writing: we are told, that *Charles the Great* caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung by heart, and contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read ^a. The *Saxons* had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing ^a. Even their laws were not, it seems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century ^b: which plainly shews that their *runæ*, or letters which were used by the *Franks*, and appear from some inscriptions to have been a coarse character, partly *Roman* and partly *Greek*, are not of so antient a date as some moderns have imagined, since *Venantius*, who lived in the sixth century, is the first author we know of that hath made any mention of them ^c.

BEFORE

^a EGINHARD in vit. Carol. Mag. c. 29. ^a Vide DU CHESNE rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 326. ^b See SCHÖTTEL. de antiq. Germ. jur. p. 254. PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 10. ^c De his vid. CELSIUS's letter to Mr. Vignoles, A. D. 1733. ap. Pelloutier, ubi sup. Relig. des Gaules, l. i. c. 4. BOUTEROUE traité des monnoies, p. 43, 62, & seq. MASCOV. KEIZLER. & al.

"a conjurer?" For it plainly appears, that the parliament of *Paris* had condemned *John Faustus* to be burnt for magic, and that he with great difficulty obtained his pardon, at the expence of discovering his new invention to the archbishop of *Paris* (1).

The invention of gunpowder and fire-arms is likewise universally allowed to be theirs, and found out by *Berthold Schwartz*, by the accidental explosion of some mixture of sulphur, nitre, &c. which took fire in a crucible or mortar. They have likewise made the greatest improvements and discoveries in chemistry and physical compositions of any nation in the world, tho' it somewhat lessens the merit of it, that most of these discoveries were owing to their various searches

after the philosopher's stone, which hath likewise helped them to a much greater skill in metals, and their manufactures than any other nation can boast. To this we shall only add, their invention and various improvements in clock-work, especially astronomical, of which no country abounds with a greater number and variety, some of which are so curious and elaborate, that a man may read astronomy in them without looking up to the skies; among which, we may reckon that celebrated one of *Strasbourg*, which is a masterpiece in that kind, and never yet outdone or matched by any other nation, except perhaps by our lately invented orreries. That clock, however, which was invented by the famed mathematician *Con-*

(1) Vide Pellisson. ap. cund.

BEFORE we finish this section, it will not be amiss to say *Genius* something concerning the character and genius of the antient and *cha-*
Germans, which was pretty near the same through all that large *racier*.
country. They are generally described to us by *Greek* and
Roman authors as resembling one another, and differing from
other nations by the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, *Robustness*.
blue eyes, and yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening
looks, strong constitutions, and proof against hunger, cold,
and all kinds of hardship^d (T).

THEIR native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their mar-*Valour*
tial genius, and in their singular fidelity. The former of these *and fide-*
they did indeed carry to such an excess, as came little short of *lity*.
downright ferocity; but, as to the latter, they not only valued
themselves highly upon it, but were greatly esteemed by other
nations for it; inasmuch that *Augustus*, and several of his suc-

^d TACIT. Germ. c. 4, & 30. HORAT. epod. xvi. v. 7. JUVENAL.
satir. xiii. AUSON. idyl. vii. Comment. l. i. c. 39. APOL. l. viii.
c. 9, & al.

rard Dasygod, besides the regular
courses of the heavenly bodies
exhibits many other curious mo-
tions, which the reader may see
a fuller account in the travels of
Coriat.

(T) Nothing could be more
conducive to their bodily strength
than their coarse diet, their living
in huts rather than houses, their
constant and strenuous exercises,
and inuring themselves betimes
to all kinds of fatigue; to which
Tacitus joins another thing,
which is not, perhaps, quite so
authentic, *viz* their drinking of
strong liquors made of barley or
wheat (2), and which they did
in large quantities. *Cæsar* adds,
that their animal spirits not being
exhausted in their youth by
study, learning, or any trouble-
some occupations, nor enervated
by early amours and gallantry,
their bodies were more apt to
grow large and robust (3). *Pliny*

attributes much of this to the
temperateness of their climate (4).
But though it be true, that the
perspiration is not so copious in
such cold countries, yet it may
be much doubted whether this
doth so much contribute to the
growth and strength of their in-
habitants: on the contrary, ex-
perience shews, that there are
very small people in some of the
coldest climates, as in *Lapland*;
and very gigantic ones in some
of the warmest, as among some
of the *Ethiopians*, as the same
author justly observes. What
may have farther contributed to
the strength and stature of the
Germans, was, their never or
rarely intermarrying with other
nations, or adopting any of
their soft customs; by which
means, they transmitted these
qualities to their children, pure
and uncorrupted (5).

(2) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 23.

l. ii. c. 78.

(3) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 4.

(4) Nat. Hist.
Corp. Germ. causis Masceov. Ledward Germ l. ii. c. 32.

(5) Comment l. iv. c. 1.

(6) Nat. Hist.

cessors, committed the guard of their persons to them, and almost all other nations either courted their friendship and alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries: though it must be owned, at the same time, that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppression, have often hurried them to treachery and murder, especially when they have thought themselves ill used by those who hired them: for, in all such cases, they were easily stirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other cases, *Tacitus* tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading those from whom they received no injury; rather choosing to employ their strength and valour defensively, than offensively; to preserve their own, than to ravage their neighbours^e.

*Tacitus's
high cha-
racter of
them.*

*Their
friendship
and singu-
lar hospi-
tality.* THEIR friendship and intercourse was rather a compound of honest bluntness and hospitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry. All strangers were sure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmost of their ability; even those who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a piece of duty to introduce them to those who could; and nothing was looked upon as more scandalous and detestable, than to refuse them either the one, or the other^f. They do not seem, indeed, to have had a taste for grand and elegant entertainments; they affected in every thing, in their houses, furniture, diet, &c. rather plainness and simplicity, than sumptuousness and luxury.

*Learn the
use of mo-
ney from
the Ro-
mans* If they learned of the *Romans* and *Gauls* the use of money, it was rather because they found it more convenient than their antient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they preferred those antient coins which had been stamped during the times of the *Roman* liberty, especially such as were either milled or cut in the rims, because they could not be so easily cheated in them, as in some others, which were frequently nothing but copper, or iron, plated over with silver. This last metal they likewise preferred before gold, not because it made a greater shew, but because it was more convenient for buying and selling^g. And as they became, in time, more feared by, or more useful to the *Romans*, so they learned how to draw enough of it from them to supply their whole country, besides what flowed to them from other nations.

Marriages As they despised superfluities in other cases, so they did also in the connubial way. every man was contented with one wife; except some few of their nobles, who allowed themselves a plurality, more for shew than pleasure^h, and both were so faithful to each other, and chaste, true, and disinterested, in

^e *TACIT.* Germ. c. 35.

^f *Ibid.* c. 2.

^g *Idem* *ibid.* c. 5.

^h *Idem* *ibid.* c. 18.

their conjugal affections, that *Tacitus* prefers their manners, in this respect, to those of the *Romans*. The men sought not dowries from their wives, but bestowed them upon them¹. Their youth, in those cold climes, did not begin so soon to feel the warmth of love, as they do in hotter ones; and it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and those were most esteemed, who continued longest in celibacy; because they looked upon it as an effectual means to make them grow tall and strong: and to marry, or be concerned with a woman, before they were full twenty-years old, was accounted shameful wantonness^k (U). The women shared with their husbands *The wives* not only the care of their family, and the education of their *officious du-* children, but even the hardships of war. They attended them *ty to their* in the field, cooked their victuals for them, dressed their wounds, *husbands.* stirred them up to fight manfully against their enemies, and sometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being snatched from them. In a word, they looked upon such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, like the *Roman* dames, but as a duty, and an honour (W). But what appears to have been still an

¹ TACIT. c. 20.

CÆS. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(U) They have been, indeed, unjustly taxed with permitting a promiscuous and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their sisters, and the like; but the only thing that seems to have given a colour to this pretended incestuous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and the whole family lying promiscuously in the straw, and stark naked: which custom, though shocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to restrain such unnatural commerce, than to give birth to it. But tho' they lay thus together in the same hut, yet we can scarcely doubt but nature taught them to observe some decency; and that the husband and wife lay in some corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient

distance from each other. We may add, that such a brutish intermixture is quite opposite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaste and unmarried, till after twenty; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are so justly admired.

(W) We find, in most parts of *Germany*, especially where vassalage is still in use, some notable relics of this ancient female submission; we have even lately seen some remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, shocking instances of it here, in those *Palatinis* and *Saltsburghers* whom persecution and distress drove rather for shelter; young, hale, and lusty fellows, sauntering along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a staff under their arm, whilst their obsequious wives trudged and sweated after them, under a load of their cloaths,

in harder life upon the ancient German nations, that great Odinn excluded all those from his *valhalla*, or paradise, who did not, by some violent death, follow their deceased husbands thither. We shall have occasion to speak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an observation, that, notwithstanding their having been antiently in such high repute for their wisdom, and supposed spirit of prophecy, and their continuing such faithful and tender helpmates to their husbands, yet they sunk, in time, so low in their esteem, that, according to the old Saxon law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he should have done, if he had hurt or killed a man ^l.

Their funerals.

Valuable things flung into the funeral pile.

THERE is scarcely any one thing in which the *Germans*, though so nearly allied in most of their other customs to the *Gauls*, were yet more opposite to them than in their funerals. We have shewn, in the last chapter, with what pomp and profusion the latter performed theirs: those of the former were done with the same plainness and simplicity which they observed in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with some peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral-pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man's armour, that is, his sword, shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding-horse ^m. The *Danes*, indeed, flung into the funeral-pile of a prince, gold, silver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guise, round the fire, exhorted the by-standers to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceased ⁿ. They afterwards deposited their ashes in urns, like the *Gauls*, *Romans*, and other nations; as it plainly appears, from the vast numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the sundry differ-

^l Specul. Sax. l i^c 45. ^m Vide KEYZIER de mulier. satidic. c. 2 ⁿ SAXO-GRAM. l viii. KEYZLER. ant. sept. p. 115.

cloaths, and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms.

We have ourselves taken upon us to reprove their husbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it; but have been gravely answered, by their passive dames, that it was the passion of their country, and that it would cast a much greater disgrace on their good men to

help them off with any share of the burden. And what appeared still more surprising was, when these poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refresh them, they have desired it might be given to their husbands, for that themselves could drink water: so great is the force of education and custom.

notions which have been written upon them by several learned authors of that nation, a list and account of which the reader may see in the author last quoted *. One thing we may observe, in general, that, whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in consequence of those excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life P.

It is impossible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the antient writers have given us any account of it, to guess how soon this belief of their great *Odin*, and his paradise, was received among them. It may, for ought we know, have been older than the times of *Tacitus*, and he have known nothing of it, by reason of their scrupulous care of concealing their religion from strangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to posterity by songs and poems, and most of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from those very poems which were still preserved among them; we may rightly enough suppose, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly professed by the generality of the nation, especially since we find their antient practice so exactly conformable to it. Thus, since the surest road to this paradise was to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and since none were excluded from it but base cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the signal and excessive bravery of the *Germans* flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were so brave and faithful, as not only to share with their husbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to any thing else but a strong persuasion of their being admitted to live with them in that place of bliss. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old *Celts*, or afterwards taught them by the since deified *Odin*, seems, from their general practice, to have been universally received by all the *Germans*, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X).

W E

* P. 109, & seq. P. Vid. DIOD. SICUL. hist. l. v. AM. MARCEL. l. xv. CÆS. COMM. l. vi. c. 14. STRAB. MEL. & al.

(X) In general, they seem to have had a twofold notion of this future state, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, *ragna rockur*, or the crepuscule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the consummation

Unnatural
customs
flowing
from that
notion.

We shall close this section with observing, that the notion of a future happiness obtained by martial exploits, especially by dying sword in hand, made them bewail the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way of sending them into the other world, willing or not willing.

And

mation of all things by a general conflagration (6). So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliss and misery, till the destruction of the world; and another; which was to follow it presently after, when a new sun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endless happiness for the good, and another of endless misery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the Christians, did it not appear, from *Seneca*, to have been the doctrine of the stoics; unless we should suppose that author had it rather from some of the apostles (7), or their disciples, than from his own sect. It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occasion to shew at the beginning of this work; but *Seneca*, in the place last quoted, speaks of it in such a manner, as makes one believe he had conversed with some Christians, or, at least, some Jewish rabbies, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the stoics, till then, knew nothing of. However that be, some of the circumstances, which the old Germans believed would attend this general conflagration,

seem to us to have been taken from the apocalypse, and adapted to their own antient notions and taste: we shall give our readers one or two instances of it, they being scarcely worth mentioning any-where else.

Thus they tell you, among other things, the old earth being thus destroyed, a new one is to start up out of the sea, which will produce all things necessary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females, which escape the general destruction, are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful offspring: that on the south side of heaven there is a court vastly brighter than the sun itself, and which will be proof against the flames which are to destroy the rest of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preserved for that new and endless life: that the general destruction is to be preceded by the most severe seasons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, &c. after which, two monstrous wolves are to be let loose, who shall devour sun, moon, and stars: that the rainbow, by which the souls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down: that some of the *asæ*, or deified heroes, shall begin an unsuccessful war, and *Odin* himself be devoured

(6) *Edda mysticæ*. 30, & 42. *Ævird. Scalaspiler. & al. ap. Keyzler, ubi supra*, p. 119, & 120. (7) *Conf. 2 Petr. c. iii. v. 7, & seq. Senec. quæst. nat. l. iii. & consolat. ad Marcian. Cæd. retractat. l. ii.*

And this custom lasted several ages after their receiving Christianity, especially among the *Prussians* and *Venedi*; the former of whom, it seems, dispatched, by a quick death, not only their children, the sick, servants, &c. but even their parents, and sometimes themselves⁹: and among the latter we have instances of this horrid parricide being practised even in the beginning of the 14th century^r. All that need be added is, that, if those persons, thus supposed to have lived long enough, either desired to be put to death, or, at least, seemed chearfully to submit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded with a fast, and their funeral with a feast; but if they endeavoured to shun it, as it sometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepest mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance, and being admitted into bliss; in the latter they bewailed their cowardly excluding themselves from it. Much the same thing was done towards those wives, who betrayed a backwardness to follow their dead husbands.

WE must likewise observe, that, in these funerals, as well as in all their other feasts, they were famed for drinking to Excessive excess; and one may say of them above all the other descendants of the ancient *Celts*, that their hospitality, banquets, &c. consisted much more in the quantity of strong liquors, than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and strong mead, which were their natural drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, strength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they made no scruple to indulge themselves to the utmost in them, not only in their feasts, and especially before an engagement, but even in their common meals (Y).

⁹ See CHRISTOPH HARTKNOCH. *antiq. Pruss. dissert.* xiii.
^r MARESCAIE *annal. Herul. & Vandal.* l. ii. c. 8. KRANZ.
Vandal. l. vii. KEYZLER. *ubi supra*, p. 147, & seq.

by one of the wolves; after which, the universe is to be set on fire: that there is another court, as dismal as the other is glorious, whose gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venomous serpents, whose heads are all turned towards the inside of it, and cast continual streams of deadly poison, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade: and much more to the like purpose.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that they could bear neither heat nor thirst; and that they thought it no disgrace to spend whole days and nights in quaffing (8); so that though they were in no case more invincible than in this, yet, if you plied them with enough of it, you could not fail of overcoming them (9). As for wine, though they at first betrayed an

(8) *German.* c. 4, & 22.

(9) *Ibid.* c. 2. *Vid. & Julian. mēscop* p. 352
E 2 excessive

excessive fondness for it, yet they quickly found by experience, that it only tended to enervate and emasculate the men, and obstructed the fecundity of the women; for which reason some of them, especially the *Suevi*, forbade the importation of it (1). And it is thought, to this day, that the degeneracy of the modern *Germans*, in this respect, as well as that of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and other nations, is, in a great measure, owing to their exchanging their old natural liquors for the foreign juice of the grape (2).

(1) *Cæsar. comment. l. iv. c. 2.*

(2) *Keyser. ubi supra, c. 6. § 6.*

SECTION. III.

The History of the antient Germans.

The antient history of the WE have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most antient historians, both *Greek* and *Roman*, have so injudiciously confounded the whole *German* nation under *Germans*, the names of *Scythians* and *Celts*, and that *Tacitus* himself, who had conversed so much among them, is, in some cases, so manifestly fabulous, and, in many others, so obscure and *dark and uncertain*. inconsistent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected, either with relation to their origin, or antient history, except we can strike out some light from better hands, and from such concurring circumstances as may add weight to their testimony.

THIS, we hope, we have done, in some measure, with relation to the first of these two points; but it is much more difficult to adjust the latter to any satisfaction, considering what a vast number of nations are comprehended in the general name of *Germans*, their constant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite swallowed up in the other; especially considering that they had no written records, and that both *Romans* and *Greeks* had but a very confused, if any, knowledge of them, till the *Romans* did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more easy way to it (A). Upon these accounts,

(A) It is plain, that, before the *Romans* came over the *Alps*, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the *Gauls*, and called both nations by that name. The general one of *Germans* does not, indeed, appear to have been of so early date as some have

thought it, as we have shewn at the beginning of this chapter; so that each nation being distinguished by their peculiar names, unknown then to the *Romans*, it was natural for these to include them all under the name of *Celts*, *Gauls*, and *Galatæ*, as they were so nearly allied in their

counts, we must be contented to set down the epocha between the coming and settling of the former in the several parts of Germany, and the invasion of the latter, for as dark and impenetrable as their famed *Hercynian* forest; except what we have been able to gather from those authors concerning their names, situation, and some few other particulars, which we have already, or shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this section.

WHAT occasioned the *Romans* breaking in upon Germany, *The* Romans as they did upon all other nations they could come at, we have many already seen, in the course of the *Roman* history^a. The *Germans* breaking were then so far from being formed into one single community, into Germany that they were divided into a vast number of small kingdoms many, and commonwealths. They might, indeed, look upon themselves, in general, as a nation descended originally from the same stock, and so have some laws in common to them all, either for the supporting of each other against foreign invaders, or for the preservation of a due balance amongst their vast variety of commonwealths; but, in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and interest. They were all of them bred up in an excessive love of liberty,

^a See vol. xii. p. 228, & seq.

their origin, religion, customs, &c.

There is, indeed, one passage, in the *fasti Capitolini* (1), in which mention is made of that great victory so much extolled by *Virgil*, and other writers (2), which *Marcellus* gained over *Viridomarus*, and his *Gauls*, who are here joined with the *Insulæ* and *Germans*, and which, if this last name be not corrupted by the transcriber, will plainly shew it to have been longer in use than we suppose it. But a late writer hath made it very probable, at least, both from the similitude of the names, and other concurring circumstances, that *Germani* is here transcribed, instead

of *Cenomani* (3); for these were not only next neighbours to the *Insulæ*, and concerned with them in the same war against the *Romans*, but were defeated with them, not long after, by *Cæsar*, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the same time (4).

This *Viridomarus* is, by some styled a king, and by others a general, of the *Gauls* (5); and his invasion threw the *Romans* into such a consternation, that, to avert the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of superstition we have mentioned in two former volumes of this work (6).

(1) *Sæb. an. U. C.* 531.

(2) *Æneid.* vi. v. 855, & seq.

(3) *Marcell.*

Germ. l. i. c. 4.

(4) *Fast. Capitol. sub an. U. C.* 556.

(5) *Plutarch in*

Marcell. Polyb. l. ii. Flor. l. v. c. 4, & al.

(6) See before, vol. xii. p. 222

vol. xv. p. 146, (1).

and hatred to all kinds of invasion; and could not, but with
Grow jealous jealousy and resentment, behold the daily encroachments which
of the the Romans continually made on all their neighbours, or, con-
 Romans. sequently, without uniting themselves more closely against them,
 and assisting those of their neighbours, who were likely to fall
 thy next sacrifice to their ambition; as we have seen they did,
 with respect to the *Gauls*, *Helvetii*, and other neighbouring
 states. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in
 their total reduction; for the politic *Romans* soon took the ad-
 vantage of their being divided into so many different republics;
 and by fomenting jealousies among some of them, bribing and
 corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against
 the rest, they found means to subdue them gradually, and by
 piece-meal: so that one state after the other fell a prey to their
 conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a
Roman province. This part, therefore, of their history, is not
 to be looked upon as a general one of a whole nation, but as
 a separate one of such a number of different states subdued one
 after the other, and in a great measure independently one on
 the other, till we come to that period of time the *Franks* brought
 and united all the other *Germans*, who remained in those coun-
 tries, together with many other *Roman* provinces, under their
 dominion. For this reason, and because a full and particular
 account has been given of all these conquests in former parts of
 this work, we shall, to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, content
 ourselves with giving a chronological summary of the reduction
 of each of these nations, till we come to the grand epocha of
 the *Franks* above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the
 volume and page where each of them is more fully and severally
The design mentioned. For the *Roman* history being not only the most
of this sec- considerable one in this whole work, in all respects, but being,
tion. as it were, the basis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations
 they subdued principally turns, we thought it would render it
 more complete, useful, and instructive, to give them all in
 one view, or series, in that part of it, than if we had detached
 them from the main body, and branched them out into so many
 distinct parts of history; which could hardly have been done
 without either great confusion, or endless repetitions. From the
 conquest of *Germany* by the *Romans*, our next point in view
 will be, to shew by what means they regained their liberty,
 and made such ample reprisals upon their conquerors under the
Franks; and as the defection of these gave rise to the *German*
 empire, which will make a considerable part in our modern
 history, we shall, to avoid confusion, give the history of all
 those several nations, and of those kingdoms which they erected
 in other countries, in their several transmigrations, each in a
 distinct chapter, and confine ourselves, in the latter part of this,

to mentioning the most considerable of those other countries which have been since conquered and possessed by the *Germans* who now inhabit the empire, at least as far as will be necessary to open the way to the modern history of it, which began at the emperor *Charlemagne*.

BUT, before we come to the *Roman* invasion, it will be necessary to mention some transactions, relating to the ancient *Germans*, which are previous to it, and have yet been touched upon; the first of which is, the *Gaulish* irruption into their territories, under the conduct of *Segovesus*, whilst his brother *Bellovesus* made the like over the *Alps*. These two valiant princes were sons to the sister of *Ambigatus*, a king of the *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, about the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*. That monarch, finding his subjects increased too fast for the extent of his territories, resolved to send two large colonies out of it, to settle somewhere else, under the conduct of his two nephews. These being directed, as the *Gaulish* manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former of them was directed over the *Rhine*, and settled in the *Heremian* forest^b, whilst the other went and penetrated into *Italy*, as we have seen in a former volume^c (B). Whether the *Germans* had any hand in this latter expedition, does not clearly appear, for the reasons mentioned in the last note. Only if the regions lying at the foot of the *Apennine* hills were at that time inhabited^d *Germans*, or semi *Germans*, as *Livy* calls them^e, there is no question to be made but they might be hurried, by those *Gaulish* swarms, to follow them in those excursions, and share in those devastations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it does not appear, that the rest of the *German* nation were at all concerned in them, since *Tacitus* gives them this peculiar character, that they rather

^b Liv. decad. l. v. c. 34.

^c See vol. xviii. p. 640.

^d Decad l. xxi. c. 28.

(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their settlement in *Germany*, unless we suppose, that it is of them which *Julius Cæsar* speaks, when he informs us of a *Gaulish* nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of *Germany*, along the *Heremian* forest, and all the most fertile parts of that country between the *Rhine* and that famed wood, and had

intirely conformed themselves to the customs and manners of that country (7). *Tacitus*, likewise, by placing the *Bou* and *Helvetij* much about the very same spot of ground, and making them both to be descended from the *Gauls* (8), does, in all probability, mean the very same nation and colony with *Cæsar* and *Livy*.

(7) *Comment. l. vi. c. 24.*

(8) *German. c. 28.*

Antient studied how to preserve their own, than how to invade the ter-
Germans ritories of others^e; and, it is most likely, that they did not
not fond of begin to act offensively against the *Romans*, at least, till they
conquest, were alarmed at the greatness of their power, and the daily
till grown encroachments they made round about them. Swarms of
jealous of colonies they must be supposed to have sent abroad, to prevent
the Ro- the want of room, as they multiplied so fast; but there was
mans. so much of that to spare towards the north parts of *Europe*,
 and so little on the south parts, where they were, moreover,
 sure to meet with a stout opposition, that they poured most of
 them towards the other way, at least till the *Gauls* did, in some
 measure, oblige them to make reprisals upon them.

Belge set THE first of these we meet with, and which, in all appearance,
tle in Bel is of much later date than that of *Scorvius* into *Germany*, is
gic Gaul that of the *Belgæ*, one of the fiercest, and most warlike nations
 of *Germany*; who, having passed the *Rhine*, and driven the
Gauls out of a canton of it, seated themselves so firmly in it,
 that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed,
 nor any other nation, could ever drive them out of it. *Cæsar*
 adds, that they were not a little proud of this their settlement,
 and that they assumed an high hand over all their neighbours^f;
 and we have elsewhere observed, that they were, probably,
Whence so called *Belgæ*, upon that account, that word, in the old *Teutonic*,
called. signifying fierce and quarrelsome^g (C). They afterwards
 peopled the coasts of *Britain*, drove the natives into the
 inland parts, and waged continual wars with the *Germans*^h.
 We have already given an account of these *Belgæ*, of their
 origin, wars with the *Romans*, and reduction to their yoke, in
 a former volume, to which we refer our readersⁱ. From this
 irruption of the *Belgæ* into *Gaul*, which is the first the *German*
 nation made upon them, at least that we read of, these two
 nations continued in a kind of alternate state of hostility and
 friendship, as occasion served; sometimes invading each other's
 territories, at other times assisting each other against the *Romans*,
 as we have had frequent occasion to hint in the last chapter,

^e Germ c 35 ^f Comment l ii c 4. ^g See vol xviii.
 p 528, (A). ^h Comment l i c. i. ⁱ See vol. xiii p 163,
 & seq & (H) p. 177, & seq.

(C) This is the same character which *Cæsar* gives them, who attributes this roughness of theirs to their living at a distance from the more civilized provinces of *Gaul*, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them such commodities as serve to effeminate mankind (9).

and shall again in this: but it is time that we should speak of those wars which the several *German* nations waged against the *Romans*, and the defeats they received from them, and by which they were subdued by them, in the succinct method and order of time, as we have promised.

THE first we read of, who ventured to invade the *Roman* ^{Cimbri} territories, were the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*: we have already ^{invade} spoken of their antient settlement, the former in the *Cimbria* Italy. *Cherfonesus*, and the latter on the coasts and isles of the *Baltic* ^k; but, whether for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer clime, both these (D) marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, penetrated into *Italy*, defeated the *Romans* in several pitched battles^l, and threw all *Italy* into the greatest consternation^m. In the first of these actions they vanquished the famed consul, *Papyrius Carbo*; in another, *M. Junius Silanus*, another consul, who was soon after called to a severe account for it; in the third, *L. Cassius*; and, in a fourth, the brave *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, whom they took prisoner, and

^k See before, p. 6, & alib.
xiii. p. 12, & seq.

^l Vol xii p 452, & seq. vol.
^m Vol. xiii. p. 14, & seq.

(D) It does not, indeed appear, that these two nations began their first excursions jointly, or at the same time; much less, that they all abandoned their territories; for they left a far greater number behind; but only that some of the most valiant of each resolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely, that, upon the sight of the vigorous opposition they were likely to meet with from the consular armies, and under such experienced generals, the *Cimbri* invited the *Teutones*, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did some others, both *Germans* and *Gauls*, through whose territories they passed; particularly the *Tigurini* and *Ambrones*, who are mention-

ed in the same invasion (1). They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account does not appear; but, instead of pursuing their *Italic* invasion towards the *Pyrenees*, being there repulsed by the *Celtiberi*, they rejoined the *Teutones* again, and made a dismal havoc in *Gaul*, which was then in no condition to withstand them. They moved, at length, towards *Italy*, by several routes, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition to them all, particularly to the *Teutones*, who, after having insulted the *Roman* army with the most biting taunts (2), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the same victorious consul (3).

(1) See vol. xii p. 452. vol. xiii. p. 10, & seq.
(2) *Plut.* in *Mario*.

(3) Vol. xiii p. 13,

put to death, by order of their king *Belos* (E), for speaking too boldly in praise of the *Romans*: but, after several other successes in *Italy*, they were totally defeated and destroyed by the policy of the consul *Marius*ⁿ. For this general took care to post himself so advantageously on the day of battle, that the *Cimbri* had not only his army, but the sun, wind, and dust, to combat with, and were the more easily overthrown by that subtle stratagem (F). How greatly the *Romans* esteemed this victory, may be seen by the triumph, and other singular honours, which they decreed both to *Marius*, and to *Catulus*, as well as by the monuments which these caused to be reared in memory of it^o (G). Those *Cimbri* who escaped this dreadful slaughter, did,

ⁿ Vol. xii. p. 18, & seq.
& vol. xiii. p. 18, & seq.

^o See PLUTARCH. ubi supra,

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the same whom *Plutarch* calls *Boiorix* king of the *Gauls* (4), but *Livy*, *Belos* king of the *Cimbri* (5). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave *Scaurus*, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occasion of it (6); and there we followed the former of these authors, though, most likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the *Greeks* and *Romans* were to confound the *Gauls* and *Germans*; the *Cimbri* were, doubtless, antient *Celts*, as their name imports, with respect to their origin; but *Gauls* they could not be, since they inhabited the most northern part of *Germany*.

(F) This circumstance we are beholden to *Plutarch* for (7), and need the less question it, seeing that author had it out of *Sylla's* memoirs, who was himself in *Marius's* army, and had written a description of this victory, besides *Catulus*, who like-

wise left an account of his consulship; and, perhaps, some other helps he might have had besides. The description which he and some others (8) give us of the order of battle of the *Cimbrians*, their accoutrements, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the last, plainly shews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted some parts of the *Roman* discipline and policy to have made them, in all points, superior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themselves, and their children, to a dishonourable captivity (9): and *Sneca* adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which these heroines had lost their lives for.

(G) Among these was the famed temple of *Virtue*, built by

(4) *Plutarch*, ubi supra.

(5) *Epit.* lxxvii.

(6) Vol. xii. p. 139.

(7) In *Mario*.

(8) *Valer. Max.* l. ii. c. 6. Vide & *Aristot.* de sententiis, mort. op. *Danov*.

(9) *Plutarch*, ubi supra. See also vol. xiii. p. 18.

did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are said to have sent afterwards a submissive embassy to *Augustus*^p; and are likewise mentioned, by authors of later date, as the most warlike of all the northern *Germans*^q, down to *Claudian's* time, who calls the north sea by their name^r. But it is likely the *Saxons*, their neighbours, joining with them, in their excursions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the *Cimbrian* name was swallowed up in theirs^s.

THE next excursion we find recorded of the *Germans*, is *Arivistus* that which happened in *Julius Cæsar's* time, on occasion of the *settles* in jealousy, which it is justly supposed that politic conqueror fo- Gaul, and mented between the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, the then two most forms a potent nations in *Gaul*; the former of whom being in kingdom friendship with *Rome*, and the latter allied with the *Sequani*, these thought fit to call in the neighbouring *Germans* to their assistance. At first, only 15000 came over to them; but they became so enamoured with this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they sent for fresh supplies from over the *Rhine*, inasmuch that they amounted, at last, to 120000. The *Sequani*, by their assistance, soon subdued the *Ædui*, as we have formerly seen^t; but their victory cost them dear; for they were forced by *Arivistus*, the *Germans* king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to settle his troops in. He soon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a settlement for 40000 *Harudes*, who crossed over to him, and, at the same time, by his address, induced *Julius Cæsar*, then consul, Confirmed to allow him the title and honour of a king^u. But it proved a short-lived kingdom, and *Cæsar*, who only cared for his own ends, soon found a specious pretence to dispossess him of it. The vast numbers of *Germans* which *Arivistus* had brought into *Gaul*, and the success which their bravery had gained them, could not but raise the *Roman* jealousy, and alarm not only the *Sequani*, but the greatest part of the *Gauls*, who

P STRABO, l. vii. q TACIT. Germ. c. 37 PTOLEM. l. ii. c. 11 r Consul. Honor. p. 335 450. s See MASCOV. in fin. l. i. t See before, vol. xiii. p. 161. u DIO, l. xxxviii.

the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is said to have taken from them, and caused it to be preserved in his own house (1). What this bull was, has puzzled most antiquaries, because it is not mentioned by

any other author: some think, that the *Cimbrians* had it upon their standards, as the *Romans* had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock's head (2); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

(1) *Pliny, N. hist. l. viii. c. 41.*
c. 13, n. 1, & seq.

(2) *See M. or. & Leland. l. 1.*

thereupon applied to the consul with bitter complaints against the *German* devastations, and the danger they were in of being quickly swallowed up by them. *Cæsar* turned all this to his own advantage, and sent to desire an interview with the *German* prince, who found means to excuse himself from it, and to get six other nations, or cantons, to join with him, besides his own *Suevi* (H), and a fresh reinforcement of those which were hastening over to him; upon which, *Cæsar* made what speed he could towards him, to prevent their joining.

His inter- view with him. A CONFERENCE was at length agreed upon, in which *Cæsar* used some threats to him, and plainly told him, that the *Romans* would doubly resent his tyrannic use of their old friends the *Ardui*, after they had showed him so much regard, and bestowed such honours upon him; and therefore insisted, that he should restore their hostages to them, send back part of his *German* troops, and forbear all future hostilities. To all this imperious language, *Arminius*, in vain, pleaded the right of conquest, his being invited into *Gaul*, and his treaties with the *Sequani*, and even offered his services and friendship to *Cæsar* himself: the conference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the *Roman* policy got the advantage of the *German* bravery (1), gave them a total overthrow, and forced them

¶ *Cæs.* comment. l. i. c. 52, & seq.

(II) These were the *Manni*, *Harudes*, *Silures*, *Langobards*, &c. We have given an account of these *German* nations, at the beginning of this chapter. Besides these, the *Ardui* gave notice to *Cæsar*, that a fresh swarm of *Suevi* were got as far as the banks of the *Albi*, under the command of *Nervius* and *Cimberius*, two brothers, who were just on the point to cross over into *Gaul*, and join the *German* army (3).

(1) *Cæsar* played a double stratagem against them, the first, by animating his *Romans*, and *Gaulish* allies, with a pretence, that *Arminius* had been guilty of the blackest treachery against him (4); which notion, whether true or false, would not fail of

in dispersing them, and disheartening the *Germans*; the other, by ordering them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both *Gauls* and *Germans* carefully avoided, as ominous to them; and, accordingly, *Arminius* strove all he could to show it, till the *Romans* fell suddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he, and his men, did, with greater fury than discretion; and being once put into disorder, betook themselves to an hasty flight, in spite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and stopped not till they got safe over the *Rhine*.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account of these

(3) *Comment.* l. i. c. 39, & seq.

(4) *See* vol. III. p. 161, & seq. things

them over the *Rhine*, some by swimming, and others in boats, ^{Over-}and, among the rest, *Ariovistus* himself, who, by what may ^{there and} be guessed by a passage in *Cæsar*, did not long outlive his dis- ^{death.} grace^x. After this, the nations which fought under him di- ^{Settlement}spersed themselves, the *Marcomans* into *Boiohemum*, under the ^{of his}conduct of *Maroboduus*; the *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Langiones*, ^{allies.}staid in *Gaul*, or went over the *Rhine*, and submitted, with the *Ubii*, to the *Romans*; for we find them still seated along the banks of that river^y. As for those *Suevi* who were ^{as}embled on the same side, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the *Ubii*, who had been treated in an hostile manner by them^z. And thus ended this second expedition of the *Germans* into *Gaul*.

THE very next year the *Belgæ*, alarmed at the success of *Belgæ* the *Romans*, formed a great alliance with the *Celtes*, *Germans*, ^{allies to}and *Gauls*, in order to drive them further from their neighbour- ^{the Celtes}hood. *Cæsar*, according to custom, found means to sow such ^{accrue}divisions amongst them, that many of those allies submitted to him; only the *Nervi*, *Atrebat*, and *Veromandui*, stood firm against him, and, though defeated at length, yet yielded him ^{Cæsar.}

^x CÆS. comment. l. v. c. 25. See vol. viii. p. 161, & seq.
^y TACIT. Germ. c. 28. ^z Comment. l. i. c. 54.

things but what *Cæsar* has been pleased to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himself. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we should find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to discover such inconsistencies as seem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he says of the *Germans* at this action; to wit, that they formed themselves into such a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their shields so close over their heads, that the *Romans* were forced to leap upon them, and tear them asunder, and, sinking down be-

tween them, kill those who lurked under them, till they had opened a passage for their companions to come in upon them, (5).

But *Cæsar* was not the only *Roman* writer who betrays such fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which some of them give of the total overthrow of such a vast army as that of the brave *Cimbrians*, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loss of only 300 men on *Marius's* side (6), seems no less stretched beyond all probability, especially considering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occasion, and how much superior they had proved in all former actions. But, of this, see also the next note.

(5) Comment. *ibid.* c. 52.

(6) Vide Eutrop. & Flor. l. i. c. 14.

one of the 'dearest victories he had ever got^a: so that the whole The Belgæ Belgic nation was forced to submit to the Roman yoke^a. Comius, subdued, a faithful dependent upon Cæsar, was, by him, made king of the Atrebatæ, and soon gained a considerable authority over all that country^b. The Atuatii, about the same time, hearing of these swift conquests, came in one body to the succour of the Atrebatæ, and entertained no small contempt of the Romans, when they found them so far inferior in stature: they were, however, soon undeceived, to their cost, when, being briskly besieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the Atrebatæ, and unable to obtain better terms than to surrender at discretion, both their city, and all the garrison of it, to the number of 53000, were sold by the conqueror^c (K)

53000
Atuatii
sold for
slaves.

CÆSAR was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other German nations, to wit, the Tencteri, and Usipetes (L): these, having been forced out of their own territories by the Suevi, the fiercest and most warlike of all the northern Germans, and of whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter^d, had passed into Gaul, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the Ibiuones and Condrusi. Cæsar was then at Rome, to obstruct the cabals of Lucius Domitius against him; but was obliged to hasten into Gaul, to prevent their joining with that nation against the Romans. Upon his arrival, they sent an embassy to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming into that country,

^a Comment l. ii. pass. See vol. viii. p. 163, & seq. p. 177, & seq.

^b Comment l. iv. c. 21.

^c Ibid. c. 33, & seq.

^d See h. c. l. i. p. 356, & seq.

(K) Cæsar, in his account of this action, seems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (7) for he says, that they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had sheltered themselves in this capital, where those who escaped being killed in the siege, were all sold for slaves. But they are found, in process of time, to have made a powerful head against the Romans, as shews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got against those who fell under his hand.

When this capital was, he doth not tell us (L) Julius thinks it to have been Namur. If so, it is strange, that Cæsar, when he describes the strength of the place (8), should say nothing of the Marne, on which that place is situate, and which could not but add considerable strength to it.

(L) We have given an account of these two nations, and their country, in a former volume (9).

(7) Comment l. ii. c. 29. & seq. (M).

(8) Ibid. c. 4.

(9) Vol. xii. p. 168,

and to beg, that he would allow them settlements there, promising him, if he did, to serve him upon all occasions; otherwise, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. *Cæsar* not only refused to grant them their request, but fell *Tencteri* suddenly and furiously upon them, and made a terrible slaughter ^{an} *Ulpes* of them, together with their wives and children; and of those ^{es} *disfati-* who escaped, the greatest part perished, in endeavouring ^{ed} to cross the *Maese*; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the *Rhine*, and fled to the *Sicambri*, whose territories were sited between those two rivers. This, and the assistance which the *Ubi* about *Cologne* sent to beg of him against the threatening *Suevi*, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the *Rhine*, to the great surprize of all the *Ger-* *mans* (M), but especially of the *Suambri*, whose country he ^{A bridge built over} ravaged at an unmerciful rate, set fire to their houses, cut down ^{the Rhine.} their corn, and returned to the *Ubi*; while they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their forests, and exhorted the *Tencteri* and *Ulpes* to do the same.

THIS was the first time, in all likelihood, that the *Romans* set foot on the *German* territories, which became afterwards the scene of much bloodshed on both sides, both under that conqueror, and his successors, and which ended in the almost total conquest of this brave nation. The *Treviri* were the first who ^{The Tre-} gave an occasion to that general to invade their country, who ^{vir} does not appear to have had any intention, upon his first entering ^{king} *Germany*, to carry on a war against them, but only to keep ^{clear into} Germany them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come and attack them in their own territories (N). However

* Comment. l. iv. c. 1, & seq. See also vol. xiii. p. 163, & seq.
† Comment. ubi sup. a, c. 7, & seq.

(M) The *Ubi*, indeed, offered to waft him over in their boats, but the polite general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the *Romans* to build a bridge over that river, which, it seems, was the first attempt of that kind, being used before no boats in floats, and other slight and flat vessels. What increased their surprize, if his account can be credited, was, that he finished it in ten days, and set a strong guard on each

side of it. The reader may see this framed fabric described by himself (1)

(N) *Cæsar* had two other views, the one to shew the *German*s, by the example of the *Sicambri*, how dangerous it was to exasperate the *Romans*; and the other, by the timely assistance he gave the *Ubi*, against the *Suevi*, though for his own ends, to induce them to set an high value upon *Roman* friendship.

(1) Comment. l. iv. c. 17.

that

Labienus's
cess against
them.

Germans
endeavour to
recover
their li-
berty.

that be, the *Treviri*, grown jealous of the *Romans*, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh stirred up a general revolt in *Gaul*, which had groaned some time under the *Roman* yoke. This obliged *Cæsar* to send *Labienus* against them, whilst he went to the assistance of *Cicero*, who was, in some measure, besieged by the *Nervii*. We have given already a full account of all these transactions, in two former volumes; for which reason, we shall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted below, to avoid needless repetitions &c.

For the same reason we shall content ourselves with just recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the desperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, upon all proper occasions, against several *Roman* emperors, and during several centuries, till they had accomplished their end, and subdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to those parts of the *Roman* history, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extensive nature (P).

See vol. xiii. p. 164, & seq. 166, & seq. 170, & seq. 175, & seq. 511, & seq. 516, & seq. 527, & seq. 533, & seq. vol. xiv. p. 12, & seq.

(O) The *Treviri* had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the *Germans* (2); and, having since passed the *Rhine*, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the *Rhemi*. They had, a little before, shaken off the *Roman* yoke, and were even reported to have invited other *Germans* to come and assist them, and the *Gauls*, in defence of their liberty (3); which occasioned their being defeated by *Labienus*, as has been elsewhere hinted (4).

(P) It is not, indeed, to be supposed, that their insuperable love of liberty could suffer them to be longer patient under the *Roman* yoke, than till an opportunity offered itself for shaking it off; and this, in spite of the

Roman caresses, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, considering the continual distractions of that unwieldy empire. neither could the ill success, which too often attended these attempts, discourage them from fresh ones: so that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to particularize them all here again; especially considering that they were, in process of time, divided into many distinct nations, and appear, in history, under several names; such as those of *Franks*, *Almans*, *Gepids*, *Burgundians*, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other considerable northern nations, such as the *Huns*, *Goths*, *Swèves*, *Dacians*, *Lombards*, &c. we shall give a full history in the subsequent chapters.

(2) Tacit. Germ. c. 23.

(3) Comment. l. v. c. 2.

(4) See v. l. xiii. p. 177.

WITH relation to the *Germans* in general, the most considerable transactions which remain to be taken notice of, are ^{Revolts against Augustus} those which follow, and which having been already spoken of ^{in the course of this work}, we shall here only recapitulate and refer our readers to the places quoted below. In *Augustus's* reign, who, as we formerly took notice, had issued out some edicts against the inhuman superstitions of the druids^h, which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the *Germans* took that opportunity to pass the *Rhine*, and to ravage those countries which were subject to him. Against them *Agrippa* was sent, whose arrival so intimidated them, that they quickly repassed that riverⁱ. But whilst he was gone into *Spain*, they repassed it, and defeated a body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards the *Gaulic* proconsul *M. Lollius*, from whom they carried off a standard: but he soon recovered his honour, and drove them back again^k, with considerable loss. All this while the *Gauls* were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he sent *Drusus* thither to quell them, which he had no sooner done^l, but he passed the *Rhine*, drove all before him, and penetrated almost to the *German* ocean^m.

and suppressed by *Agrippa*. *Lollius* defeated by them.

THE famed revolt which happened among the *Roman* legions left in *Pannonia*, and which was happily quelled in part by *Drusus*, and afterwards wholly by *Germanicus*ⁿ, gave occasion for a fresh invasion, which the last mentioned general carried on with great success, and much greater havock and slaughter of the *Germans* for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe *Tacitus*, without the loss, or even the wounding of one single *Roman*^o. This action, which may be more properly called a massacre than a conquest (Q), alarmed some other *German* na-

^h See vol. xviii. p. 563. ⁱ See vol. xiii. p. 511, & seq. ^k Ibid. p. 516. ^l See vol. xviii. p. 658. & vol. xiii. p. 520. ^m Ibid. & seq. ⁿ Vol. xiv. p. 15, & seq. ^o Annal. l. i. c. 49, & seq.

(Q) That general was, it seems, informed, that the *Germans* were then celebrating some great festival; and as he knew it was their custom to drink very hard, and to carouse all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or fast asleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, crossed the *Cæsian* forest all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew any thing of his coming, or were recovered from their debauch. The confusion

that reigned among them upon such a surprize, made them become an easy prey to him; and he failed not to make the best advantage of it, permitting his troops to put all to fire and sword, sparing neither age nor sex, nor even their most sacred groves; witness that famed one of *Tanfana*, of which we have had occasion to speak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and leveled to the ground (5).

(5) See *Tacitus's* ann. l. i. c. 50, & seq. & vol. xiv. p. 86, & seq. & not. (P) & (Q).
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tions against them; but these, likewise, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have seen in the *Roman* history ^{p.}. The *Roman* general had soon after a fairer field offered to him, on occasion of the rupture between the two *German* chiefs, *Arminius* and *Segestes*, the former a sworn enemy to the *Romans*, the latter a firm friend to them. What advantage *Germanicus* made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the *Germans* received several defeats, and *Arminius* himself, after some advantages gained over them, was totally routed ^a. All that we shall add concerning this war is, that though it cost the *Roman* general very dear ^b, yet he had received such reinforcements of men and arms from *Gaul* and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all *Germany*; but his success raised the jealousy of *Tiberius*, and occasioned his being recalled ^c.

THEIR other most considerable wars with the *Romans* the reader will find in the places quoted below ^d, in the reign of *M. Aurelius* ^e, and afterwards under the following emperors, which we shall but just mention here, and refer to the places where they are spoken of in former volumes, to wit, against *Alexander* and *Maximus* ^f, against *Valerian* ^g and *Aurelian* ^h, *Probus* ⁱ, *Constantius* ^j, *Julian* ^k *Valentinian*, and some of his successors ^l: but these, and the sequel of their history, will be best seen in some of the subsequent chapters, where we shall speak of them under the names of *Alemans*, *Gepidae*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Heruli*, *Burgundi*, &c. by which they were distinguished, and better known, by that time ^d.

Decay of
the West-
ern em-
pire.
Northern
invasion.

A.C. 900.

ALL therefore that needs to be added in this chapter, and that only by way of connexion, and introduction to the modern history of *Germany* is, that these frequent and successful inundations of those fierce and warlike northern nations happened about the time of the declension of the Western empire, when it had been not only much weakened by the division of it made by *Constantine the Great*, and afterwards by *Theodosius*, but most parts of it torn by intestine broils and wars, especially the provinces of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, which proved no small encouragement to these *Barbarians* to invade and ravage them at the bloody rate they did, and without any resistance. In the first of these provinces it was that *Odoacer* king of the *Heruli* made so successful an expedition, that *Augustulus* then on the throne, not being in a condition to make head against him, was forced to yield the empire to him, which put an end to that dignity in the west,

^p Vol. xiv. p. 65, & seq. ^q Ibid. p. 85, & seq. 93, & seq. ^r Ib. 102, & seq. ^s Ibid. 109--118. ^t See vol. xv. p. 13. ^u Vol. xv. p. 217, & seq. ^v Ibid. p. 369. 384. ^w Ib. p. 423. ^x Ib. p. 450, 451. ^y Ib. p. 473, & seq. ^z Vol. xvi. p. 183. ^a Ib. p. 201, & seq. ^b Ib. p. 298, & seq. vol. vi. p. 1, & seq. ^c About whom see hereafter ch. 28. pass.

as we have formerly hinted, and shall more fully shew in a subsequent chapter.

THE *Heruli* reigned not long in *Italy* before they were driven out of it by the *Ostrogoths*, and these were at length expelled by *Justinian*; so that the province became again a part of the Eastern empire. But it was already become so weak everywhere, but more especially in *Italy* during the exarchate of *Ravenna*, of which more in its proper place, that the popes found means to obtain the temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over a considerable part of it, while the *Lombards* seized upon another part, and erected a kingdom in it. These last gave the pontiffs so much uneasiness at length, that pope *Adrian I.* who was then besieged in his capital by *Desiderius* king of the *Lombards*, was forced to apply to *Charlemagne* for help, who came accordingly with a powerful army, and having defeated *Desiderius*, caused himself to be crowned king of *Lombardy*. By this means he became master of a great part of *Italy*, as he was before of *France* and *Germany*.

IT was upon this occasion that the pope, as well to express his gratitude to that successful monarch for his past services, as to secure to himself the friendship of so powerful a protector, and thereby his new-acquired temporalities, did by the consent of the *Roman* people cause him to be declared emperor, and erected a new Western empire, but with this compromise however, that as that pontiff was lord of the territories about *Rome*, he should still continue to have his residence in that metropolis, while *Charlemagne*, whose dominions were mostly on this side of the *Rhine*, as well as in gratitude and complaisance to the popes, went and fixed the head of his new empire in *Germany*, that he might be nearer the centre of it. Thus did *Germany* become the seat of the Western empire, which, tho' but a shadow of the ancient *Roman* hath hitherto maintained itself under a constant series of imperial monarchs, as will be more fully seen in the modern history of it.

BUT before we come to speak of those northern invaders above-mentioned, and of their several conquests and settlements, it will be necessary to pass, according to our plan, over to the *British* isles, whose first inhabitants being undoubtedly of ancient *Celtic* extract, as we have, we hope, sufficiently shewn in a former volume, as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; whereas those northern people above-mentioned, so far as they appear, at least, under those new names, being not only of recent date than the ancient *Britons*, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be spoken of in the subsequent chapters, and each in its due order.

* See before, vol. vi p. 23, & seq.

C H, A P. XXVII.

The antient State and History of Britain, to its Desertion by the Romans, and the Invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

S E C T. I.

Description of Britain. The first Inhabitants. The Customs, Religion, Government, &c. of the antient Britons. The State of Britain under the Romans.

Britain
called, in
more anti-
ent times,
Albion.

THE island which is now called *Great Britain*, and comprehends the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, with the principality of *Wales*, was, in more antient times, by way of distinction, stiled *Albion*, the name of *Britain* being then common to all the islands that lie round it. Hence *Agathemerus* speaking of the *British* islands, *They are many in number*, says he; *but the most considerable among them are Hibernia and Albion*^a. And *Ptolemy*, to the chapter wherein he describes the island now called *Great Britain*, prefixes the following title; *The situation of Albion, a British island*^b. But, as this far excelled the other *British* islands, the name of *Albion*, in process of time, was quite laid aside, and that of *Britain*, by way of excellency, used in its room. By this name it was known in *Pliny's* time, and even in *Cæsar's*. *The island of Britain*, says *Pliny*, *so much celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers, was formerly called Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands round it*^c. And *Cæsar*, *The other angle of Britain, shooting out to the west, lies over-against Spain; on which side is Hibernia, an island thought to be half as big as Britain, and about the same distance from Britain, as Britain is from Gaul*^d. Hence it is manifest, that the name of *Britain*, once common to all the islands in our ocean, was, in *Cæsar's* time, and *Pliny's*, become peculiar to the island which is still known by that name. Whence it had the name of *Albion* is uncertain, some deriving it from the *Greek* word *alphon*, which, according to *Festus*, signifies *white*, the chalky cliffs that in several places rise on our coasts being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the son of *Neptune*, and mentioned by several antient writers. Some of our etymologists have re-

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

^a AGATHEM. l. xi. c. 4.

^b PTOI. l. ii. c. 3.

^c PLIN.

l. iv. c. 16.

^d CÆS. l. v. c. 13.

course to the *Hebrew* tongue, and some to the *Phœnician*; *alben*, in the former, signifying *white*; and *alp*, in the latter, *high*. The derivation from the *Greek* word *alphon*, or from the *Hebrew* *alben*, seems to be countenanced by the *British* poets, who stile *Britain* *Inis Wen*, that is, the *white Island*.

THE origin of the name *Britain* is no less uncertain than ^{Whence} that of *Albion*. *Neunius*, and some other *British* writers, derive ^{Whence} it from *Brutus*, whom they likewise call *Brito*, the fifth in de- ^{file i Bri-}scend from the celebrated *Aeneas*. Others bring it from the ^{Various} *British* words *Pryd Cain*, that is, a *white form*, softened by ^{etymologies} degrees into *Britannia*. The learned *Camden* derives it from ^{of the word} the word *Brith*, which, in the antient language of the island, ^{Britain.} signifies *painted*, and *Tania*, importing in *Greek* a *region* or *country*; so that the name *Brithania*, changed in process of time into *Britannia*, expresses what the *Britons* really were, that is, *painted*. *Somner*, disliking *Camden's* etymology, proposes another; to wit, that the name *Britain* comes from *Brydio*, signifying, in the *British* tongue, *rage*, and pointing out the violent motion of the sea that surrounds the island. Of these four etymologies, the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection; which is, that the name of *Britain* was given to the island by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the *British* tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the island received the name of *Britain* from foreigners is evident, since the natives never stiled themselves *Britons*, nor their country *Britain*, their true name being *Cumi*, or *Cumbri*; whence *Cambria* the name of *Wales* to this day among the *Welsh*. Besides, the second of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving *Britain* from *Pryd Cain*, seems too far fetched. As to *Camden's* etymology, *Somner* observes, that *Cæsar*, in telling us the *Britons* painted ~~their~~ bodies with woad, speaks only of the inhabitants of *Albion*; whereas all the isles in our ocean were called by one general name *insulæ Britannicæ*, *British islands*. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the islands in our ocean, should owe its origin to a custom peculiar to one, though the most considerable among them? As for the rage and fury of the sea, whence *Somner* derives the name of *Britannia*, it is not true, that the sea rages more on the coast of *Great Britain* than elsewhere.

THE learned *Bochart*, speaking of the colonies and language ^{Bochart's} of the *Phœnicians*, offers a conjecture, which most of our ^{opinion the} modern ^{most natu-}writers have adopted as the most natural.

* Vide SELD. annot. ad Poly-alb. p. 20.

Phœnicians, according to that writer^f, called this island, and some others near it, *Barat-Anac*, that is, *the land or country of tin or lead*, and more contractedly *Bratanac*; which name, passing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Greeks*, and from these to the *Romans*, might have been softened into that of *Britannica* and *Britannia*. That the *Phœnicians* first discovered those isles, which were afterwards by the *Greeks* called *Cassiterides*, and are proved by *Camden* to be our *Scilly* islands, appears both from *Strabo* and *Pliny*; of whom the former tells us, that the *Phœnicians* first brought tin from the *Cassiterides*, which they sold to the *Greeks*, but kept the trade to themselves, and the place private^g: and the latter writes, that *Mediocritus* was the first who brought lead from the *Cassiterides*^h; where *Bochart* shews, that we ought to read *Melichartus*, who is the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanhoniatho*, to whom the *Phœnicians* ascribed their first western discoveriesⁱ. But, notwithstanding the care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal these islands, the *Greeks* at last discovered them, and gave them the name of *Cassiterides*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, answers that of *Barat-Anac* in the *Phœnician*. This name was at first given to the above-mentioned islands, but by degrees communicated to all the others lying in the same sea. Thus *Bochart*. But, after all, his opinion, however plausible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpose as any of the rest, the late instances of names given to new-discovered countries teaching us, that the origin of such names is not always owing to reason, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this island is of too ancient a date to be traced with any certainty, we shall dismiss this subject, and proceed to some more material account of the country.

BRITAIN lies over-against *France* and *Germany*, as *Cæsar* observed, in a triangular form, having three promontories shooting out three different ways; to wit, *Belerium*, the *Land's-end*, towards the west; *Cantium*, the *Kentish* or *North Foreland*, towards the east; and *Travijum* or *Oreas*, *Cathness*, towards the north. It is divided from *Ireland*, to the west, by the *Vergivian* or *Irish* sea; washed on the north by the northern ocean; on the east, where it faces *Germany*, by the *German* ocean; and on the south, towards *France*, by the *British* channel, called by the *Romans* *Fretum Britannicum*. Some writers have thought, that, where the channel is most contracted, the island was antiently joined by an isthmus to the continent^k. It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north

^f *Bochart* l. i. c. 39.
^g *Id.* c. 25.

^h *STRAB.* l. ii. c. 2.
ⁱ *BOCH.* ubi suprad.

^k *PLIN.* l. i.
^l *Vide SERV.* in *Virg.*
Et

north latitude, extending from north to south about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compass its three sides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coast, about eighteen hundred miles. The south side, extending from the *North Foreland* in *Kent* to the *Land's-end* in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred miles; the west side, from the *Land's-end* to the most northern point of *Scotland*, about eight hundred; and the east side about seven hundred. Were *Great Britain* to be considered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three sides put together would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleasantness of *Britain* gave occasion to *Isaacius Tzetzes* to imagine, that these were the *Fortunate islands* described by the poets, where the face of nature smiled with a perpetual spring. It was, in former times, the granary of the Western empire; for hence was every year transported an immense quantity of corn for the supply of the armies on the frontiers of *Germany*. But the convenience of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the innumerable blessings with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, described by two antient panegyrist, one of whom pronounced his speech before *Constantine*, and the other before *Constantius*. To these we refer the reader, and pass to the first inhabitants of this island.

THE southern parts of *Britain* were peopled, according to *Its first* *Cæsar*¹, by the *Gauls*. *Tacitus* is of the same opinion: *If we inhabit-*
consider all circumstances, says he, it is probable that Gaul first
peopled Britain, which lies so near it^m. This opinion, which
 is followed by most of the antient as well as the modern writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement observed by the *Roman* writers between the two nations in their customs, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, &c. Besides, as the *Gauls* sent colonies into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, it is but reasonable to conclude, that they did the same with respect to *Britain*, which lay so near them, that they could discern it from the continent, and was no less plentiful than the other countries where they settled. As for the more northern inhabitants of *Britain*, *Tacitus* infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumstances, that they came from *Germany*ⁿ; and *Cæsar*, telling us, that they were *Aborigines*, seems to imply, that he dis-

Et penitus toto divisos, &c. WHITE hist. Brit. l. ii. not 2. BURTON. comment. in Anton. p. 18, 19. TWIN. de reb. Albion. SAMMES Brit. l. i. c. 4. VERSFEGAN. l. i. c. 4. ¹ CÆSAR, l. v. c. 16. ^m TACIT. vit. Agr. ⁿ Idem ibid.

covered no affinity in their language, manners, customs, &c. with those of *Gaul*, and the southern parts of *Britain*.

The origin
of the
Picts.

As for the *Picts*, who held the eastern parts of *Britain*, which lay north of the *Tine*, the venerable *Bede* tells us, that they came out of *Scythia* in long ships, and landed first in the north of *Ireland*; but, not being suffered to settle there by the *Scots*, who then possessed that island, they were advised to plant themselves in the north part of *Britain*; which they did accordingly, with the assistance of the *Scots*, who moreover supplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all disputes concerning the succession to the crown, the *Picts* should prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is observed among them, says *Bede*, to this day^o. By *Scythia*, *Bede* perhaps meant the northern parts of *Germany*; for that *Scandinavia*, now comprehending the kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, was, by the best writers of the middle ages, stiled *Scythia*, is shewn by the learned *Usher*^p, and *Stillingfleet*^q, of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of *Hector Boetius*, deriving the *Picts* from the *Agathyrsi*, who, from *Sarmatia*, came into *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and from thence into *Scotland*^r. "As no *Roman* author makes mention of the *Picts* before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived about the end of the fourth century, some writers are of opinion, that the *Picts* were not a distinct people from the *Britons*, but such of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the *Romans*, had retired into the northern parts of the island, where continuing to paint their bodies, they were by the *Romans* called *Picti*, to distinguish them from those, who, submitting to *Rome*, had laid aside that custom, and adopted the *Roman* manners. To confirm this opinion, they allege the authority of *Camden*, who, in his introduction, endeavours to shew, that the names of places, formerly held by the *Picts* in the south and west parts of *Scotland*, are *British*; and consequently, that one and the same was the language of the *Britons*, and *Picts*. But that these two nations spoke different language, is manifest beyond dispute from *Bede*, who tells us, that, in his time, *God* was served in five several languages in *Britain*; to wit, of the *Angles*, of the *Britons*, of the *Saxons*, of the *Picts*, and of the *Latins*; which latter was commonly used in divine worship^s. Now this difference of language, which *Bede*, who lived so near a neighbour to the *Picts*, could not be ignorant of, weighs down with us all the

Whether
the Picts
and Bri-
tons one
and the
same peo-
ple.

^o *BED* hist. l. i. c. 1.
^r *LINGE* orig. Brit. c. 5.

^p *USS* antiq. Brit. c. 15.
Idem *ibid.*

^q *STIL-*
^s *BED* l. i. c. 1.

arguments that are alleged to prove, that the *Britons* and *Picts* were one and the same people. Besides, it is certain, that the *Picts* were for several ages a distinct nation, differing both from the *Scots* and *Britons*, not only in their language, but in their laws and customs. The contrary opinion is intirely built on the conformity of the name *Picts* with the *Latin* word *Picti*; which is but a weak foundation, since some writers, and among the rest *Verstegan*, derive the name of the *Picts* from a word in their own language signifying *warrior*. The *Scots* called them *Pebiti*, which name, in the opinion of some antiquaries, answers that of *Picts*, from the *Latin* word *Picti*; but others think it highly improbable, that the *Scots*, who were late subdued by the *Romans*, and continued but a short time under their dominion, should give their neighbours a *Roman* name (A).

As for the origin of the *Scots*, *Bede* tells us, that they came *The origin* into this island out of *Ireland*: "In process of time," says of the that writer, "Britain received a third nation, to wit, the *Scots*. " *Scots*, besides the *Britons* and *Picts*, who, coming out of *Ireland*, under the conduct of one *Reuda*, possessed themselves " of those territories, which they still hold among the *Picts*." From this *Reuda*, adds our historian, they are called, to this day, *Dalreudini*, the word *Da* in their language, signifying *share* or *portion*. But of this colony, and the time in which it is supposed to have settled in the north part of *Britain*, called afterwards *Scotland*, we shall speak more at large in the history of that kingdom.

To return to the *Britons*: Their manners, customs, religion, form of government, &c. are described, not only by *Cæsar* in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the *Romans* were become masters of the island. The country was, according to *Cæsar*, well peopled, and stocked with cattle. Their houses were not unlike those of the *Gauls*. They used copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain standard, instead of money. If they bred dome-

† *BED. l. i. c. i.*

(A) *Buchanan* takes the name of *Picts* to be *Roman*; but at the same time pretends they came from certain *Gaulish* colonies in *Thrace*, where they painted their bodies, as well as in *Britain*. The same author adds, that the *Picts* spoke the same language as the *Britons* and *Scots*. But here- in he is contradicted, not only by *Bede*, whom we have quoted above, but by *John Major*, one of the most antient *Scots* historians, who tells us, that as yet, that is, in his time, almost half *Scotland* spoke the *Irish* tongue, which they had brought over with them from *Ireland*.

stic souls, hens or geese, it was for their diversion, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the *Britons*, those who inhabited *Cantium* or *Kent*, were the most civilized, not differing much in their manners from the *Gauls*. The more inland people, for the most part, sowed no corn, their usual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well stored. The use of cloaths was scarce known in the island. Only the inhabitants of the southern coast covered their nakedness with skins of wild beasts, carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the strangers, who came to trade with them. All the *Britons* painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a sky-colour, and wore long hair; but shaved the rest of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One custom prevailed among them, which seemed detestable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common^u. This custom continued among them some time after the *Romans* were masters of the island; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that a *British* lady, being upbraided with this usage by *Julia*, wife to the emperor *Severus*, returned her this smart answer: *Surely the Roman ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, since we do publicly with the best of men no more than what they do privately with the worst of their freemen and slaves*^x. They abstained from all manner of fish, though the seas, that surrounded their island, and their rivers, were plentifully stored with them^y.

Th

towns and
houses.

THEIR towns, or rather villages, were a confused parcel of huts, placed at a small distance from each other, and, generally speaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground^z. *Strabo* tells us, that they exceeded the *Gauls* in stature, but their bodies were not so well-set; that he saw, at *Rome*, some of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and distinct governments among them; that their woods served them instead of cities; for, having cut down trees, and inclosed with them a large round spot of ground, there they built huts for themselves, and folds for their cattle^a. *Diodorus Siculus* speaking of the manners and customs of the antient *Britons*, Their houses, says he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they consume in one day; they are simple and upright in their dealings, and strangers to the craft and subtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other

^u CÆC. comm. l. v.
sup.

^z Idem ibid

^x DIOD. SIC. l. lxxvi.

^a STRAB. l. iv.

^y CÆC. ubi

nations; they are satisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their island abounds with men, who are subject to divers kings and princes. Thus *Diodorus* ^b. And *Pomponius Mela*: *Britain* is well peopled, and obeys several kings; but they are all rough and unpolished, and the farther they live from the continent, the less they are acquainted with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for some other cause, is uncertain. Ambition of empire, and desire of enlarging their dominions, prompt them to disturb each other with frequent wars ^c. *Tacitus* writes, that the *Britons*, in their manners, resembled the *Gauls*, which was owing either to the same original, or the like climate; that the *Britons* however, not yet softened by a long peace, shewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in *Agricola's* time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. *Tacitus* adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the *Romans* against the most powerful among them, than their not consulting one common interest, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight separately, says that author, they are all alike overcome ^d. *Dio Cassius*, as epitomized by *Xiphilin*, speaking *Manners* of the more northern *Britons*, says, that they tilled no ground, ^{of the more} their food being game and fruits; that they lived in their huts ^{northern} naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority resided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a shield, and a short spear, to the lower end of which was fastened a ball of brass, in order to terrify the enemy with the noise, when they shook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, continues the same writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occasions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirst for a considerable time after ^e. *Herodian* and *Solinus*, in describing the more northern nations of *Britain*, tell us, that they knew not the use of garments, but girt their waists and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being no less in request among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out ^f. They are a warlike nation, adds *Herodian*; and most greedy of slaughter. In war they use a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword. As for breast-plates and helmets, they look

^b DIOD. SIC. l. iv. ^c POMP MEL. de situ orbis, l. iii. ^d TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 2. ^e DIO apud Xiphilin. l. lxiii. ^f HERODIAN. l. xi. & SOLIN. l. vii c. 8.

upon them as an incumprance². *Pliny* observes, among their other customs, that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which must be understood of the more civilized *Britons* dwelling near the coast; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themselves to agriculture.

Their manner of fighting. As to their manner of fighting, *Cæsar*, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made use of chariots, driving furiously among the enemy's ranks, and discharging their darts, by which means they often put the *Romans* in disorder. When they engaged the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves so, that their masters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, says *Cæsar*, both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot, and were, by daily practice, so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them into a narrow compass, run along the pole, sit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickness, return to their chariots. Thus *Cæsar*^h. But why they chose to engage the horse rather on foot than in their chariots, is not easily conceived.

THEIR trade was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the convenient situation of their island for carrying on an extensive commerce. Their vessels were very small, with their keels and ribs made of slight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which shews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of *Gaul*. Their chief traffick was with the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, which happened, according to *Sammes*, before the *Trojan* warⁱ, yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they sold to the *Greeks*, and other distant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the *Phœnicians*, with great care concealed, for many ages, the mountain-head; but the *Greeks* discovered it at length, about an hundred and sixty years before *Julius Cæsar*, as *Sammes* will have it^j, and traded to the same place, giving the islands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of *Cassiterides*, signifying, as we have observed above, the *Phœnician* name *Isle of Anac*. But this trade was only carried on in the *Silly* islands, where *Camden* tells us that some veins of lead were found even in his time.

² HERODIUS l. xi. ^h CÆSAR comment. l. iv. ⁱ SAM Brit.
^j Idem ibid.

THE religion of the ancient *Britons* was, as *Cæsar* informs *Their* ^{us}, much the same with that of their neighbours the *Gauls*. ^{ligion}. They worshiped *Jupiter* under the name of *Taramis*, or *Taran*, signifying in the ancient *British* language, as it does still in the *Welsh*, *thunder*. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, that they paid divine worship to the highest oak they could find, as the figure or representation of this god. Their other deities were *Tutates*, called by the *Britons* *Dun Taut*, the god of journeys, and supposed to be the same with *Mercury*; *Hesus*, called also *Camulus*, according to *Camden*, the god of war, or the *Mars* of the *Britons*; *Beleus* or *Belinus*, that is, as appears from a passage of *Julius Capitolinus* ^m; *Apollo*, who is also supposed to have been called *Belatucardus*, this inscription, *Deo Belatucardo*, being found in several monuments of antiquity. As for their goddesses, they worshiped *Diana* under the name of *Camma*, and paid a very particular veneration to *Andate*, their goddess of victory, who had a temple at *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*. To her they are said, by *Dio Cassius*, who calls her *Andraсте*, to have sacrificed their prisoners of war ⁿ.

THE care and direction of all religious matters was, by the *The* *Druids* *Britons* as well as the *Gauls*, committed to the *Druids*, whose authority was great, not only in religious, but civil affairs. Their name seems to come from the *British* word *Deru*, or the *Greek* word *Drus*, both signifying an oak, not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistletoe that grows on the oak, but likewise because their usual residence was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some branches or leaves of that tree^o. They were held, both by the *Britons* and *Gauls*, in such veneration, that their authority was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing rewards, or inflicting punishments, the deciding controversies, let the difference be of what nature soever; and whoever refused to obey their decree, whether lord or vassal, was excluded from the sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that could be inflicted; for such as were thus, we may say, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as such, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a suit, to discharge any public office, or to have the least regard paid them.

THESE *Druids* had a superintendent or pontif, to whom *The* ^{sub} they were all subject. Upon his decease, the most worthy ^{successor} succeeded him; but, if there happened to be several candidates of ^{equal} ^{merit}, the election was decided by a majority of votes, ^{of the} ^{Druids}.

¹ Cæs. comment l iv

^m JUL. CAPIT. in vit. Maximin.

ⁿ Dio, l. lxxii

^o Vide PRI. l. lvi c 44

and sometimes, as *Cæsar* tells us, by the sword. Once a year, the *Druids* of *Gaul* had a general assembly in the midst of the country, to which resorted persons from all quarters, who had any controversies to decide, every one submitting readily to their decrees^p. The discipline of the *Druids* was thought, as *Cæsar* writes^q, to have been first instituted in *Britain*, and from thence transferred to *Gaul*; for, even in his time, those who were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this island to learn it. The *Druids* were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and imposts, and met with such encouragement, that many embraced that profession. The youth, especially the nobility, were educated by them. Those who embraced the same profession, were first of all, obliged to learn by heart a great number of verses; which employed some, says *Cæsar*, for the space of twenty years; for the *Druids* never committed any thing to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters (for, on all other occasions, they made use of *Greek* characters), but in order to lock up, by that means, their mysterious learning from the vulgar, or to exercise the memory of their disciples (B).

Their tenets.

ONE of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inspire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They instructed their youth in several other traditions concerning the stars, and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods^r. There were women as well as men *Druids*; for a female *Druid* of *Tungria*, now the bishoprick of *Liege*, foretold to *Dioclesian*, as we read in *Vopiscus*, when yet a private soldier, that he should one day be emperor. The sect and religion of the *Druids* spread as far as *Italy*; for *Augustus* published an edict, forbidding the *Romans* to celebrate their mysteries. Besides the *Druids*, there were, among the *Britons* and *Gauls*, priests of an inferior rank, called *Bards*, whose province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes

^p CÆS. l. vi PLIN. ubi sup.

^q CÆS. ibid.

Idem ibid.

(B) Thus *Cæsar*. But from hence we must not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, since *Cæsar* himself, when he wrote to *Cicero*, besieged among the *Nervii*, penned his letter in *Greek*, to prevent its giving, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy, which plainly shows,

they were strangers to that language. *Selden* thinks the word *Græcis* has crept into the text, the meaning of *Cæsar* being, that the *Druids* never committed their learning to writing, but, on all other occasions, made use of letters, which opinion does not appear to us ill grounded.

in verses, which they sung to the harp. The *Bards* were still in *Britain*, after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned it.

THE same form of government prevailed in *Britain*, as in *The civil Gaul*; that is, the whole country was divided into several small government states, with an head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of these heads or kings, *Cæsar* mentions four in the small compas of *Kent*. Whether these states were hereditary, or elective, we find no-where recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of these heads or kings was, in a general assembly, and by common consent, chosen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when *Cæsar* invaded the island, the chief command of all the *British* forces was conferred upon *Cassibelanus*; and when the *Britons* revolted in the time of *Claudius*, *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*, was chosen general. As in other cases, the several states, into which *Britain* was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and contests among themselves. But of their affairs before *Cæsar's* invasion we have no account, but such as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the *English* historian, as *Camden* well observes, to begin his history.

THAT part of *Britain*, which comprehends the present *Division* kingdom of *England*, and the principality of *Wales*, was in ancient times divided into seventeen petty states, whercof the inhabitants were distinguished by the following names, to wit, the *Danmonii*, the *Durotriges*, the *Belgæ*, the *Atrebatii*, the *Regni*, the *Canti*, the *Dobuni*, the *Cattieuchlani*, the *Trinobantes*, the *Ieni*, the *Coritani*, the *Cornavii*, the *Silures*, the *Dimetæ*, the *Ordovices*, the *Brigantes*, the *Ottadini*. That part of *Britain*, which extends a great way to the west, and is bounded on the north by the *Severn* sea, on the south by the *British* ocean, and on the west by *St. George's* chanel, was antiently inhabited by those *Britons*, who are called by *Solinus*, *Dunmonii*, *The Dan-* by *Ptolemy*, *Domnonii*, and, in the more correct copies, *Dan-* merii. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninsula, now comprehending the counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, the following places are mentioned by *Ptolemy*^s, to wit, the estuary *Vexalla*, formed by the confluence of the two rivers *Pedredus* and *Ivellus*, now the *Parret* and the *Ill*; the promontory of *Hercules*, about half-way between that *strait* and another promontory, called by *Ptolemy* *Bolerium*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*^t, *Belerium*. The promontory *Belerium*, which is by *Ptolemy* called also *Antivestaum*, is the most western point of *Britain*, now known by the name of *The Land's-end*. Not far from this shoots out to the south the promontory *Danmonium*, or *Ocri-*

^s PROB. l. li. c. 3.

^t DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 22.

sum, now the *Lizard*. On the south coast the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, to wit, *Vellba*, now *Falmouth*; the mouth of the *Tamara*, now the *Tamar* or *Tamer*, on which stands the town of *Plymouth*; the mouth of the *Isca*, now the *Ex*. The inland places mentioned by *Ptolemy*, are, *Isca Damnoniorum*, *Exeter*; *Tamare*, *Tavistock*; *Uxella* according to *Camden*, *Lezwithiel*.

Durotri-
ges.

NEXT to the *Danmonii*, eastward, were the *Durotriges*, inhabiting that tract, which is now called *Dorsetshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* takes notice of one place only, which he calls *Dunium*, and *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Durnovaria*. All critics agree, that, instead of *Dunium*, we ought to read in *Ptolemy* *Durnium*; and that this was the antient name of *Dorchester*, the chief town of the county of *Dorset*. To the north

Belgæ.

and east of the country of the *Durotriges*, were situated the *Belgæ*, who possessed *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Hampshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* mention on the coast *Magnus Portus*, *Portsmouth*; and *Trisantonus Portus*, *Southampton*, so called from the river *Trisanto*, now *Hampton*, on which it stands. Either *Portus Trisantonis*, or another place very near it, is called by *Antoninus*, *Claufentum*. In the inland country stood *Venia Belgarum*, *Winchester*, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*; *Aquæcalidæ*, or, as *Antoninus* styles it, *Aquæsolis*, so called from its hot waters, now *Bath*; *Isçalis* or *Isbalis*, *Ilchester*. On the *Belgæ* bordered the *Attrebatii*, the inhabitants of *Berkshire*. The *Attrebatii*, as well as the *Belgæ*, came originally from *Belgic Gaul*, as we read in *Cæsar*, and settling in *Britain*, retained their antient names. The chief city of the *Attrebatii* was *Calcuæ*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Caleva*, as it is named by *Antoninus*, now *Wallingford*. *Antoninus* mentions another place, to wit, *Spinæ*, which, according to *Camden*, still retains its antient name, being called *Spene*; but is now only a village near *Newbury*, which rose out of its ruins.

Attreba-
tii.

Regni.

ON the country of the *Attrebatii* bordered that of the *Regni*, comprehending *Surry*, *Suffex*, and part of the sea-coast of *Hampshire*. In this country, *Ptolemy* mentions but one city, to wit, *Noviomagus*, which is also taken notice of by *Marinus Tyrius*, as appears from *Ptolemy*. Some antiquaries take this to be the present town of *Winchester*; but *Noviomagus* was only ten miles distant from *London*, as we read in *Antoninus's* itinerary; whereas *Winchester* is thirty. *Camden* tells us, that, in his time, were still to be seen the ruins of a city, answering exactly the distance set down in the itinerary. Besides *Noviomagus*, *Antoninus* mentions several other places in the country of the *Regni*, to wit,

* CA: comm l. v. c. 12.

* PTOL. l. i. c. 15.

Orbana, where was, according to the *Notitia*, the station of the Roman soldiers called *Fortenses*. Camden takes *Orbana* to have stood where *Hastings* now stands. *Portus Adarni*, now the small village of *Ederington*, and *Regnum*, now *Ringwood*, that is, the wood or forest of the *Regni*, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the *Regni*, namely at *Ockham* in *Surry*, where the *Wey* falls into the *Thames*, at a place to this day called *Coway stakes*, from the stakes, with which the *Britons* had fenced the bank, *Cæsar* passed the *Thames*, and entered the territories of *Cassivelaun*. That commander crossed the *Thames* eighty miles from the sea; and this is the only place, at that distance, where the river is fordable.

To the east of the *Belgæ* and *Attrebatii*, lay the country of the *Cantii*, called by *Ptolemy* and *Cæsar* *Y*, *Cantium*, by *Bede*, *Cantii*, now *Kent*. The *Cantii* were, according to *Cæsar*, the most civilized of all the *Britons*, not differing much, in their customs and manners, from their neighbours the *Gauls*. The places in *Cantium*, mentioned by the antients, are, *Durovernum*, *Durobrivis*, *Dyrolenum*, *Portus Rutupiae*, *Portus Dubris*, *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, and *Portus Lemanis*, now *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, *Lenham*, *Dover*, *Reculver*, and *Lime* (C) *Ptolemy* reckons

¹ *PROL. ubi ſupra. Cæs comm i v c 14.* ² *BED hiſt. l. i. c. 26. & l. iii c 3* ³ *C1s ibid*

(C) Whether *Rutupiae* and *Portus Rutupensis*, called by *Tacitus* *Portus Trutulensis*, were one and the ſame place, is queſtioned by our antiquaries. *Somner* thinks they were two places (1), contrary to the opinion of *Leland*, *Lambard*, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right, but it is not probable, ſays *Camden*, that *Sandwich* was the *Portus Rutupensis*, it being evident, that *Stonar* was the road, where the ſhips lay, that came to *Rutupia*. *Somner* himſelf allows *Stonar* to have been an antient port (2) In the opinion of *Camden* therefore, *Portus Rutupensis* was *Stonar*, and *Rutupiae* the preſent village of

Richborough, at ſome diſtance from the ſea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the Roman times, *Grſſinacum*, now *Bologne*, and *Rutupiae* or *Portus Rutupensis*, were, for thoſe who from *Gaul* came into *Britain*, or from *Britain* croſſed over into *Gaul*, what in our times are *Dover* and *Calais*. Hence, frequent mention is made of *Rutupia* by the Latin writers (3), nay the word *Rutupinus* was, by ſome of the poets, uſed inſtead of *Britannus* (4), ſo famous was *Rutupiae* in the Roman times. *Portus Dubris*, now *Dover*, is firſt mentioned by *Antoninus*; but, before the Romans abandoned the iſland, it became no leſs

(1) *Somn ports and ſtreets, p. 3, 4.* (2) *Vile Cand. Brit p 244* (3) *Vile Lucan l vi v 67 ſu en ſtir. i ver 147 ſu on parental xv. J de clui u b. Zoſ l iv c 25. 46. Adrian Marcell l xv c. 1, & l. xxvii. c 18. Tqit c. 1. Agric c 38* (4) *Juv c 12 Auſon. l. iiii.*

Count of
the sea-
coast.

reckons *Londonium*, London, among the cities of the *Cantii*; but he was therein certainly mistaken. When the Roman government was established in Britain, the sea-coast of *Kent*, which they termed *litus Saxonicum*, or the Saxon shore, had, from the time of *Dioclesian*, a particular governor, called by *Marcellinus*, count of the sea-coast, and by the *Notitia*, count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to prevent the barbarians, especially the Saxons, who began then to infest Britain, from plundering the country. In imitation of the Romans, our ancestors set over this coast a governor or portreeve, commonly called the warden of the cinque ports, from his presiding over five ports. *Cæsar* landed, when he invaded Britain, in the country of the *Cantu*, and, as is commonly believed, at *Deal*, on the twenty-sixth of August, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ^b. *Cantium* is parted from the continent by a narrow sea, called by *Solinus*, *Fretum Gallicum*; by *Tacitus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Fretum Oceani*, and *Oceanus Fretalis*. Thus far of that part of Britain which is bounded by the ocean, the *Severn* sea, and the river *Thames*.

Dobuni.

ON the north side of the *Thames*, near its head, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Dobuni*, the antient inhabitants of *Glostershire* and *Oxfordshire*. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely *Corinium*, called by *Antoninus*, so far as we can conjecture from the distances set down in his itinerary, *Durocornovium*, which stood in or near the place, where the present town of *Cirencester* stands. Two other places are taken notice of by *Antoninus*, to wit, *Altona*, or *Avone*, and *Clevum*, or *Glevum*, built by the Romans, as a curb upon the *Silures*, now *Abington* and *Glocester*. To the east of the *Dobuni* lay the country of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Calyeuchlani*, *Cattidudani*, *Cathildani*, as they are stiled in different copies of *Ptolemy's* works. Do calls them *Cattuellani*, and also *Cassii*. In their country, which comprehended *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hertfordshire*, the following places are named by *Antoninus*; *Lactonium*, *Bedford*; *Moorvianan*, *Ashwell*; *Durocobrivis* or *Durocobrice*, *Hilford*, *Pontus*, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from *London*; and *Verulamium*, mentioned not only by *Antoninus*, but by *Ptolemy*, and all the Roman writers, who speak of Britain. Camden conjectures *Verulamium* to have been the town

Catti-
euchlani

vide B. ALI F Y philosoph. tranfact. N°. 193

is house than *Antuprt* itself. At *Rutupæ* was quartered the second legio *Augusta*; at *Portus Dubris* the *Tungricani*, at *Portus Lemani*, or *Novus Portus*, as

Ptolemy calls it, the *Turnacenses*; and at *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, the first cohort of the *Betasi*, as we read in the *notitia*.

of *Cassivelaun*, which was taken by *Cæsar* ^c. In *Nero*'s time it was a *municipium*, as we read in *Tacitus* ^d; but, being afterwards destroyed, as is supposed, in the *Saxon* war, the town of *St. Albans* rose out of its ruins, which are still called *Verulam*. In the country of the *Cattiuchlani*, *Ptolemy* mentions only *Verulamium*, which he calls *Urolanium*, and *Salenæ*, of which no footsteps are remaining. Before the arrival of *Cæsar*, the *Cattiuchlani* had reduced great part of the country belonging to the *Dobuni*, and were constantly at war with their neighbours.

NEXT to the *Cattiuchlani* were the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæsar* ^e *Trino-* calls them, or *Trinonnantes*, as they are styled by *Tacitus* and *bantes*. *Ptolemy*. They inhabited the present counties of *Middlesex* and *Essex*. To them belonged the city of *London*, called by *Tacitus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*, *Londinium*; by *Ammianus*, *Lundinum*; by *Stephanus*, *Lindonion*; and by *Bede*, *Lundonia*, and *civitas Lundo-* *nia* ^f. There seems to have been no such place as *London* in *Cæsar*'s time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in *Nero*'s, as appears from *Tacitus* ^g. It must therefore have been founded *London*, between the times of these two emperors, and, in all likelihood, *as* ^h as the learned bishop of *Worcester* thinks, about the time of *founded*. *Claudius*. *Tacitus* calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourse of merchants, though not distinguished with the title of *colony* ⁸. Whether in process of time it attained this honour, may be questioned; for though *Ammianus Marcellinus* styles it *Augusta*, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a *Roman colony*, since antiquaries of no mean character are of opinion, that the emperors allowed some towns, that were not colonies, to assume that title ^h. Perhaps it took the name of *Augusta* from *Constantine the Great*, who is said to have surrounded it with a wall. *Ptolemy*, as we have observed above, and also *Ravennas*, place *London* in *Cantrum*, on the south side of the *Thames*. The other towns of the *Trinobantes* were, *Durolitum*, *Cæsaromagus*, *Cononium*, *Camalodunum*, and *Colonia*, now *Leiton*, *Burghstead*, *Cannonden*, *Maldon*, and *Colchester*. *Camalodunum*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Camudolanum*, was the first *Roman colony* in *Britain*, granted by the emperor *Claudius* to the *Roman veterans*, who, driving out the natives, settled there; but they *colony in* were afterwards themselves, in a general insurrection, either *Britain* driven out, or put to the sword, the theatre, the temple of *Claudius*, and the several villas in the neighbourhood, belonging to the *Roman* commander, being utterly demolished by the incensed *Britons*, who looked upon the colony as the seat of slavery ⁱ.

^c CÆS. comm. l. v. c. 21. ^d TACIT. l. xiv. c. 23. ^e BID. l. ii. c. 4, 7, 3. ^f TACIT. ubi sup. ^g Idem ibid. ^h VULG. CELL geog. antiq. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 4. ⁱ TACIT. l. iv. c. 31. & vit. Agric. c. 16.

Icen.

THE country bordering on that of the *Trinobantes*, and comprehending the counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, was inhabited by the *Iceni*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Simeni*, and by others, *Tigenti*. *Camden* is of opinion, that the *Iceni* were the people, whom *Cæsar* calls *Cenomagni*^k. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, *Illa Faustini*, *Cambretonium*, *Sitomagus*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Gariensis Ostium*, *Iceni*, *Erannodum*, and *Duro-lux*, now *St Edmundsbury*, *Eretenham*, *Thetford*, *Castle*, *Yarmouth*, *Ilburiough*, *Brancaſter*, *Dornford*. In the Roman times, the commander of the horse under the count of the *Saxon* shire was stationed at *Ostium Gariensis*, called also *Oppidum Gariennum*, and the *Dalmatian* horse, as appears from the *notitia*, at *Dianno lunum*. To these we may add *Camboritum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, though not by *Ptolemy*, and in the itinerary placed on the *Cam*, where the present city of *Cambridge* stand, which *Camden* supposes to have been built out of the ruins of *Camboritum*.

Coritan.

ON the *Iceni* bordered the *Coritani*, whose country comprehended *Northamptonshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Derbyshire*. Their chief places were, *Endum*, *Lincoln*, *Triportum*, *Towceſter*, *Pennavienna* or *Bemventa*, thought to be *Northampton*, *Rata*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Ara*, according to *Camden*, *Leuceſta*, *Ierometum*, *Burrowſill*, *A'raigianum*, *Argedorion*, *Ionter*, *Panton*; *Crococolanum*, and *Alolium*, or, as *Camden* will have it, *Ade-locum*, *Idlton*. *Indum*, called by *Bede*, *Indolina civitas*, was, according to *Ptolemy*, the metropolis of the *Coritani*. In this county, between the springs of the *Nen* and the *Avon*, are still to be seen the ruins of ancient fortifications, and military fences, erected, as *Camden* believes, by *Ostia* governor of *Britannia*, after he had fortified the bank of the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, in order to prevent the irruptions of those who inhabited *Wales*, and the north parts of *Britannia*. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eastward, and the other westward, were well defended, the only passage from the north into the latter parts of *Britannia* was between the springs of these two rivers, and this pass was defended with strong works, which the ruins are still to be seen at *Gildesborough* and *Indum*. ^l*Ostia*, ^l*Alolium*, after having disarmed such suspected by fortifying the banks of the *Anton* and *Sa-*
luta, resisted them from breaking into the province, where, instead of *Anton*, mentioned by no other writer, *Camden* reads

^k CAMD BRIT p 42.^l TAGIT. l. III. c 31.

Aufona, or *Avona*, which name was, according to him, common to the *Nen* and *Avon* ^m.

To the west of the *Coritani* were situated the *Cornavii*, who, according to *Ptolemy's* description of their country, seem to have ^{vii}. possessed *Warwickshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, and *Cheeshire*. Their chief towns were *Branonium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Branogenium*, *Worcester*; *Præsidium* on the *Aufona* or *Avona*, *Warwick*, where the prefect or commander of the *Dalmatian* horse was posted, by the appointment of the governor of *Britain*, as we read in the *Notitia*; *Pennocrucium*, *Penkridge*; *Viroconium* or *Uricomium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the metropolis of the *Cornavii*, probably built by the *Romans*, when they fortified the banks of the *Severn*, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a small village, called *Wrockcester*. Out of its ruins rose the present town of *Shrewsbury*. *Deva*, or *Deuna*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, on the river *Deva*, from whence the town borrowed its name, now *Chester*. It was antiently a *Roman* colony, and the station of the twentieth legion, surnamed *Victrix*. *Condate*, *Congleton*; and *Rutunium*, now *Routon*.

THE principality of *Wales*, formerly comprehending the *Silures* whole country beyond the *Severn*, was, in the *Roman* times, inhabited by the *Silures*, the *Demææ*, and the *Ordovices*. To these belonged not only the twelve counties of *Wales*, but likewise the two others lying beyond the *Severn*; to wit, *Herefordshire* and *Monmouthshire*, now reckoned among the *English* counties. The *Silures* and *Demææ*, according to the description *Ptolemy* gives us of them, inhabited that part which is now known by the name of *South-Wales*, and comprises the following counties, *Radnorshire*, *Breconshire*, *Glamorganshire*, with *Herefordshire* and *Monmouthshire*. As to the origin of the people, *Tacitus* is of opinion, that they came originally from *Spain*, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their situation over-against that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and resolution, utterlyaverse to servitude, and great sticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the *Romans* under *Ostorius*, *Isiarnus*, and *Julius Frontinus*, who in the end subdued them. In *Herefordshire* stood *Blaturn*, now the *Old Town* on the *Wunnow*; and about three short miles west of the present city of *Hereford*, near the village of *Kenchester*, *Ariconium*, mentioned by *Frontinus*. In this country are to be seen the remains of several *Roman* camps. In *Brecknockshire*, towards the north, where it is divided from *Radnorshire* by the *Wyfe*, some place *Bullæum Silurum*; but others think it stood in *Glamorganshire*. *Brecknock*,

^m Vide CAMD. Brit. p. 404.

the chief town of the county, was inhabited in the *Roman* times, as appears from several *Roman* coins found there, from a *Roman* brick discovered, with this inscription, *Leg. II. Aug.* and from a square camp near this place, called by the natives *Gaer*, that is, *fortification*.

Venta Silurum. In *Monmouthshire*, about three miles from *Chepstow*, which stands near the fall of the *Wye* into the *Severn*, is placed by all our antiquaries *Venta Silurum*, called to this day *Kaer-went*, that is, *the city Venta*; but now only some ruins of it are to be seen. On the north-west border of the county stood *Gobannium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, at the confluence of the *Isca*, now *Wisk* or *Uisk*, and the *Gavenni*, whence it took the name of *Gobannium*, which, with a small alteration, it retains to this day, being called *Aber-Gavenni*, that is, the confluence of the *Gavenni* or *Gobannium*. About twelve miles from *Gobannium*, *Antoninus* places *Burrium*, where the *Birdhin* or *Birthin* falls into the *Uisk*. This place is now known to the *Welsh* by the name of *Brynbiga*, and to the *English* by that of *Uisk*. On the other side the *Uisk*, twelve miles from *Burrium*, stood *Isca Silurum*, where the second legion was stationed; whence it is styled by *Antoninus*, *Legio Secunda*, and by the *Britons* to this day *Kaer-Lheion*, or *Kaer Wisk*, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river *Uisk*. The *Legio Secunda*, called also *Britannica Secunda*, was raised by *Augustus*, and removed out of *Germany* into *Britain* by *Claudius*, under the conduct of *Vespasian*, to whom, upon his aspiring to the empire, it secured the *British* legions. It was placed in garrison at *Isca* by *Julius Frontinus* against the *Silures*; and long after that, that is, in the reign of *Valentinian*, translated from thence by count *Theodosius*, the father of *Theodosius the Great*, to *Rutupia*, as we read in the *Notitia*, and in *Marcellinus* ⁿ. At *Isca Silurum*, many monuments of antiquity have been discovered, as the reader will find in *Camden* ^o. The most southern county, formerly belonging to the *Silures*, is *Glamorganshire*, where, at a small distance from the *Remney*, which divides it on the east from *Monmouthshire*, is to be seen *Kaer philycastle*, in the opinion of *Camden*, the most noble and antient piece of architecture remaining in *Britain*. That this castle was built by the *Romans*, seems highly probable, though we have no other reason to conclude it *Roman*, but the stateliness of its structure, no *Roman* inscriptions, statues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been discovered there. *Camden* thinks it was the *Bullæum Silurum*, of which we have spoken above.

ⁿ *ADAMIAN MARCEL. l. x. vii. c. 18.*

^o *Vide CAMD. Brit.*

THE remaining part of *South Wales*, comprehending *Caer-Demetæ*, *Mardbinsiſhire*, *Pembrokeſhire*, and *Cardiganſhire*, was likewise inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Silures*; but *Ptolemy*, to whom *Britain* was better known, placed another nation here, called by him *Demetæ* and *Dimetæ*. Besides, both *Gildas* and *Nennius* ſtile this country *Demetia*; and the *Britons* to this day call it *Dyved*, changing M into V, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the *Latin* name *Dimetia* owes its origin to the *British* *Dyved*; for it was the custom of the *Romans*, as *Camden* obſerves, to retain ſuch names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a *Latin* termination. In the country of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy* takes notice only of two places, *Loventium* or *Luentium*, at the mouth of the *Tuerobis*, now the *Towy*, and *Maridunum*, or, as *Antoninus* calls it, *Muridunum*, now *Caer-Mardbini*.

THE country now known by the name of *North-Wales*, and comprehending *Montgomeryſhire*, *Merionethſhire*, *Caernarvonſhire*, *Denbighſhire*, and *Flinſhire*, was inhabited by the *Ordo-Ordovices*, a brave and powerful nation, who held out firſt againſt the *Romans*, and afterwards againſt the *Engliſh*, after the other *Britons* were ſubdued; for by the *Romans* they were not reduced till the time of *Domitian*, nor by the *Engliſh*, till the reign of *Henry I.* In their country, ſpecially in *Montgomeryſhire*, where the village of *Meivod* ſtands at preſent, ſtood formerly, according to the conjectures of the beſt antiquaries, the city of *Mediolanum*, celebrated both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*. Beſides *Mediolanum*, *Antoninus* mentions other places in the country of the *Ordovices*, to wit, *Segontium*, on the river *Sejant*, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; *Conovium*, now *Conway*; and *Varis*, of which the ruins were to be ſeen in *Camden*'s time, near the village of *Bodwar*. In this country are the ruins of ſeveral antient forts raiſed by the *Romans*, to awe and keep in ſubjection the natives. Over-againſt *Caernarvonſhire* lies the iſland of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, the antient ſeat of the druids, *Iſland* of firſt attempted by *Paulinus Suetonius*, and afterwards reduced by *Mona Agricola*. It was called in the *British* tongue *Môn*, and, when conquered by the *Engliſh*, *Angleſey*, that is, the *Engliſh iſland*.

THE *Brigantes*, whom *Stephanus* calls *Brigæ*, a numerous Br gante and powerful people, and much commended by the antient writers, poſſeſſed the following countries, ſo with *Yorkſhire* and the biſhoprick of *Durham* towards the eaſt and the *German* ocean, and to the weſt *Lancſhire*, *Wefſmerland* and *Cumberland*. In *Yorkſhire*, and in the weſt-riding, or the *Dan*, now the *Don*, ſtood the city of *Danum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, and in the *Notitia* called the ſtation of the *Criſpinian* horſe. *Nennius* ſtiles it *Caer-Dann*; but it is now known by the name of *Doncaſter*. *Olicana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is, from its ſituation with re-

spect to *Eboracum* or *York*, thought by *Camden* to have stood where *Ilkly* on the *Wharf*, now stands. It was rebuilt in the reign of *Severus* by *Virius Lupus*, legate and proprætor of *Britain*, as appears from an antient inscription dug up there^p. The second cohort of the *Lingones* was quartered here. Near the confluence of the *Calder* and the *Aire* stands the small village of *Castleford*, formerly, according to *Camden*, *Lageolium*, or as *Antoninus* styles it, *Lagetium*. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its situation, by a *Roman* way, from several monuments of antiquity discovered there, and its distance from *Danum* and *Eboracum*. *Colcaria*, according to some *Tadcaster*, according to others *Aberford*, is mentioned by *Antoninus*, but not by *Ptolemy*. *Isturium Brigantum*, is placed by both on the *Ure*; and by *Camden* thought to have stood where the present village of *Aldborough* stands, at a small distance from *Borrowbridge*.

Eboracum - *EBORACUM* or *Eburacum*, now *York*, on the *Ouse* (for the cum, now *Ure* talks that name at *Aldburrow*, where the *Ouseburn*, a York. small brook, falls into it), was the metropolis of the *Brigantes*.

It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the *Romans*; for it was both a *Roman* colony, and a *municipium*, as appears from several antient inscriptions. The sixth legion, called *Viatrix*, sent out of *Germany* into *Britain*, was quartered here in the time of the *Antonines*, and likewise the ninth in *Galba's* reign^r. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died *Septimius Severus*, and *Constantius Chlorus*. Upon the death of the latter, his son *Constantine*, who afterwards acquired the surname of *Great*, was here first declared emperor. The rescript of the emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, *de rei vindicatione*, is dated from this place. Upon the death of *Severus*, justice was, for some time, administered here by the great oracle of the law *Emilius Paulus*. When the *Romans* abandoned *Britain*, *Eboracum* was, by the *Saxons* and *Picts*, reduced to the shadow of what it had been. In the east-riding, about seven miles from *York*, stood *Derventio*, now *Auldby*, a small village on the *Dervent*, formerly *Derventio*. At the same distance from the *Abus*, now the *Humber*, where the small town of *Wigton* stands, stood, in the *Roman* times, *Delgovitia*; and on the promontory called by *Ptolemy*, *Cellum*, now *Holderness*, the city of *Prætorium*, now *Eborac*.

Remains - The chief places in *Lancashire*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, are, able places *Mannunium*, now *Manchester*, and *Alone*, called in the *Notitia*, in *Lancashire*, *Alione*, now *Lancaster*, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In *Westmoreland*, two short miles from the

^p Vide CA. AD. p. 867.

^r Vide CAMD. p. 878. GRUT.

p. 45. GALE in comment. ad ALTON. it. Brit. p. 19. ^r Vide CAMD. ibid.

Ituna or *Eden*, stood *Vetere*, now a village called *Burgh*. It *Westmor-* is mentioned by *Antoninus*; and from the *notitia* we learn, land, that, upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, was quartered there a prefect, with a band of *Directores*. Not far from hence stood *Aballaba*, on the *Ituna*, the station, as we read in the *notitia*, of the *Mauri Aureliani*. It retains its antient name, being now called by contraction *Apelby*. At *Whallop-castle* appear vast ruins of an antient town, where *Roman* coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here stood, according to *Camden*, *Gallagum*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and called by *Antoninus*, *Gal-latum*; which conjecture agrees with the distances in the itinerary. From this place, an old caufway runs almost in a strait line, for the space of about twenty miles, to *Caer-Varran*, near the *Picts* wall. Upon this caufway, now commonly called the *Maiden-way*, *Camden* thinks, that the stations and mansions, mentioned by *Antoninus* in his ninth *iter*, were settled. At *Brougham*, according to *Camden*, the antient *Brocovum* and *Brevoniacum* of *Antoninus*, called in the *notitia*, *Brocaniacum*, where a cohort of the *Defensores* was quartered, several coins, *Cumber-* and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. Inland, &c. *Cumberland*, the sea-coast was fortified by the *Romans* in such places as were convenient for landing; whence the *Scots*, when from *Ireland* they invaded our island, met here with the greatest opposition.

MANY remains of antiquity are still to be seen at *Morefby*, *Remains* perhaps, as the present name seems to imply, the *Morbium* of *anti-* the antients, where, according to the *Notitia*, the *equites cata-* *quity*. *fracti* were quartered. At the head of the *Wize*, a small river, that falls into the *Waver*, are the ruins of an antient town, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, *Old Carlisle*, perhaps the *Castra Exploratorum*, placed somewhere hereabout by *Antoninus*; for it is seated on an high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free prospect round the country, was very convenient for spying an enemy. From several inscriptions it appears, that the *ala*, named *Augusta*, and *Augusta Gordiana*, was quartered here in the time of the emperor *Gordian*. A little higher jets out a small promontory, below which is a large arm of the sea, at present the boundary of *England* and *Scotland*, and formerly of the *Roman* province and the country of the *Picts*. On this promontory stood *Blatobulgum*, now *Bulnesh*, from which, as the most remote limit of the province of *Britain* of *Antoninus*, begins his itinerary. At *Blatobulgum* are frequently found *Roman* coins and inscriptions. A mile beyond it at low water, are to be seen the foundations of the famous wall called the *Picts wall*, built by the *Romans* to restrain the barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a last arm of the sea comes up here about eight miles, called by *Ptolemy*, *Itunæ æstuarium*, now *Solway-*

Solway-frith, yet, at a low water, the *Scots* and *Picts* found means to ford it.

*Itunæ
æstua-
rium.*

UPON the same frith stands *Drumburg castle*, formerly a Roman station, and thought by *Gale*^s to be the antient *Blatobulgium*. This frith is called by *Ptolemy*, *Itunæ æstuarium*, from the river *Ituna*, now *Eden*, which here falls into the bay. It is now called *Solway-frith*, from the town of *Solway* in *Scotland* standing upon it. At the present *Burgh-upon-sands* was another Roman station. At a small distance from the confluence of the *Fimot* and the *Loder* stands *Penreth*, according to *Gale*, the *Voreda* of *Antoninus*. The city of *Carlisle*, having the *Eden* to the north, the *Peter-kill* to the east, and the *Caude* to the west, was by the Romans called *Luguvallum*, *Luguballum*, and *Lugubalia*. The word *vallum* was, no doubt, derived from that famous *vallum* of the Romans, which ran close to the city. As to the word *Lugus*, or *Lucus*, it signified among the *Celtæ*, who spoke the same language as the *Britons*, a tower; for what *Antoninus* calls *Lugo-Augusti*, *Pomponius Mela* styles *turris Augusti*; so that *Lugovallum* signifies a tower on the vallum. This city was a place of great note in the Roman times, as appears from several monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the antient writers.

Ottadini.

NEXT to the *Bigantes*, *Ptolemy* places the *Ottadini*, *Ottadeni*, or *Ottalini*, according to the various readings of the several copies. *Camden* reads *Ottatinos*, because they dwelt *ultra Tinam*, beyond the *Tine*. Their country extended from the wall at least to the *Tweed*, and was afterwards part of the province *Valentia*; for so count *Theodosius* named it, after he had recovered it, by driving out the barbarians, who had seized it. It is now called *Northumberland*, as lying north of the *Humber*. In this country, near *Cæc-vorran*, part of the wall was still standing in *Camden*'s time, fifteen feet in height, and nine in breadth. *Bede* writes, that it was only twelve feet high; and his account is, generally speaking, exact; for, where there has not been any extraordinary fortification, what was still standing in *Camden*'s time came near that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth which *Bede* allows it, to wit, eight feet, is pretty exact; for every-where it still exceeds seven. In this country have been discovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the reader will find an account in *Camden*'. Beyond the wall, and at the mouth of the *Tina* or *Tine*, stood *Segedunum*, now *Non*, where resided, according to the *Notitia*, the tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Sergi*. At a small distance from *Segedunum*, *Antoninus* places *Corstopitum*, or, as *Camden* reads it,

^s *Gale*, p. 35.

Camd. Brit. p. 1071.

Morslorpitum, according to him, *Morpeth*. On the north side of the *Alaunus*, now the *Aln*, and not far from that river, stood antiently *Bremenium*, from which *Antoninus* begins his first journey in *Britain*. Some take *Bremenium* to be *Rochester*, near the head of the *Rhead*, others to be *Brampton*. At *Gabrosentum*, according to some, *Newcastle*, was quartered the second cohort of the *Thracians*. The country of the *Ottadini* reached, according to some, to *Edinburgh-frith*; but the only places taken notice of by the antients between *Bremenium* and that frith, called by the *Roman* writers *Bodotriæ æstuarium*, are *Tæi* or *Tavi ostium*, the mouth of the *Tweed*, and *Castra Alata*, thought by all our antiquaries to be *Edinburgh*. On the west coast, between *Solway* and *Dumbrition* friths, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Selgovæ*, and the towns *Trimontium* and *Oxellum* belonging to them.

To the north of the *Selgovæ* were the *Damnii*, in whose *Selgovæ* country, extending to *Dumbrition-frith*, antiently *Glotæ æstuarium*, stood the following towns mentioned by *Ptolemy*; *Colonia*, *Coria*, *Alauna*, and *Viétoria*. The *Horefli*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, are placed by *Camden* between the *Selgovæ* and the *Ottadini*. *Agricola* entered their country, as we read in *Tacitus*; and, having received hostages, commanded his admiral to sail round *Britain*. Hence *Cædmon* infers, that their country bordered on *Solway-frith*, and that the *Roman* fleet was then riding there. In this voyage we discovered the *Orcades*, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which *Glotæ* and *Bodotriæ æstuarium*, that is, *Dumbrition* and *Edinburgh* friths, arms of different seas, are kept from joining, was fortified by *Agricola* with garisons and castles; by which means all *Britain*, on this side, being possessed by the *Romans*, the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another island.

Those who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by *Dio Cassius* *Mæatæ*. comprehended under the two denominations of *Mæatæ* and *Caledonidonii*. The south part of *Britannia Barbara*, as the *Romans* styled it, was possessed by the former; and the north part by the latter. From the *Caledonii*, *Calldones*, *Deucaledonii*, or *Dicaledones*, as they are styled by different authors, the north part of *Britain* was called *Caledonia*; nay, *Florus* calls the woods adjoining to the *Thames*, *Caledonian* woods; for, speaking of *Cæsar* soon after he had passed that river, "Having followed the Britons, says he, into the *Caledonian* woods, he took one of their kings prisoner". But herein he shews himself little acquainted with the country. Of the *Picts* no mention is made either by *Picti*. *Tacitus* or *Ptolemy*; but under that denomination the *Caledonians* were comprehended in *Constantine's* time: *Ido*, as mention, says *Eumenius* in his panegyric upon that prince, "the woods and

marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts ^w. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* writing of the time of *Valentinian* and *Valeus*; The Picts, says he, under which denomination are comprehended the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, the Attacotti likewise, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, roaming about, committed great devastations ^x. Hence it is manifest, that, in the reigns of those two princes, the *Attacotti*, and the *Scotti* or *Scots*, were two different nations from the *Caledonii* and the *Picts*. But of *Scotland*, and its antient inhabitants, we shall speak more at large hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of *Britain*, of their towns and territories, while the *Romans* were masters of the island, in the description of which we have followed *Ptolemy*, *Anoninus*, and our best modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to ascertain the bounds of so many different nations, subject to so many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon each other (D).

Adrian's
wall.

WE cannot dismiss this subject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raised by the *Roman* emperors in this island, to secure the countries belonging to *Rome* against the incursions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpose by three different emperors, is manifest from history. Of these the first and hithermost was, without all doubt, the work of *Adrian*; for *Spartian* tells us in express terms, that he was the first, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the *Romans* and barbarians ^y. This wall is, by

^w EUMEN panegy. Const. c. 7. ^x AMMIAN MARCELL.
1. xxvii. c. 18. VALES. c. 18. ^y SPARTIAN. in *Adrian*. c. 11.

(D) Most of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the *Romans* had made themselves masters of the island; but that the *Britons* had no towns at all before their arrival, *Strabo* seems to insinuate (5), is what we can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of *Gaul* and *Britain*, he copied from *Cæsar*, who tells us, indeed, that the *Britons* gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to restrain the incursions of

those with whom they were at war (6). But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they chose for places of shelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had no other places, deserving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehension of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which *Vespasian* reduced under the emperor *Cladius*, as we read in *Suetonius* (7), were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

(5) *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 133.
c. 4.

(6) *Idem*, l. v. c. 21.

(7) *Eut.* in *Claud.*

our best antiquaries, placed between *Solway-frith* and *Tinmouth*; and truly, considering its extent, it can be placed no-where else. This wall or rampart (for some writers stile it *muris*, and *vallum*) was made, says *Spartian*, in *modum muralis sepi*, or *sepi*, that is, after the manner of a mural hedge, with large stakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together. Upon it stood *Pons Ælia*, perhaps *Pont-Eland* in *Northumberland*, *Classis Ælia*, *Cohors Ælia*, and *Ala Sabiniana*, which took their names from *Ælius Adrianus*, and his wife *Sabina*. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the successor of *Adrian*, the *Brigantes* revolted; but *Lollus Urbicus*, then governor of *Britain*, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, says *Capitolinus* in the life of *Antoninus Pius* ^z.

As no antient writer mentions the place where this second *Antoninus* wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our *Roman history* ^a, place it between the friths of *Forth* and *Glyde*. But *Camden* and *Brietius*, upon the authority of a very antient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tweed*, and was carried southward to the head of the *Esk* in *Eskdale*, so as to secure the east coast, and inclose part of the country of the *Ottadini*. Upon second thoughts, this opinion does not seem to us improbable, since *Antoninus* begins his itinerary from the mouth of the *Tweed*, as the most northern boundary, at that time, of the *Roman* empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the Christian æra 123. the fourth of *Adrian's* reign, *Glabrio* and *Torquatus* being then consuls; and the other in 147. the third of *Antoninus Pius*, then consul with *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* ^b.

THAT a third wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, is plain from *Spartian*, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured *Britain* with a wall carried on cross the island from sea to sea ^c (E). The hitherto wall was, as we have observed

^z CAPITOL. in Anton Pio, c 5. ^a Vide Univers hist. vol. xv p. 201 ^b Vide ALFORD. annal. p 108, & 116. ^c SPART. in vit. Sever. c. 18.

(E) There is a great disagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. *Camden* maintains, that *Severus's* wall was raised in the same place, where *Adrian* had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help disagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, since *Eutropius*, in the life of *Severus*, writes, that he built a wall thirty-two miles in length, reaching from sea to sea; whereas *Adrian's* wall extended

observed already, built by *Adrian*, not with stone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a stone wall was built in the same place; but when, or by what *Remains of* emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were *a stone wall.* still to be seen in *Camden's* time (F). On the north side of the

extended eighty, to wit, from *Solway*, *frith* to *Tinmouth* Bescides, we cannot persuade our selves, that *Severus*, after having overcome in several battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and been at an immense trouble and charge, not to mention the loss of fifty thousand men, in draining marshes, cutting down woods, and making highways, should have brought so extensive a country, which *Agriola* had formerly divided, and *Agriola* enclosed, by a wall and this at a time when the enemies of *Rome* were quite despoiled, and suing for peace. It must therefore be placed on the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, and indeed, if it was but thirty two miles in length, it could stand in no other part of the whole island, that was ever possessed by the *Romans*. But the hithermost wall, says *Cassiodorus*, is still called *Gual Severi*, that is, *Severus's wall*. May not those, who call it so, be mistaken? Is it not well known, that many appellations, or, as we may stile them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundless? Such is this, if we believe the *Saxons* writers, who, as *Cassiodorus* himself observes, have always called the hithermost wall *Adrian's wall*. The neck of land between the two friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* is not above sixteen miles over. This tract *Agri-*

cola secured with castles and forts placed at convenient distances, that the forces might easily draw together upon the first apprehension of danger. In building afterwards the wall, those who were employed in the work, took the most direct line, which must be the cause why some of the forts are at a distance from it. They began it where the rivers are narrow, and continued along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the *friths* of the *Forth* and *Clyde*, for the length of thirty two miles, in a straight line, *ton*, with a great ditch on the north side of the wall. It is a square fortification, and is one of a *Roman* camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country *Gual Severi*.

(I) That learned antiquary traced it with great exactness, according to the account he gave us of it, it began at *Bleasburgh* or *Bulreth*, on the *Irish* side, and along the side of *Solway* to *Burgh upon sands* to *Inverquhar*, now *Carrist*, where it passed the *river* or *Ed*. Thence it was carried on crofts the little river of *Cambeck*, where the ruins of a great castle were to be seen. Afterwards passing the rivers *Irthing* and *Poltroffe*, it entered *Northumberland*, and thro' those mountains along the river *South-Tyne*, was continued by a bridge over *North-Tyne*, and ended at the *German* ocean.

wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In some places it is six yards deep, hewn out of the solid rock. The wall itself was about eight feet thick, and in very few places built upon that of *Adrian*. *Camden* takes this to be the wall, that was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the island. But one legion only was then sent over, and that was soon after recalled and could one legion, in a very short time, and in great haste to return, build, even with the assistance of the *Britons*, a stone wall eight feet in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us seems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this last wall was built upon that of *Severus* between *Bodotria* and *Glota*, where, in *Buchanan's* time, were discovered the remains of a stone wall¹. This is the opinion of the learned *Usher*, who maintains, that *Bede* was mistaken in placing the last wall between the *Eden* and the *Tine*². The last legion, sent to the assistance of the *Britons*, drove out the barbarians with great slaughter, and recovered the country they had seized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning such a vast tract to the enemy, they would have chosen to build a wall eighty miles in length, through mountains, to return to the continent, when they might have employed so much less country with a wall not half so long?

But, of all the noble works in *Britain*, the famous one of *Stonehenge*, ^{as} *Usher* in *his* *History* is justly esteemed by all antiquaries the most ancient, as well as the most curious, both for the stupendous ^{trudish} size and the elegant disposition of the stones that form that fabric, and of which we promised in a former chapter³ to give our readers such an account, as might help them to form an idea of the excellent taste of those druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and might serve to shew the nature and design of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of *Europe* (G), where they bore any sway; and herein we shall make

¹ BUCHANAN Scot l iv sub rege 27 ² Usher Brit. p 1024, 1027 ³ See vol xviii p 559, 560.

(G) Though there are many of these to be found in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, &c yet they are no where so frequent as in these *British* isles, even, as our author observes, from the very *Land's end* in *Cornwall* to the utmost promontory in *Scotland*, where the *Roman* power never reached. They are to be seen in all the islands between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the isle of *Man*, in all the *Orkneys*, and are numerous in *Ireland*, and all pretty near after the same design, being generally arches of rude stones, of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open hearths and downs, and chiefly made of stones taken from the

make no difficulty to follow a late learned author's description of it in every case but that we have formerly excepted its being a British temple, seeing it is, in all other respects, the most exact and accurate we have; tho' we shall refer those who desire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate description here cited §.

and not
built by
either
Saxons or
Danes.

THE name of *Stonehenge*, being of Saxon extract, and signifying barely an heap of hanging or gallows stones, is so contemptible a one for so noble a work, that it plainly shews it to have been reared long before their coming into England. Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had any traces of its builders, and their design in it, remained in their time, they would doubtless have called it by a much more honourable name. The antient Britons, in the time of the Romans invading them, spoke of it only by long and immemorial tradition, and as of a work far above human power; and called it, in their language, *Choir Ghaur*, which some interpret the *choir* or *dance of giants*, on account of a general not on that ran through all those countries, where such heaps of vast stones were set up, that it was done by giants, though others, more absurdly, ascribed it to the assistance of daemons, probably from the reputation which the druids were in for their skill in magic, and by the help of which they were supposed to have reared those stupendous piles in the form they stood; though our author very judiciously observes, that *Choir Ghaur* might be more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all other works of this kind in bigness, and, not unlikely, in dignity, on account of the archdruid, or of his holding his grand assembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This

The notion
of its be-
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futed.

Why call-
ed by the
Britons
Choir
Ghaur.

§ STUKELEY Stonehenge.

the surface of the earth, though some of them appear to be of different form, and so decayed and disfigured by time, that it is hardly possible to guess at their original use or intention, except from the analogy which they seem to bear with those that are more perfect, as this we are upon (8).

Those on the continent have suffered still more, not only from the Romans, who took singular

pride in destroying them, and introducing some of their own in their stead, and bringing the Gauls over to their religion and customs; but likewise from the blind zeal of weak Christians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to destroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry, and superstitious cruelties. The reader may consult concerning them the authors quoted below (9).

(8) See before, vol. xii p. 494, & seq. Kyzler annq. septentr. &c.

(9) Vid. *relig. des Gaul.* lib. i. cap. 13.

any way is altogether suitable to the grandeur of the fabric, and the design of it, whether we suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, or, as seems more probable to us, for some other public use, in either of which it appears equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way to convince us, that it never was reared by the *Romans*; for the ancient *Britons* would hardly have given such a grand name to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our author has taken a much more effectual way to convince us, that it could be none of their work, much less such an one as our famed architect *Inigo Jones* (if he really was the author of that plan and performance which Mr. *Webb* published under his name, and has been so amply confuted by Dr. *Charlton*^h and *Keyzler*) has endeavoured to prove it, and in which he asserts it to be a round *Roman* temple, like the *Pantheon* (H).

DR. CHARLTON, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the *Danes*; upon which he was soon after confuted by *Olaus Vormius*ⁱ, there being really no such monuments to be found among the nations. Besides, this of *Stonchenge* is mentioned in some manuscripts of *Ninnius*, who wrote two hundred years before they set foot in *Britain*; all which is a sufficient confutation of its being a *Danish* work. *Keyzler*, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our *British* antiquities, after having confuted the notion of *Inigo Jones*, of its being a *Roman* temple, or having any relation to public worship, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being some old broken remains of the flood (I), endeavours to prove it a sepulchral monument

^h Chorea gigant.

ⁱ Fast. & monument. Danic.

(H) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publisher, to make the dimensions answer to his scheme, has been forced to alter and misrepresent them, to displace some of those huge stones, and remove them at such a distance as best answered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards discovered by a new survey of it before persons of taste and judgment. *Jones* not publishing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that

he never designed it; and that, upon a serious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But, upon his death, Mr. *Webb* his son-in-law, it is thought, found an expedient of surmounting that difficulty, by the alterations we have mentioned; and, by way of salvo, tells the world, that if his father-in-law had lived to finish it, it would have appeared in a much better dress.

(I) There are two other vulgar errors more worth confuting than any of these, because they have proved exceedingly detrimental

The structure a sepulchral monument.

nument erected by the *Anglo-Saxons*^k. We hope we have already said enough to prove, that, if it was such a sepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the antient *Britons*; though he is pleased, in order to prove them every way unqualified for such a work, to represent them as such ignorant savages, and so like the wild *Americans*^l, that he thinks it argument sufficient (and indeed it is the only one he gives) against any one believing them to have been the contrivers of it. But, how truly soever this character may suit to his antient *Germans*, we hope to shew in the sequel of this chapter, besides what we have already said of the *Britons*, and their druids, that they were the very reverse of what he has painted them: he has succeeded much better in his proofs, that it was a monumental work from many more of the like nature and form, which are known and allowed to be such. Our author himself tells us of one in *Ireland*, which, by his description, is *Stonehenge* in miniature, and which he owns to have been the monument of a famed druidess^m; though he insinuates it to be her temple likewise (K).

THIS

^k Antiquit. septentr. p. 50, & seq. 97, & seq. 109, & seq. 230, & seq. ^l Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 13, & seq. ^m Stonehenge restored, p. 3, & 4.

mental to these antient monuments. The one is, the notion of the stones being factitious, or cast by art; which has induced stupid pretenders to antiquity to come and disfigure those curious stones with chisels and hammers, to find out whether they are really so or not. The other is, their digging near and round about them, in hopes of finding out some hidden treasures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others so very near doing so, that, if this humour continues much longer, those noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into an heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left, either of their structure, design, or magnificence, but what we find in such descriptions as those given by this and other authors.

There is a third absurd notion among the vulgar there, that

the precise number of the stones cannot be come at by the most diligent search, and that it is even ominous and dangerous to attempt it. Our author, however, hath ventured to compute it as follows: The great oval consists of ten uprights; the inner with the altar of twenty, the great circle of thirty, the inner of forty; which makes up one hundred uprights. Five imposts on the great oval, thirty on the great circle, two on the bank of the area; one lying within the entrance of it, and standing without, and another lying on the ground by the wall of the court, directly opposite to the entrance of the avenue; in all, one hundred and forty stones, according to him; but whether right or not, we do not pretend to determine.

(K) What he mentions in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than a sepulchral monument,

THIS fabric is situate on a pleasant part of *Salisbury* plain, *Described* about two miles from *Amberbury*, and six from *Salisbury*, and is seated not upon the summit of an hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle ascent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile distance the appearance of it is quite stately, awful, and august, especially on the north-east side, which is the most perfect. According to our author's plan or ichnography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outside of *St. Paul's* cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen feet complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for these are not all of equal height; the reason of which will be given by-and-by; for the height of the inner circle, or rather ellipsis, as our author has proved it, bears a just proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at present some of these stones either stooping, or by long time being sunk lower, come somewhat short of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleness likewise of their lights and shades, as well as the variety arising from their circular form, add to the elegance of the prospect; so that it is not without reason that our great *Jones* blamed Mr. *Camden* for calling *Camden's* it so senselessly as he doth in his *Britannia*, *insana substructio, an senseless huge*, or, as he englishes it, *a wild kind of structure*; whereas its *cenfure* of plainly appears to have been the very reverse, and a most regular^{it}. and curious piece of art (L).

THE

monument, to wit, the horns, bones, charcoal, and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite insufficient, it being common, at the funerals of the ancient *Britons* and *Gauls*, not only to offer hecatombs of victims, which alone would answer for these horns, bones, &c. but likewise to bury their favourite horses and slaves, as has been formerly shewn (1): and if the reader will be pleased to look back at what we have said of the funerals of their brethren the *Scythians*, especially of those of the highest rank (2), and compare it with the form and disposition of the stones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more

decent refinement upon that ancient and inhuman *Scythian* custom; and only rearing a number of huge stones in this form, instead of the skins of men and horses, which they used to stuff, and set up round their monuments; for as it favoured less of barbarity, so it was of a much more lasting nature.

(L) It is indeed but too plain, that he either had never seen it, or that he took but a slight view of it; and his description is so faulty and incorrect, that he seems not to have thought it worth a more exact survey, tho' he had seen those of Mr. *Aubrey* and *Inigo Jones*. But even these likewise he seems to have had

(1) See vol. xviii. p. 638.

(2) See vol. vi. p. 67, & seq.

*The circuit
and
area.*

*Altar-
stone.*

*Prospects
from
Stone-
henge.*

THE whole is inclosed within a circular ditch, which being crossed, one ascends thirty-five yards before he comes to the work; so that the area, as it is inclosed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the distance from the ditch within-side, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horseback, you are struck with astonishment at the sight of the vast stones, whether you view those that are still standing in their antient site, or those which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or those which lie down, and by their immense weight have crushed a number of others under them, especially that which our author supposes to have been the altar-stone (M), and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What increases the wonder, especially to a man versed in these antique works, is, that, among those dreadful dilapidations, in which every stone lies, like the carcase of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains still as much of it undemolished, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect state, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contrast, which the view of the inside gives you, when joined to the vast and beautiful prospect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to those huge stones, and the vast ponderous imposts over them, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you see whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havock below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inside out. The other gives you a most spacious and variegated prospect of the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call *l'espasian's* camp; a beau-

but little opinion of, and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them. We confess, that he has very judiciously exploded both their notions, as well as all those other vulgar ones, which ascribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but the antient *Britons*.

(M) And so it may really have been; let the fabric be supposed a temple, a sepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, seeing that, as we have observed before, sacrifices were used in great

numbers in all those solemnities, and an altar cannot but be supposed to have been fixed in some convenient part of the building; but why so close to one part of the cell or nich as Mr. *Jones* has made it, and not in the centre, where *Kluzler* would rather have it, this reason may be well enough assigned, that it is most likely to have stood where we find the huge fragments still lying, and crushed by one of the large imposts falling upon it; for, had it stood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.

titul

tiful prospect it is! another the antient hippodrome, or place for horse and chariot-races; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author supposes, begins some miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interspersed with a vast number of mounds, or, as they are called, barrows, some larger than others. The largest of them is inclosed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. These are set thicker and closer in one place, and thinner at another; and, upon digging some of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and some kinds of beads, and other pieces of glass, crystal, jet, amber, and such-like female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as also some swords, hatchets, and other weaponsⁿ, have been dug out of them; which plainly shew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the antient Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes, is not easy to determine, though the first seems most probable upon one account, which the reader will find in the note (N). These barrows, however, are so thick about the neighbourhood

*The bar-
rows or
burying-
places.*

*Weapons,
and other
things
digged out
of them.*

ⁿ Stonehenge restored, p. 10, 43, & seq.

(N) The author observes, that the *via Icenia*, or *Ikenung street*, a road made by the Romans, which reached from *Norfolk* into *Dorsetshire*, infringes upon one of those barrows, and crosses some part of it; from which it is reasonable to conclude, that these barrows were older than that road (3).

Besides those human and other bones, and materials, which have been digged out of these barrows, there was a broad sword taken out of one, and sent to *Oxford*; in another was found a weapon of the same metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel *Wyndham*; out of a third was dug a brass instrument, called celt, and is supposed to have belonged to some druid, and to have been used for cutting the mistle off the oaks. We have taken notice in the history of the

Gauls, that their druids used one made of gold for that purpose (4). In one of the female barrows was found, besides some other ornaments and trinkets, the head of a javelin of brass, at the socket of which were two holes for the pins, that fastened it to the staff, and a sharp bodkin, round at one end, and square at the other, where it went into an handle. Some of the trinkets seem to have been originally coverd with metal; and one of them had still a thin film of gold: all which sufficiently shew this barrow to have been the sepulchre of some heroine.

Those materials, as well as the bones, appear to have suffered the fire in some, though not in others. In some likewise the ashes were deposited in a small urn of reddish earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally

(3) *Stukeley's Stonehenge*, p. 3, & seq. *Mona ant. q. sect.* ix. p. 33, & seq. p. 92, & seq.

(4) See before, vol. xviii. p. 543, sub not.

The vast
number of
them.

That of
king Car-
vilius.

That call-
ed Bush-
barrow.

Stone-
henge pro-
bably a se-
pulchral
monument;

rather
than a
temple.

Some con-
jectures
concerning
its use.

bourhood of *Stonehenge*, that, from some heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in sight^o. Among them one may observe, in some places, two or more, sometimes to the number of six or seven, inclosed in the same circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the rest, and seems to be the tomb of some head of a family, and the rest that of the family itself. The most remarkable of all the rest are, that which is called the tomb of king *Carvilius*, who was the famed king of the *Iceni*, who fought against *Julius Cæsar*. It stands on the other side *Wilton*, antiently *Carvitium*, so named, as is supposed, from, if not built by, him. It is situate on an eminence, and of an handsome height, and has four tall stately trees planted on the top. From this mount you have the prospect of *Old* and *New Sarum*, of *Wilton* house and park, the *Ikening* road, and some distant hills. The other, called *Bushbarrow*, is beautifully planted by the shepherds, and commands the prospect of *Stonehenge*, of the *curfus*, or antient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, besides a most elegant and spacious landscape^p. Thus much may serve to give an idea of the grand prospect, which this noble structure affords you from without.

But these barrows evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itself, which is, as it were, the centre and kebla of them. Will not this destroy our supposition of the latter being likewise a sepulchral monument? Will it not appear absurd to suppose such a noble fabric to have been subservient to the same ends with those hillocks, which are seen around it? And will it not be more reasonable to suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to answer, that we should have made no difficulty of admitting it such a temple, had we not so many convincing arguments, that neither *Celts*, nor *Gauls* and *Britons*, had any such buildings till long after the coming of the *Romans*. We have given our reasons in a former chapter, and hope they will appear satisfactory when duly weighed. However, to shew that our conjecture is not really so inconsistent, as it may appear at the first sight, we shall observe, first, that there is a manifest difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is designed only to inclose the remains, and the other to preserve the me-

^o Stonehenge restored, p 45. & plate xxxi.
plate xxxiii. & seq.

^p See p. 46. &

north and south. From all which it is concluded, that the custom of burning dead bodies was in use among the *Britons*, as well

as that of burying without it, before the invasions of the *Romans*.

mory, of the deceased. These might be appropriated for the sepulture of the great ones, and their family; and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards deposited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the stone fabric might be the sepulchre of kings, and consequently deserve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high esteem; or more particularly of the heads of that order, or grand druids, and as such require not only a more stately appearance, but likewise to bear some kind of affinity, as, in fact, it seems to do, in its structure, to those sacred groves, in which they performed their religious ceremonies. But, lastly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the most probable conjecture, from the relation which those barrows bear to the building, is, that this last was, as it were, the centre or kebla, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of distance, to all the rest, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be designed not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majestic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more especially to those of a superior rank and merit, but likewise to ascertain the property of each barrow to its respective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they stood east or west, &c. from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compass, and of geometry, is evident from the very plan, structure, situation, and symmetry of the fabric, as has been demonstrated by our author himself, as well as by some others, who have written before him of it (O).

Ac-

(O) This conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile seems to confirm it (to wit, the long and spacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itself at a convenient distance, the one road towards the *curfus*, and the other to *Radfin*, and the adjacent plains, the situation and structure of the edifice, its prospect and command over all the country, especially the barrows and *curfus* above-mentioned), we may carry it on a little farther, and suppose the corpse of the deceased, especially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to

have proceeded with a suitable funeral pomp, such as we have formerly shewn was observed by the *Scythians* to their monarchs (5) from the place of his residence to this sepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it. The area on the outside might serve for exhibiting such games, shews, and fights, as were usual on such occasions, to the numerous spectators round about, and of which we shall speak in due place. After which, the company might proceed to the *curfus*, and there close the ceremony with races,

(5) See vol. vi. p. 67, & seq.

*The stones,
 whence
 and how
 brought
 hither.*

*Falsly sup-
 posed to be
 artificial.*

ACCORDING to the unthinking vulgar, these stones were brought hither by magic, by the help of demons, or by giants, either of which were readily enough supposed able to bring them upon their backs from *Africa* (P); whilst the wiser sort rather imagined them to be facitious, and cast from some such composition as sand and mortar, and the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion, as we hinted in a late note, has been sufficiently, and, we may say, experimentally, disproved, though to the great detriment and disfiguring of the stones themselves, and the endangering of the structure.

THESE stones, rough and battered as they have been by these pretended curiosoes, as well as by a long series of ages, appear to have been originally smoothed by the chisel, at least as far as they stand above-ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth, it shews itself, upon digging round it, to be in its primitive roughness, and as it was digged up out of the quarry, or, as our author rather supposes, and with greater seeming probability, as they were found lying on the surface of the ground in great numbers, and various dimensions, perhaps

and other such-like exercises. Every one of these places seems indeed so excellently situate, as if they had been designed for this grand ceremony. They all stand at a convenient distance from one another, and each commands the prospect of the others, and may be viewed at a great distance by the largest number of spectators which we can suppose to have assisted at it. We shall only add, that this notion includes all the various conjectures, which our best antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various ancient traditions of it, or from their own discoveries. It answers to that of a temple by reason of its sacredness, its resemblance to the ancient religious groves, and the sacrifices, and other rites, performed there. It answers to that of a sepulchral monument, on account of its being appropriated to the grandest funeral ceremonies, and its being the centre or kebla to all the ad-

jacent monuments round about: to that of an amphitheatre, on account of the funeral games and shews exhibited at it; and may also have served for a convening-place of the national council for the election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand druid, whilst they assisted at the obsequies of a deceased one. Lastly, it appears not to have been reared by either *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danrs*, because it is evidently prior to them all, for the reasons we have alleged a little higher, to which we shall subjoin one more, as we come now to speak of the huge stones, that compose this stupendous fabric.

(P) From a notion, which our author has likewise adopted, which supposes *Aser* to have been the same with *Hepher*, one of the sons of *Abraham* by *Ke-turah*, to have come hither from *Africa* with *Hercules*, and to have brought with him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now speaking of.

ever

ever since the creation of the world, and as they are to be seen still in vast quantities upon *Marlborough* downs near *Abury*, at a place called from thence the *Grey Wethers*, and are of the same kind, to wit, a bastard white marble † (Q).

THE difficulty is, to conceive how stones of that immense weight, one of which, though neither the largest nor heaviest, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and consequently would have required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original seat to *Stoneheng*, which is sixteen computed miles, and along such uneven ground, and in such quantities as compose the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been sunk into the ground by such a monstrous weight, unless it be that of rollers: but even this must appear a more than *Herculean* labour; the arduousness of which cannot be extenuated, but by the supposition, that the whole, or at least the greatest part, of the nation contributed their help towards it in their turns. *Their bulk and weight.* *Difficulty of bringing them from the quarry.*

THE rearing of them afterwards in such form and situation, was a work of no less difficulty; for though we may reasonably suppose, that they were all pecked and chiseled, had their mortises and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the design, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will easily perceive what an immense labour it must be to rear stones of that vast bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at such due distances, that the architraves or imposts, that locked them to each other at the top, should fall so exactly every mortise upon its own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of these tenons are so exactly fitted to its mortise, that if either of the standing stones had been set ever so little out of its place, and *Disposition and form.* *Difficulty of rearing them in the regular order.*

† See *Stoneheng*. ub. sup. MONTFAUCON. *supplem. de l'antiquit.* MAHÜDEL. KEYZLER. CHORILR. *histor. Delphinat. Relig. des Gaul.* LA FAILLE *annal.* Tholofan. & al.

(Q) Hence another argument is drawn of its being of antienter date than the coming of the *Romans*; for, by this time, the *Belgæ*, a colony of the *Gauls*, had seized upon, and seated themselves in, that part of the country; so that the *Britons* must have fetched these stones from, and drawn them some miles through, an enemy's country, unless we could suppose, that those *Belgæ* were the builders of *Stoneheng*; which is less probable than that the *Britons* did, because these have left such kinds of monumental piles where ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher.

perpen-

perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due distance and position; especially considering that there were at least fifteen in number of this large sort, set up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, nearest to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigness. Each tenon is a druidish cubit, somewhat above twenty inches in diameter on the broadest side; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortises exactly answerable to it. By this contrivance the imposts or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and these are kept firm to each other. Where the imposts are heaviest, the tenons are shortest; and where those are lightest, and consequently more in danger to be shaken, as in those of the outward circle, these are made longest, and the mortises deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impost be divided into three squares, the two mortises will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they intersect is the centre of the mortise; which central distance from one to the other is seven druidish cubits, or about eight of ours. We might mention several other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from such plain and simple principles, as would best answer every purpose of the grand design^r. However, hence we may frame an idea of the curiousness, as well as arduousness, of the work, which must be owned to outvie all that we read of single obelisks, pillars, and statues, how gigantic soever, if we except the pyramids of Egypt, and the Rhodan colossus, of which we have given an account in former volumes^s.

The fabric described. THE whole fabric consisted of four circles, or rather ovals, of stones, the most considerable of which had ten uprights, and five architraves or imposts, making up five trilithons, each trilithon consisting of two uprights, and one impost, which locked them together at the top by the tenons and mortises above-mentioned. These trilithons are not all of the same height, as our author observed, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegance; but each of them raised its head or impost somewhat higher, as it drew nearest to that before which the altar is judged to have stood, and which appears to have been not only the highest, but finest, both for the smoothness and beauty of the stones. The height of these trilithons, with their architraves or cornices is computed, in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimension in a work so decayed by time and weather; the uprights

^r Ubi sup. p. 26, & seq.
 p. 161, & seq.

^s See vol. i. p. 425, & seq. vol. viii.

being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and lessening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and an half, making up the complement of twenty-four feet. These imposts, on the outward face, bore the same sweep *Form of* with the oval which they composed; but on the inside within *the impost*, a strait line. They seem likewise to have been somewhat broader on the top than at the bottom; so that their sides bear a little slant downwards, whether to preserve them the better from the weather, or to make up the shortening, which is caused by their elevation from the sight. The gradual ascent of these three *Height and* orders, as they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to *breadth of* our author's, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen druidish cubits. The *the trili-* breadth of each trilithon is computed, in a medium, about ten *thons*. cubits of the same measure, and is consequently the length at least of the impost. Each upright is about three feet nine inches thick, and twice that, *i. e.* seven feet and an half in breadth, or four cubits and an half druidish. Each trilithon, which composes this oval cell, stands at such convenient distance from the other, as to yield a beautiful prospect into it, which is not a *Dimen-* little heightened by the space which stands between the two *sions of the* uprights, and which widens upwards, as these lessen in their *ellipsis*. breadth, and form an oval from its two centres, whose longest radius is fifteen, and shortest twelve, druidish cubits; so that the ellipsis is formed by a line of sixty cubits; which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longest, and twenty-five at the shortest, five cubits being the supposed distance between the two centres (R).

THIS was the figure and greatness of that which Mr. Jones called the cell, and our author the adytum or the concha of the supposed temple, and which we have taken the more pains in

" P. 26.

(R) Hence, among several other arguments, one may infer, that this nich or cell could not be originally such an hexagon, as Mr. Jones supposed it; much less could it be formed, as he pretended, at the six points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this had been the case, there must have been six instead of five trilithons; but here is not the least footstep of a sixth, no

stump or fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be supposed to have stood; so that three stones of that immense weight and magnitude, as we have described them, must be imagined to have been spirited away by the same magic art, by which the vulgar supposed the whole to have been reared, before we can think, that it ever had this trigonometrical form.

*Lesser
ovals
within the
great one.*

*Difference
between
them.*

*The val-
lum or
large ditch
round the
whole.*

describing, as it is indeed, the grandest part of the whole. As for the remainder of the structure, though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much lesser, though harder and finer stones. This circle (together with the long stone now broken, which is supposed to have been the altar, and is of a darkish-blue marble, such as is often set upon common altar-tombs, and about sixteen feet in length) consists of twenty stones, the greatest part of which are broken and mangled; but not so much as to hinder a curious observer from recovering the order in which they stood, though their use and design is hard to be guessed at. Another circle or oval of forty stones surrounded the cell or adytum at a proper distance. These were likewise of a much lesser size; after which one comes out to the greatest or outer circle, composed of thirty stones, likewise harder, and somewhat of a pyramidal form. It seems as if the founders had wisely provided, that their lesser bulk should be compensated by their solidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, consisted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preserved the same distance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; whereas, in the former or outward circle, the standers were joined by a continued cornice. Each stander or upright here had two tenons, at equal distances on the top, by which the two imposts were locked by their mortises, and so continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was surrounded by a *vallum* or deep ditch at a proportionate distance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual ascent up to the fabric, afforded a noble prospect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed from it all the champaign country round it.

AND thus much shall suffice for us to say on this stupendous *British* fabric, which has astonished and puzzled all the architects, antiquaries, and curiosoes, that have either seen or read of it. We hope, that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the most considerable and curious part of this account, will not take it amiss, that we have not followed his hypothesis of its having been a druidish temple, when he considers the reasons we have given for our asserting, that neither *Gauls*, *Germans*, nor antient *Britons*, had ever any such buildings, till long after their being conquered by the *Romans*, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongst them, that is, the worship of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and a great number of other inferior deities.

THE three walls, which we have spoken of above, were, in Britannia different times, the boundaries of the Roman empire, dividing Superior *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*; which last appellation they gave to that part of Britain which was not subject to Rome. *Britannia Romana* was divided into *Britannia Superior*, and *Britannia Inferior*, or *Upper* and *Lower Britain*. The former reached from the *Chanel* at least as far as *Chester*, comprehending both *England* and *Wales*, as they are now stiled; for, on one hand, we read in *Dio Cassius*, that the *legio secunda Augusta* was quartered in *Upper Britain* ^w; and on the other, in *Ptolemy*, that it had its station at *Isca Silurum*, now *Caer Lleon*, about four miles from the *Severn* in *Monmouthshire* ^x. The same *Dio Cassius* tells us, that the *Legio vigesima*, called likewise *Valeriana* and *Victrix*, was quartered in *Upper Britain*; and both *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* determine the place, to wit, *Deva*, now *Chester*, on the *Deva*, now the *Dee*. The *Legio sexta Victrix* is placed by *Dio Cassius* in *Lower Britain*; and by *Antoninus*, as well as by *Ptolemy*, at *Eboracum* or *York*, which, as it is plain from hence, stood in *Lower Britain*. Under this division was comprised only that part of Britain which was subject to the Romans, the other more northern part being by them distinguished with the name of *Britannia Barbara*. This division owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor *Severus*, who, having settled the affairs of Britain, divided it, as we read in *Herodian* ^y, into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any division of Britain; and *Ptolemy*, who divides *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia*, into *Upper* and *Lower*, takes no notice of any such division in his description of Britain; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, this division was not yet introduced. If *Severus* was, as he seems to have been, the author of this division, *Britannia Inferior* extended to the isthmus between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he built a wall, parting *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*.

BRITANNIA ROMANA, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Britain*, was first divided, probably by *Constantine the Great*, into four governments; to wit, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. *Britannia Prima* lay between the *Chanel* on one side, and the *Thames* and the *Severn* on the other; *Britannia Secunda* reached from the *Severn* to the *Irish* sea; *Flavia Cæsariensis* was inclosed by the *Thames*, the *Severn*, and the *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæsariensis* extended from the *Humber* to *Adrian's* wall. To these was added afterwards the province of *Valentia*, probably so

^w DIO CASS. l. lv. p. 564.
 RODIAN. l. iii. c. 8.

^x PROL. l. ii. c. 3. ^y HE-

called by the emperor *Valentinian* from his brother *Valens*; for, in the reign of *Valentinian*, this country, extending from *Adrian's wall* to the friths of *Bodotria* and *Glota*, was recovered by *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name. This division we have copied from the breviary which *Sextus Rufus* wrote, and dedicated to the emperor *Valentinian*. Of this work, some imperfect copies leave out *Flavia Cæsariensis*; and one of these *Camden* has followed.

The form
of the
Roman
govern-
ment in
Britain.
Their civil go-
vern-
ment.

EACH of these provinces had its particular magistrate, some a consular, others only a *præfes* or president. They were all, according to the *Notitia*, subject to the *vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, one of the four *præfecti prætorio* instituted by *Constantine*. The vicar of *Britain* had several officers under him, for the better and more expeditious administration of civil affairs; to wit, his *princeps* or lieutenant; a *cornicularius*, who published the sentences and decrees of the vicar and other magistrates, and was so called from *cornu*, an *horn*, with the sounding of which he commanded silence in the court; two *numerarii* or accountants, whose province it was to set down the sums of the public revenues, a *commentariensis* or gaoler, so called from the *commentaria* or kalendars of the prisoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called *ab actis*, that is, public notaries, who wrote testaments, contracts, and other instruments; secretaries called *de cura*, and *de cura epistolarum*, whose office it was to write and send letters and dispatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Besides a great number of petty officers, to wit, informers, pursuivants, apparitors, &c. the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three presidents, and two consulars; for by presidents were governed *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*; and the other two, *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Valentia*, by consulars; as appears from the *Notitia*, and was agreeable to the custom of the *Romans*, who, on the decline of the empire, committed to consulars the care of those provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were most exposed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reversing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the same power was the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul* vested, with respect to the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The ensigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five castles placed on the triangular form of the island, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces which they represented ².

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government administered. As to the mili-

² Vide PANCROZ. in notit. imperii.

tary, it was executed by three chief officers under the *magister militum* of the west; to wit, the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*. No mention is made in the *Notitia* of the troops under the command of the count of Britain, nor of the places under his jurisdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coasts, and in the northern parts of Britain, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from thence, that the inland and south part of the island was subject to his command. The *comes litoris Saxonici*, or count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to cover the eastern coast lying over-against Germany, and prevent the Saxon pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight *præpositi* under his command, and one tribune; to wit, the *præpositus* or commander of the *numerus* or cohort of the *Fortenses*, quartered at *Othona*, thought to be *Hastings*; the *præpositus* of the *Tungricani* at *Dubris* or *Dover*; the *præpositus* of the *Turnacenses* at *Lemanis* or *Lime*; the *præpositus* of the *Branodunenses*, who were *Dalmatian* horse, at *Branodunum* or *Brancaſter* in *Norfolk*; the *præpositus* of the *Stableſian* horse at *Gariannonum* or *Caſtor*, near *Yarmouth*; the *præpositus* of the second legion, called *Augusta*, quartered at *Rutupiæ* or *Richborough*; the *præpositus* of the *Abulci* at *Anderida* or *Newenden*; and the *præpositus* of the *exploratores*, whose office it was to discover the state and motions of the enemy, at *Portus Adurni*, or *Ederington* in *Suffex*. The tribune commanded under the *præpositus* of the legion.

THE *dux Britanniarum* had under him fourteen *præpositi*; *Dux Brit-* to wit, the *præpositus* of the sixth legion quartered at *York* or *Tannia-* *Eboracum*; the *præpositus* of the *Dalmatian* horse at *Præſidium*, or *Patrington* in *Holderness*; the *præpositus* of the *Criſpian* horse at *Danum* or *Doncaſter*; the *præpositus* of the *Cataſtractarian* horse at *Morbium*, perhaps *Moresby* in *Cumberland*; the *præpositus* of the *Barcarii Tigrinenſes* at *Arbeia* or *Ferby* in the ſame county; the *præpositus* of the *Nervii Diſtinenſes* at *Diſtis* or *Diganwy* in *Caernarvonſhire*; the *præpositus* of the *Vigiles* or ſcouts at *Concangii* or *Kendal* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Exploratores* at *Lavatres* or *Bowes* in *Yorkſhire*; the *præpositus* of the *Directi* at *Veteræ* or *Burgh-upon-Stanmore* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Defensores* at *Broconiacum* or *Bougham* in the ſame county; the *præpositus* of the *Solenſes* at *Magona*, thought by *Camden* to be *Machleneth* in *Montgomeryſhire*; the *præpositus* of the *Paceniſes* at *Magi* or *Old Radnor*; the *præpositus* of the *Longonicarii* at *Longonicus* or *Langcheſter*, in the biſhoprick of *Durham*; and laſtly, the *præpositus* of the *Derventio-nenſes*, ſo called from *Derventio*, where they were quartered, a town upon the *Derwent*, ſeven miles from *York*, thought to be *Auldby*.

Auldy. All these *præpositi* are named in the *Notitia*, with the places where they were quartered.

*A guard
kept on
the wall.*

BESIDES the above-mentioned forces, a strong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the *Notitia* expresses it, along the line of the wall, *per lineam valli*. Here was posted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Largi*, at a place called *Segodunum*, now *Seaton*, on the sea-coast of *Northumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Comenii* had his station at *Pons Ælii* or *Pontland* in *Northumberland*. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor *Ælius Adrianus*. The tribune of the *ala* of the *Astores* was quartered at *Condercum* or *Chester-upon-the-street*, in the bishoprick of *Durham*. Next to him was stationed the tribune of the first cohort of the *Frixagi* at *Vindobala*, as we read in the *Notitia*, or *Vindomora*, as it is styled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the *British* language, *finis muri*, and the latter *finis valli*; and hence the place is now called the *Wall's-end*, in *Northumberland*, the river *Tine* serving, perhaps, instead of a rampart, from this place to the sea. The præfect of the *ala Saviniana* was posted at *Hunnum*, which *Camden* conjectures to be *Sevenshale* in the same county. The præfect of the second *ala* of the *Astores* lay at *Cilurnum*, which some take for *Cillerford*, and some for *Scilicest-on-the-wall*, likewise in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Batavi* was stationed at *Procolitia*, according to some, *Colchester* upon the *Tine*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Tungri* was quartered at *Borcovicus* or *Borwick* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Gauls* at *Vindolana*, or *Vinchester-on-the-wall*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Astores* at *Æsica*, thought to be *Netherly* on the *Esk* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Dalmatæ* at *Magni*, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not *Radnor*, called by the same name. The tribune of the first cohort *Ælia* at *Amboglanna*, according to some, *Wilsford* in *Cumberland*, according to *Camden*, *Ambleside* in *Westmorland*. The præfect of the *ala Petriana* at *Perith* in *Cumberland*. The præfect of the *Mauri Aureliani* at *Aballaba*, or *Apleby* in *Westmorland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Largi* at *Congavata*, or *Rose-castle* near *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Hispani* at *Axelodunum*, now *Hexham* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of *Thracians* at *Gabrosentum*, *Gateshead*, close to *New-castle*. The tribune of the first cohort, called *Ælia Classica*, at *Sunnocellum* or *Timmouth*. This cohort, *Camden* thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thereunto by the surname of *Classica* given it in the *Notitia*.

THAT the Romans kept some vessels on the *Tine*, to hinder *Some vessels kept by the Caledonians* from making descents on their territories, is not *improbable*; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of *the Roman island*, is manifest from a law still extant in the pandects, *mans on the Tine*, wherein mention is made by *Javolenus* of one *Seius Saturninus*, *archigubernus*, or admiral, of the *British fleet*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Morini* was stationed at *Glannobanta*, thought by *Camden* to have stood on the *Wentbeek* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the third cohort of the *Nervii* at *Alione*, now *Whitley-castle* in *Westmorland*. The cuneus of the *Armarura* is placed by the *Notitia* at *Bremeturacum*, a station near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, sixty miles distant from the wall, as *Camden* would have it. The prefect of the first *ala Herculea* had his station at *Olenacum*, or *Ellenborough* in *Cumberland*, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Nervii* is mentioned last of all in the *Notitia*, and placed at *Verosidjum*, thought to be *Werewich* upon the *Eden*, near *Carlisle*. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. These three officers, to wit, the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces maintained in *Britannia*, under the two latter officers, amounted, according to *Pancirolus*, to nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops under the *comes Britanniarum*, we find no account in the *Notitia*; *Pancirolus* thinks, because the greater part of the island was then in the power of the barbarians. But this reason might have served against enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for, at the very time the *Notitia* was compiled, the *Britons* were, by frequent embassies, soliciting the emperor, and his officers in *Gaul*, for aid; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, set down in the *Notitia*, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the *Notitia*, no mention is made of the *comes Britanniarum*, but only of the *dux*, and the *comes tractus maritimi*, called *comes litoris Saxonici*, when the *Saxon* pirates began to infest the coasts. The first vicar of *Britain* we find mentioned in history, and probably the first who, with that title, governed here, is *Pacatianus*, to whom we find an edict directed in 319. enacting, that one *decuria* should not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another. The authority of the count of the *Saxon* shore was thought to have been confined

* Papd. SC. ad Trebell.
lib. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12 calend. Decemb. A.D. 319.

† Lib. ii. de exact. Cod. Theod.

within Britain, till it was, by the learned *Selden*, extended to the opposite coasts of *Cimbria*, *Batavia*, *Belgica*, and *Armarica*^c; for to them he finds the name of *litus Saxonicum* given by the writers of those times, no doubt, from their being infested by the *Saxon* pirates.

Ensigns of
the Ro-
man offi-
cers here.

THE count of Britain had for his ensigns a book of mandates, and the island represented in a triangular form: the count of the *Saxon* shore a purple book, with nine castles, representing the nine places where the *præpositi* and tribune under his command were quartered: and the *dux* likewise a purple book, with the fourteen places where the prefects under him were stationed. Of these munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the first has only the word *sextæ*, signifying, we suppose, the station of the sixth legion, which was quartered at *York*; whence that city is styled by *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Eboracum legio sexta*; and, in a coin of *Severus*, *Col. Eboracum Legio VI. Vindex*. If the power and jurisdiction of the count of the *Saxon* shore had extended to the opposite coasts of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as *Selden* maintains, mention would have been made in the *Notitia* of the forces under his command in those places; but, as the *Notitia* is quite silent upon that head, and, in the ensigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine *British* towns or garisons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this island. His troops were quartered in several towns or stations along the coast from *Kent* to the most northern part of *Norfolk*. The more northern coasts, and that facing *Ireland*, with the inland countries in those parts, were under the jurisdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*; for *Danum*, now *Doncaster*, seems to have been the most southern station of his troops. These stations, designed at first for camps, called in *Latin* *castra*, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almost all our great cities and towns, built either in the same places where the *Roman* camps were, or at a small distance from them. This observation holds especially in those, the names of which end in *chester* or *cester*, derived from the *Latin* word *castra*; for, to this day, the stations or forts near the *Pitts* wall, the remains of which are to be seen in several places, are, by the common people, called *chesters*^d.

The Ro-
man high-
ways.

To maintain a communication between one station and another, and for the convenience of the armies when they marched, or of the governors when they visited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or causeways, called *viæ militares*, *consulares*, *prætoriae*,

^c Vide *SELD.* in mari clauso.
in *Antonin* itiner.

^d Vide *BURTON.* comment.

strata, publicæ, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen mansions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the *Itinerary*, and in the *Notitia* forty-six garisons, to wit, nine on the sea-coast, under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici*, fourteen more inland, and twenty-three *per lineam valli*, or along the wall, under the jurisdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*, many highways must have been made for passing, according to the *Roman* custom, from one place, however distant, to another. Our historians, indeed, mention only four of note; but, in a province so abounding with stations, camps, fortresses, and cities, there must, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the *Notitia* given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, as well as of the other two great officers, we should have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this island; for *Bede* tells us out of *Gildas*, who flourished about the time the *Notitia* was composed, that, in those days, there were twenty-eight most stately cities, besides innumerable castles, fortified with strong walls, towers, and gates^e.

THE four ways, or, we call them, streets, mentioned by *The four* our historians, are, *Watling-street*, so called, as is conjectured, *great* either from *Vitellianus* a *Roman*, perhaps employed in making *roads*. it, or from a *Saxon* word signifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by some to have reached from *Dover* to *Cardigan* in *Wales*; by others to have extended from *Dover* to the coast over-against *Anglesey*, passing through *London*, *Dunstable*, *Towcester*, *Allerston*, and crossing the *Severn* near the *Wrekin* in *Shropshire*. The *Foss-ways*, so called perhaps, because, in some places, it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from *Totness* in *Cornwall* to *Lincoln*, and from *Lincoln* to *Cathness*, the most northern point in *Scotland*. *Ikenild-street*, so called, perhaps, from *Ieni*. It led from *Southampton* to *York*, and from thence to *Tinmouth*. *Ermine*, or *Erminage-street*, reaching from *St. David's* to *Southampton*^t. Besides these, we find two others mentioned in history, to wit, *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthshire*, made, as *Camden* conjectures, by *Julius Frontinus*, who subdued the *Silures*; and *Strata Marcella*, mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, as lying at a small distance from *Julia Strata*. The former is thought to have been the work of *Ulpius Marcellus*, proprætor of *Britain* in the reign of *Commodus*.

THE forces, employed in the defence of *Britain*, were all *Several* foreigners, as the reader must have observed, the *Romans* not *corps* of

^e *BED. hist. lib. i. c. 1.*
Antonin.

^t *Vide BARTON. comment. in itiner.*

Britons in
the Ro-
man ar-
mies.

thinking it safe to trust the natives, who, perhaps, would have defended their country with more vigour and resolution against the barbarians; but might, when masters of all the strong places, have turned their arms against their masters, and shaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the Romans transplanted into other countries the numerous levies raised here. It appears from the *Nepititia*, and several antient inscriptions, that bodies of British troops were dispersed almost over the whole empire: for we find the following corps mentioned; to wit, *Ala Britannica milliaria, Ala quanta Britonum in Ægypto, Cohors prima Ælia Britonum, Cohors tertia Britonum, Cohors septima Britonum, Cohors vicesima sexta Britonum in Armorica, Britannici sub magistro peditum, Inuicti juniores Britannici, Excubitores juniores Britannici, Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum, Inuicti juniores Britones intra Hispaniam, Britones seniores in Illyrico*. These different corps were supplied, from time to time, out of this island. No wonder therefore, that Britain, exhausted and deprived of its youth by so numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered there, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus described the state of Britain before and after the arrival of the Romans, we shall now proceed to the history of that part of it, which was subject to Rome, from the time of its being first invaded by Julius Cæsar, to its desertion by the Romans, in the reign of Valentinian III. containing the space of about five hundred years.

S E C T. II.

The History of Britain, from the first Coming of Julius Cæsar, to its Desertion by the Romans.

Cæsar's
first expe-
dition into
Britain.

BRITAIN was but little known to the Romans till the time of Julius Cæsar (A), who, having carried his victorious arms to the opposite coast of Gaul, parted from Britain by a narrow chanel, there formed the design of bringing the Britons,

(A) We must ingenuously confess, that we have no accounts, but such as are evidently fabulous, of what passed in this island before the Romans were acquainted with it. Gildas, who flourished in the latter end of the sixth century, freely owns, that, as for the antient monuments of

this country, they were no-where to be found in his time, being either destroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the banished Britons. However, Ammianus of Viterbo, in his *Berosus*, gives us a long succession of Celtic kings, whom he derives from Samothres, one of the

tons, as he had already done the most warlike nations of *Gaul*, under the dominion of *Rome*. Whatever was the real motive that

the sons of *Japhet*, supposing him to have planted colonies first on the continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and afterwards in this island, from him named *Samothea*. But *Annius* has been long since unmasked, and the fables he vents in his counterfeit *Berosus*, universally exploded. What *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* writes of *Brutus*, and the kings descended from him, supposed to have reigned in this island, deserves no more credit than the fables of *Annius*, whether *Geoffery* was the author, or only the translator, of that pretended history; for, in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an antient *British* history from *Waller* archdeacon of *Oxon*, which he faithfully translated out of the *British* tongue into *Latin*. This history, or rather romance, he inscribed to *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, natural son to *Henry I*. But though it was at first received with uncommon applause by the *Welsh*, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in *William Nubrigensis*, who flourished not long after, and writes of him thus;

“ In these our days a certain writer is risen, who has devised many foolish fictions of the *Britons*. His name is *Geoffery*.” And a little after: “ With how little shame, with what great confidence does he frame lies!” However, as it would be unpardonable in us to pass over in silence what all our historians have thought fit to take

notice of, we shall here relate, in a few words, what we read in *Geoffery's* fabulous history of *Brutus*, and his successors, said to have reigned in this island many ages before the arrival of the *Romans*. According to that writer, *Brutus*, the great-grandson of *Aeneas* by his son *Ascanius*, having accidentally killed with an arrow his father *Sylvius*, king of *Alba*, was forced to leave *Italy*; and flying into *Greece*, joined there the *Trojans*, who had settled in that country after the destruction of their city. With these he put to sea, being supplied with a fleet by *Pandrusus*, king of the country, whose daughter he had married; and entering the *Atlantic* sea, performed wonders in several places, particularly in *Gaul*, where he overcame *Goffarius* king of *Aquitain*, and drove him from his kingdom. But the banished king having prevailed upon the other princes of *Gaul* to lend him powerful succours, *Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to withstand so great a force, put to sea again, and, after a few days sail, arrived on the coast of *Albion*, and landed at the place in *Dorsetshire*, where *Islands* now stand. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whose chief or king was *Gogmagog*. These he overcame; and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the island, from his own name, *Britain*. Having got possession of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he

that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition, and thirst of glory, as to us seems most likely, or the hopes of enriching himself with the *British* pearls, as we read in *Suetonius* ^a, the pretence he alleged was, that, in all the wars of *Gaul*, the *Britons* had assisted, with considerable supplies, the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to pass over into *Britain*, and, by the conquest of this island, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in *Gaul*. As the summer was already far spent, and winter came on very early in these northern climates, he was sensible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finish the war. However, he thought it would be no small advantage to view the island, to learn the temper, customs, and manners, of the inhabitants, and to get some knowledge of their ports and havens, then visited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coast lying over-against *Gaul*; but seemed utter strangers to the rest of the country: for, being called together by *Cæsar* from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the island was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they understood the art of war; by what customs they were go-

^a Surt. in Jul. c. 58.

made the seat of his kingdom, calling it *Troja Nova*, a name afterwards changed into *Troynovantum*, or *Trinobantum*. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three sons. *Loecrinus*, the eldest, had *Leogria*, so called from him, now *England*. *Camber*, *Brutus*'s second son, had *Cambria*, now *Wales*; and *Albanactus*, *Albonia*, now *Scotland*. Having laid this foundation, the author pursues his history, giving us an account of the various revolutions that happened in the island in the reigns of the kings, who succeeded each other, from *Brutus* to *Cassibelan*, who, being appointed guardian to *Androgeus* and *Ternantius*, his two nephews, the sons of king *Lud*, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom

upon himself. *Lud* is said, by *Geoffrey*, to have surrounded the city of *London* with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is still called *Ludgate*. In the reign of *Cassibelan*, *Cæsar* landed in *Britain*; and here it is, as *Camden* well observes, that the *English* historian ought to begin his history, whatever *Geoffrey*, or others have written of the *British* affairs before this period being altogether groundless. As for *Geoffrey*'s history in particular, it sufficiently confutes itself, bringing with it such marks of forgery, as must evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of *Geoffrey* himself, or of the author, whom he pretends to have copied.

verned; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ships (B).

IN order therefore to discover what he could not learn of the merchants, he sent out *C. Volusenus* with a gally, injoining him to return as soon as possible with what intelligence he could get. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæsar* went in person to view the coast; but *Cæsar's* own account shews that writer was mistaken ^b. In the mean time *Cæsar* marched all his forces into the country of the *Morini*, now the province of *Picardy*, whence was the shortest passage into *Britain*, ordering at the same time all the vessels that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the *Morini*, to attend him. The *Britons*, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched ambassadors to *Cæsar*, offering to submit to *Rome*, and deliver hostages for their fidelity. *Cæsar* received them with great kindness; and, having encouraged them with fair promises to persist in their resolution, he sent them back to their own country, ordering *Camius*, whom, for his extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the *Atrebates*, to attend them into *Britain*, with instructions to visit as many states as he could, to persuade them to accept of an alliance with *Rome*, and to acquaint them with his design of landing in a short time in their country.

IN the mean time *Volusenus*, having made what discoveries he could from his ship (for he did not think it adviseable to venture ashore), returned after five days to *Cæsar*, and acquainted him with what he had observed. Hereupon *Cæsar*, having embarked two legions on board eighty transports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port

^b SUEt. in Jul. c. 58. CÆs. comment, lib. iv.

(B) *Cæsar* tells us elsewhere (1), that *Divitiacus*, one of the most powerful men in *Gaul*, was not only master of a considerable part of that country, but had some footing likewise in *Britain*; that several provinces of *Britain* were peopled by colonies from *Gaul*; that the *Britons* had assisted the *Gauls* in most of their wars; and lastly, that such of the *Gauls* as were desirous to be perfect masters of the learning of

the druids, used to pass over into *Britain*, to study it there. How could *Britain* therefore, at that time, be so utterly unknown in *Gaul*, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them so little, that, being called together by *Cæsar* from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their customs, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?

(1) *Cæsar. comment. lib. ii. c. 2.*

with two legi about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embark at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too slowly executed. *Cæsar* himself arrived in a few hours on the *British* coast; but, finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for some of his ships that were not yet come up, in order to look out for some other place, where he might land his troops with less danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he summoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from *Volsenus*, and given them such orders as he thought proper for the occasion, he set sail, and arriving at a plain and open shore about eight miles farther, he there came to an anchor.

The Britons oppose the landing of the Romans.

THE *Britons*, apprised of *Cæsar's* design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, the rest of the army hastening after them, in order to oppose his landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeness of the ships, which required a considerable depth of water; so that the *Roman* soldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the sea, and at the same time to struggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands disengaged, as they either stood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly cast their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This disadvantage so discouraged the *Romans*, as *Cæsar* himself owns, that they did not appear so chearful, nor so eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ships or galleys to advance with their broad sides towards the shore, in order to force the *Britons*, with their slings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the water-side. This had, in some degree, the desired effect; for the *Britons*, surprised at the make of the galleys, a sort of shipping they had never seen, and overwhelmed with showers of darts and arrows thence discharged upon them, began to give ground. But the *Romans* still betraying great backwardness to throw themselves into the water, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods, cried out aloud, *Fellow-soldiers, unless you will forsake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am resolved to discharge my duty to the commonwealth, and my general.* Having thus spoken, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the soldiers in the same ship, encouraging each other not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their ensign,

The Romans land with great difficulty.

enſign, followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt themſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight, which proved very ſharp on both ſides, and, for ſome time, no-ways favourable to the *Romans*; for not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the *Britons*, who being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in ſmall numbers out of their ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which *Cæſar* obſerving, he cauſed ſeveral boats to be manned, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he ſaw moſt diſtreſſed. By this means, the *Romans*, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy ſo briskly, that they put them to flight; but could not purſue them for want of horſe, the cavalry not being yet arrived: which, *Cæſar* ſays, was the only thing wanting to complete his wonted ſucceſs.

Year of
the flood
2294.
Beſ. Chriſt
54.
Of Rome
694.

UPON this defeat, the *Britons* immediately ſent embaſſadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had committed to priſon, to ſue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuſe, by laying the blame on the multitude. *Cæſar*, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had ſent embaſſadors to him into *Gaul*, deſiring peace, promiſed to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hoſtages. Part of theſe they brought immediately, promiſing to return in a few days with the reſt, who lived at ſome diſtance. Peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæſar*'s landing in *Britain*, the *Britiſh* princes, having diſbanded their men, and ſent them back into their ſeveral countries, came to ſubmit themſelves and their ſtates to *Cæſar*. In the mean time the eighteen tranſports, that were conveying over the *Roman* cavalry, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, were driven back to the ports of *Gaul*. By the ſame ſtorm, *Cæſar*'s fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, ſeveral of them being daſhed to pieces, and others, by the loſs of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly uſeleſs; which cauſed a great conſternation in the army; for they wanted materials wherewithal to reſit them, in order to return to the continent, and proviſions to ſupport them any conſiderable time in the iſland, *Cæſar* having all along intended to paſs the winter in *Gaul*. What added to the miſfortune, the ſame night, it being then full moon, the tide roſe ſo high, that the gallies, which had been drawn aſhore, were filled with water. This cauſed a new panic, the *Roman* mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides.

THE

The Britons break the peace ;

THE *British* chiefs, who were assembled to perform their agreement with *Cæsar*, 'perceiving his want of horse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smallness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves, that, if they could cut off the few *Romans* that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading *Britain* for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to steal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to lift again their disbanded troops. *Cæsar* knew nothing of their design ; but nevertheless, suspecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hostages after the loss of his shipping, resolved to prepare against all events. Accordingly he caused all the provisions that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp ; and gave orders, that those ships which had been the least damaged by the storm, should be refitted with the materials of those that had been shattered to pieces. He sent likewise to *Gaul* for what things were farther necessary ; which were so well applied by the soldiers, who, on this occasion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that, only twelve ships being lost, the rest were soon in a condition to put to sea again.

and fall upon the seventh legion.

In the mean time the seventh legion being sent out to forage, while part of the soldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehension of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the rest in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the *Britons*, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not questioning but the *Romans* would come and forage in that place, the harvest being brought in every-where else, fell upon them unexpectedly ; and, having killed some of them, drove the rest into a small compass, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots in such manner, that not a single man would have escaped, had not the advanced guards, observing a greater dust than usual rising from that quarter, acquainted *Cæsar* therewith ; who, suspecting the *Britons* had begun hostilities anew, hastened to the assistance of the legion, with the two cohorts that were upon guard, ordering two others to supply their room, and all the rest to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the *Britons* gave over the attack, and the *Romans* resumed their courage. However, *Cæsar*, not thinking it advisable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued several


days successively, kept the *Romans* in their camp, and hindered the *Britons* from attempting any thing against them.

THE latter, however, were not idle in the mean time; but having dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, to inform their countrymen how small an army the *Romans* had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themselves for ever, by forcing the *Roman* camp, they drew together a great body of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the *Roman* intrenchments. Upon their approach, *Cæsar* drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the *Britons* so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. *Cæsar* pursued them with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day ambassadors to sue for peace; which *Cæsar* readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into *Gaul* double the number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he staid till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in *Gaul*, whence he immediately wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his exploits in *Britain*; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed for twenty days.

THE *Britons*, it seems, were not much awed by *Cæsar's* arms; for of all the states, into which the island was then divided, two only sent him hostages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he resolved to make a new descent the following spring, with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left *Gaul* to return to *Italy*, where he used to pass part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with such diligence, that, upon his return, he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his soldiers, and the supervisors, he commanded them to repair, with the fleet, to *Pontus Itius*, while he marched, with four legions, and eight hundred horse,

^d *CÆs. comment. lib. iv.*

(C) *Cluverius*, and *Sommer*, in his dissertation *de Portu Ictio*, will have *Bologne* to be the *Portus Itius* mentioned by *Cæsar*; others look for the *Portus Itius* at *Calais*, or in that neighbourhood. *Hosely* observes, that *Cæsar* calls the passage from *Portus*

Year of the flood 2295. 53. Of Rome 695.  He lands without opposition ;

horſe, into the country of *Treves*, to prevent a rebellion there ; which he had no ſooner done, than he haſtened to the above-mentioned port ; and, leaving *Labienus* there, with three legions, and two thouſand horſe, to ſecure it, to provide corn, and to ſend him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked, with five legions, and two thouſand horſe, and, weighing anchor about ſun-ſet, arrived, with his whole fleet, the next day by noon, on the *Britiſh* coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place, which he had found ſo convenient the year before. The *Britons* had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners ; but, being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred, and upwards, they had left the ſhore, and retired to the hills. *Cæſar*, being informed, after landing his troops, where the *Britons* were lodged, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe, to ſecure the fleet, and, with the reſt, marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found poſted on the other ſide of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (D). Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage ; but, notwithstanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the *Roman* cavalry, to quit their poſt, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified in ſome former war, they never ventured, but in ſmall parties ; but, notwithstanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent the *Romans* from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion, having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight. But, the day being far ſpent, *Cæſar*, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviſeable to return, and fortify his camp, than to purſue the fugitives *.

* *Cæs.* comment. lib. v.

Portus Itius to *Britain* the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate ſurvey, the diſtance at *Calais* from land to land is twenty ſix *Engliſh* miles, or twenty-eight and an half *Roman*.

(D) This river is ſuppoſed to be the *Stour*, the *Thames* being too diſtant ; ſo that the battle

was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. *Horſely* is of opinion, that the ſtrong place, to which the *Britons* retreated after their defeat, muſt have been *Durovernum*, now *Canterbury*, diſtant twelve miles from the place where *Cæſar* landed (2).

(2) *Horſely*, p. 140.

EARLY

EARLY next morning, *Cæsar* dispatched both his horse and foot, divided into three bodies, in pursuit of the enemy; but, when he was already come in sight of their rear, he was acquainted by some horsemen from *Q. Atrius*, that, by a dreadful storm, which had happened the night before, most of his ships were dashed to pieces, or driven ashore. Upon this intelligence, he hastened back to the sea-side, where he was an eye-witness of the misfortune, which he had heard from the messengers; for forty ships were intirely lost, and the rest so damaged, that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having, without loss of time, set all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and sent over to *Gaul* for others, ordering at the same time *Labienus* to build as many ships as he could with the legions that were there, to prevent the like misfortune for the future, he resolved upon a very difficult undertaking; which was, to draw all his ships ashore, and inclose them within the fortifications of his camp. This stupendous work being completed in ten days, the soldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermission, and the camp being strongly fortified, *Cæsar*, leaving the same guard as before to defend it, marched with the rest of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from pursuing the enemy.

UPON his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increased, under the conduct of *Cassibelan*, king of the *Trinobantes*, whose territories lay about eighty miles from the sea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the *Romans*, they had all unanimously committed the whole management of the war to him, as the most proper person to head them at so important a conjuncture. While the *Romans* were on their march, they were attacked by the *British* horse and chariots, whom they repulsed with great slaughter, and drove into the woods; but, pursuing them too eagerly, they lost some of their own men. Not long after, the *Britons* made a sudden sally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the *Romans* were busied in fortifying their camp. *Cæsar* immediately detached two cohorts to their assistance; but the enemy, while the *Romans* stood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again, without the loss of a man. *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a tribune, was slain in this action: but, some fresh cohorts coming to the relief of the *Romans*, the *Britons* were, in the end, put to flight. The next day, they kept on the hills, at a considerable distance from the *Roman* camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by *Cæsar*, with all the cavalry, under the command of *C. Trebonius*, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but

The Romans sustain a great loss by a storm.

Cassibelan falls upon the Romans; but is repulsed.

The Britons fall upon three

Roman
legions ;
but are
defeated.

but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, they betook themselves to flight ; and, being pursued by the *Roman* cavalry so close, that they had not time to rally, to make a stand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their custom, great numbers of them were cut in pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops that had come from all parts, abandoning *Cassibelan*, returned to their respective countries : nor did the *Britons* ever after engage *Cæsar* with their united forces ^f.

Cæsar
passes the
Thames.

AFTER this victory, *Cæsar* marched towards the *Thames*, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of *Cassibelan* ; but, when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though *Cæsar* had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow ; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). *Cassibelan*, now despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the motions of the *Romans*. With these he kept at some distance in the woods, or in such places as were scarce accessible to the *Romans*, carrying off the corn and cattle from those countries through which the *Romans* were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the *Roman* cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waste, he detached part of his chariots to attack them ; which they could not en-

^f *Cæs. comment. lib. v.*

(E) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Cæsar*, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem : he caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back, full of men, to be driven into the river ; which unusual sight struck such terror into the *Britons*, that they abandoned the opposite shore (3). The stakes are just above *Walton* in *Surry* ; and the meadow

facing them is called *Corway*. They are even now to be seen at low-water ; and one of them was lately pulled out of the *Thames*, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At *Shepperton*, they have several knife-handles made of them (4).

(3) *Polyæn. strat. lib. viii.*

(4) *Tindal, in not. ad Rapin.*

gage without great disadvantage. This prevented the *Romans* from making excursions, as they would have otherwise done, and obliged *Cæsar* not to suffer his horse to go farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them.

IN the mean time, the *Trinobantes* sent ambassadors to *Cæ-* *The Trinobantes*
far, promising to submit to him, and, at the same time, in-
 treating him to protect *Mandubratius* against the oppression of *Cassibelan*, and send him to them for their king and governor. *submit to Cæsar*
Mandubratius, by *Eutropius* and *Bede* called *Androgeus*, was the son of *Imanuentius* king of the *Trinobantes*; but, upon the death of his father, who was slain by *Cassibelan*, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to *Cæsar*, who had granted him his protection. *Cæsar* readily complied with the request of the *Trinobantes*, injoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the *Trinobantes*, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the *Roman* soldiers, was soon followed by other states; to wit, the *Cenomagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Anaclites*, *Bibrocii*, and *Cossi* (F), who, by their ambassadors, submitted to *Cæsar*. From these he had intelligence, that the town of *Cassibelan*, supposed to be *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, well fortified with woods and marshes, whither the country-people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither there-

(F) *Lipfius*, instead of *Cenomagni*, reads *Iceni*, *Cangi* (5), the names of two nations mentioned elsewhere by *Cæsar*. 'The *Iceni* inhabited *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*; and the *Cangi*, the country lying on the *Irish* sea; for, when *Qæsar* led his army against them, he approached the sea, says *Tacitus* (6), that faces the island of *Ireland*. *Camden* agrees with *Lipfius* in changing the first part of *Cenomagni* into *Iceni*; but as for the latter, he reads *Regni*, who were the inhabitants of *Suffex* and *Surry*, and consequently more likely to follow the example of the *Trino-*

bantes, who inhabited *Hertfordshire*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, than the *Cangi*, who lived at a great distance. The *Segontiaci* are placed by some in *Berkshire*, by others in *Hampshire* (7). The city of *Seguntium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, stood on the coast of *North Wales*, over-against the island of *Anglesey*, as appears from the *Itinerary*; but we cannot think the inhabitants of that city to be the *Seguntiaci* mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they should have submitted, by their ambassadors, to *Cæsar*, while he was still at so great a distance from their country. The *Anaclites* and

(5) *Lipf.* in *Tacit. lib. xii. c. 32.*
vil. in epist. 13. ad Cam.

(6) *Idem ibid.*

(7) *Thom. Sad-*
Bibroti

who takes
Cassibelan's chief
city.

therefore he marched with his legions; and, though he found the place strongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be stormed at two different places; which was done with such resolution, that the *Britons*, not able to sustain the violence of the assault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood (for this town was only a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart). Many of the *Britons* were overtaken as they attempted to make their escape, and cut in pieces. Here *Cæsar* found great store of cattle.

Four Kentish kings attack the Roman camp; but are repulsed.

Cassibelan sues for peace, and obtains it.

To repair, in some degree, this loss, and divert *Cæsar* from pursuing his conquests, *Cassibelan*, by his messengers, persuaded four petty princes of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cæsar* styles kings, to raise what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ships were laid up; but the *Romans*, having made a sally, repulsed them with great slaughter, took *Cingetorix* prisoner, and returned, without any loss, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, *Cassibelan*, considering the many losses he had sustained, how his country was laid waste, and, above all, that several states had already submitted to the conqueror, resolved to follow their example; and accordingly sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduced by *Comius* of *Atrebatum* or *Arras*. As the summer was already far spent, *Cæsar*, who was determined to winter in *Gaul*, to prevent sudden insurrections there, readily hearkened to their proposals: so that a treaty was soon concluded upon the following conditions; to wit, that the *Britons* should pay an annual tribute to the people of *Rome*; that *Cassibelan* should leave *Mandubratius* in the quiet possession of his dominions, and not molest the *Trinobantes*; and that he should deliver a certain number of hostages. These *Cæsar* no sooner received, than he marched back to the sea-side, where he caused his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and some of his ships had been lost in the storm, he resolved to transport his army at two voyages. But most of those vessels, which were sent back from *Gaul* after they had landed the soldiers that were first carried over, and of the sixty that *Labienus* had taken care to build, being driven back by contrary winds, *Cæsar*, after having long expected them in vain, left the winter should pre-

Æ CÆS. comment. lib. v. c. 21.

Aldrecci are placed by most of our antiquaries in *Berkshire*, the former about *Henley*, and the latter about *Bray*. The *Cassi* are

supposed to have inhabited some part of *Hertfordshire*, perhaps the hundred of *Caishow*.

with the voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crowded his *Cæsar* re-
solved to put his soldiers closer than he designed, and, putting to sea about the *turns to*
second watch of the night, reached the continent, with his Gaul.
whole fleet, by break of day ^h (G).

AFTER the departure of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* were
diverted, for the space of twenty years, by their domestic
broils, and civil wars, from attempting any thing against *Brit-
tain*. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor per-
haps demanded; so that the *Britons* continued no less free
from the *Roman* yoke, than they had been before the arrival
of *Cæsar*.

BUT *Augustus*, having at length put an end to the civil *Augustus*
wars, and firmly established himself in the possession of *State of*
the empire, resolved to force the *Britons*, that is, those *Britain*
who inhabited the most southern part of the island, to per-
form the agreement they had made with his uncle *Julius*. *during his*
With this view, he advanced as far as *Gaul*; but was, by a
revolt in *Pannonia*, diverted from putting his design in execu-
tion. About seven years after, he entered *Gaul* with the same
resolution: but the unsettled state of that province made him
readily hearken to the proposals of the ambassadors sent by the
Britons to sue for peace; which was granted them, no doubt,
upon their promising to stand to their agreement with his pre-
decessor *Julius*. But they neglected, it seems, to perform
their promise; for, the year ensuing, *Augustus* resumed the
resolution of passing over into *Britain*; but was anew pre-
vented, by the revolt of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*. However,
some of the *British* princes took care to cultivate his friendship
with presents; which were laid up in the capitol ^l.

^h *Cæs.* comment. lib. v. c. 23—25.

^l *STRABO*, lib. iv.

(G) Such is the account *Cæ-
sar* himself gives us of his two
famous expeditions into *Britain*;
but other authors have spoken
more doubtfully of his victories
here. *Dio Cassius* writes, that
the *Britons* utterly routed the
Roman infantry; but were after-
wards put into disorder by the
cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus*, in
several places of their works,
speak of the *Britons* as a nation
not yet conquered (8). *Tacitus*

tells us, that *Cæsar* rather shew-
ed the *Romans* the way to *Brit-
tain*, than put them in possession
of it (9); and *Lucan* more plain-
ly, that he turned his back to
the *Britons*, and fled. Be that
as it will, upon his return to
Rome, he offered to *Venus*, as
Pliny tells us, a breast-plate en-
riched with *British* pearls, as a
trophy of his conquests in this
island.

(8) *Horat.* epod. viii. *Ædgar*, lib. i. c. 35. *Tibul.* lib. iv.
Agricol.

(9) *Tacit.* vit.

Cunobeline maintains a correspondence with Rome.

CUNOBELINE, who is said to have succeeded *Teutobel*, the successor of *Cassibelan*, maintained a correspondence with Rome, and even caused coins to be stamped, after the manner of the Romans, some of which are still to be seen, and, among the rest, one with the word *tas* on the reverse, signifying, according to our antiquaries, *tribute*; whence they conclude, that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute; for though brass and iron rings, of a certain weight, served, as *Cæsar* informs us, for their current coin, yet the Romans exacted the tribute in gold or silver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here speaking of (H). Thus *Britain*, by degrees, became well known to the Romans, even in *Augustus's* time. That prince, however, satisfied with the small tribute that was yearly sent him from *Britain*, forbore any further attempts upon the island, either thinking the friendship or enmity of the *Britons* of no moment to the Romans, as *Strabo* insinuates^k; or being, out of a state-maxim, resolved to set bounds to the empire, lest it should grow too great and unwieldy^l.

Tiberius suffers the Britons to enjoy their liberties.

TIBERIUS, who succeeded *Augustus*, being more inclined to contract than enlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of *Augustus*, and never entertained the least thought of conquering *Britain*; but, satisfied with the respect the *British* princes shewed him in sending back some of *Germanicus's* soldiers, who had been shipwrecked on their coast^m, and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into *Gaul*, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the Roman officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the *Britons*, as *Strabo* tells usⁿ. *Caligula*, the suc-

^k STRABO, lib. ii.

^l TACIT. in vit. Agric. JULIAN. in

Cæf. ^m TACIT. annal. lib. ii.

ⁿ STRABO, lib. iv.

(H) On this medal is represented *Apollo* playing on the lyre, the name of *Cunobeline* being engraved round it. *Alford* observes, that the Gauls and Britons worshipped *Apollo*, under the name of *Belus*, or *Belinus*; and thence he derives the name of *Cunobeline*. On the reverse is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words *Tascia* and *Novane*. *Tascia* signifies, in the *British* tongue,

according to *Powel*, a *tribute-peny*, probably from the Latin word *taxatio*, the letter X not being used by the Britons. By the woman is, in all likelihood, represented *Britain*; and as for the word *Novane*, *Alford* conjectures it to be the name of some town, perhaps the metropolis of the *Novanter* or *Trinobantes* (1).

(1) *Alford*, annal. ad ann. 1. Camden, numism. n. 7.

cessor of *Tiberius*, having passed the *Alps*, with a design to plunder *Gaul*, as he had already done *Italy*, received there under his protection *Adminius*, called by our writers *Guiderius*, the son of *Cunobeline*, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting letters to *Rome*, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and to the very curia, and strictly injoining them not to deliver their letters, but in the temple of *Mars*, and in a full senate, as if the whole island had submitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the instigation of *Adminius*, he marched with his forces to the sea-side; but being informed there, that the *Britons* were ready to receive him, his courage cooled; and, instead of pursuing his design, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets and laps with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by such marks of folly and madness, exposed himself to the derision both of the *Gauls* and *Britons*, he wrote to the senate, desiring them to decree him a triumph; but they being averse to comply with his demand, he resolved to cause them all to be murdered; but was murdered himself, before he could put his barbarous design in execution.

*Caligula's
mock expe-
dition a-
gainst the
Britons.*

THE *Britons* may be said to have continued hitherto free from the *Roman* yoke: but, in the reign of *Claudius*, the successor of *Caligula*, great part of the island was brought under subjection to *Rome*, and the rest, by degrees, under the succeeding emperors. *Dio Cassius* gives us a distinct account of the invasion by *Claudius*, the occasion of which he thus relates: *Cunobeline* being dead, his two sons, *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, reigned; but whether jointly or separately, whether with equal or subordinate power, we are no-where told. In their reign, one *Bericus* (who he was, is not known), being driven out of the island for attempting to raise a sedition, fled, with those of his party, to *Claudius*; and, being highly provoked against his countrymen, persuaded the emperor to invade *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, resenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refusing to deliver them up when demanded, forbade all commerce with the *Romans*. A war being therefore resolved on, *Claudius* ordered *Plautius*, then prætor in *Gaul*, to transport those legions he had with him into *Britain*, and begin the expedition. The *British* soldiers, unwilling to make war, as they said, out of the compass of the world, refused to follow their general, or obey his commands; but, being at length brought back to a sense of their duty, they embarked cheerfully, and put to sea from three

*Claudius;
What in-
duced him
to make
war on
the Bri-
tons.*

• Suet. in *Calig.* D. 50, lib. lix.

• *Univ. hist.* vol. xiv.

Year of the flood 239¹. Of Christ 43. Of Rome 79¹.
 ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly distressed them; but, resuming their courage upon the appearing of a meteor shooting from the east, and directing, as they imagined, their course, they put to sea again, and landed in *Britain* without opposition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the *Roman* army, and did not expect so sudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppose them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in small bodies behind their marshes, and in their woods, in order to spin out the time till winter, which they imagined *Plautius*, after the example of *Julius Cæsar*, would pass in *Gaul*.

and having defeated two British princes, reduces part of the *Dobuni*.
 But the *Roman* general having, with great difficulty, first found out *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*, and defeated them both, reduced part of the *Dobuni*, who were then subject to the *Catichlani*; and leaving a garison to keep them in awe, he marched to a river, where the *Britons* lay carelessly encamped, imagining the *Romans* could not pass it without a bridge. But the *German* soldiers, accustomed to swim the strongest currents in their armour, having passed the river, and, pursuant to their orders, fallen only upon the horses that drew the chariots, in which the main strength of the *Britons* consisted, *Vespasian*, and his brother *Sabinus*, sent over with a body of troops to support them, easily put the enemy to flight, their chariots being rendered unserviceable, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. The *Britons*, however, not yet disheartened, engaged the *Romans* the next day so vigorously, that the victory, for a considerable time, inclined to neither side; but at length the *Romans*, encouraged by the example of *Caius Sidius Geta*, charged the *Britons* so briskly, that they were forced, after a most obstinate resistance, to betake themselves to flight. The conduct of *Geta* in this action was so remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been consul. This battle is supposed to have been fought on the banks of the *Severn*. From hence the *Britons* retired to the mouth of the *Thames*, and, being acquainted with the flats and shallows, drew the *Romans*, who followed them, into great danger. But the *Germans* having crossed the river by swimming, and the others on a bridge somewhat higher, the *Britons* were furrounded on all sides, and great numbers of them put to the sword. Many of the *Romans*, pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes, and were lost. In one of these battles, *Togodumnus* was killed, whose death was so far from disheartening the *Britons*, that they betrayed greater eagerness than

The Britons attack the Romans; but, notwithstanding their gallant behaviour, are put to flight.

over to oppose the *Romans*; and revenge it. Hereupon *Plautius*, not thinking it advisable to penetrate farther into the country, put garisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him to do so, if any thing extraordinary should happen, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further pursuit of his conquests.

CLAUDIUS, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, not being satisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, no sooner received this letter than he set out from *Rome*; and embarking at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles*, whence he pursued his journey by land to *Gessoriacum*, now *Bologne*, where he again embarked, and, landing safe in *Britain*, joined his lieutenant *Plautius*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Thames*. Upon his arrival, the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the *Britons*, gave them a total overthrow. After this victory, he advanced to *Camalodunum*, the royal seat of *Cunobeline*, which he took, and, without any considerable opposition, reduced some of the neighbouring states. For these exploits he was several times by his soldiers saluted *imperator*, contrary to the received custom of the *Romans*, which allowed no general to assume that title more than once in the same war. Part of *Britain* being thus subdued, *Claudius* disarmed the inhabitants, and appointed *Plautius* to govern them, ordering him, at the same time, to subdue those who remained yet unconquered. To such as had submitted, he generously forgave the confiscation of their estates; which obliged them to such a degree, that they erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having staid in *Britain* but sixteen days, set out from thence on his return to *Rome*, having sent thither his two sons-in-law, *Pompeius* and *Silanus*, before him, with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Britannicus*; which was given both to him and his son: the officers who had attended him in this expedition, were distinguished with triumphal ornaments (I): annual sports were decreed by the senate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at *Rome*, and the other at *Gessoriacum*, whence he had passed over into *Britain*. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conquest of the *British* ocean.

* *Dio*, lib. lx. p. 680, 681. *Suet.* in *Claud.* c. 11.

(I) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable presents, as appears from an ancient inscription still to be seen at *Turin*, wherein mention is made of the presents, with which *Claudius* rewarded one *C. Gavius*, who, it seems, had distinguished himself

ocean. In short, the same honours were decreed to *Claudius*, who had conquered but a very small part of the island, as had been decreed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms (K).

PLAUTIUS, appointed by *Claudius* governor of *Britannia*, pursued his conquests, after the emperor's departure, with such success, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himself, who, at his solemn entry, gave him the right-hand.

Vespasian and *Titus* distinguished themselves in this war.

In this war, *Vespasian* likewise, afterwards emperor, and his son *Titus*, distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the *Britons*, subdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the isle of *Wight*; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two sacerdotal dignities, and the consulship ^t. As for *Titus*, he no less signalized his piety than his courage and valour; for, seeing his father in a battle surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and, having rescued him, put the *Britons* to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter ^u. Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of *Claudius*'s reign, as we gather from *Tacitus*, *P. Ostorius Scapula*, being sent into *Britannia*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Britons* ^w, who had broken into the *Roman* conquests; and having put great numbers of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest, to restrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the *Romans*, or their allies, he built several forts on the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, reduced that part of the island which lies

P. Ostorius Scapula governor of Britain.

Year of the flood 2398.

Of Christ 50.

Of Rome 798.

^s *DIO*, & *SUET.* *ibid.* ^t *SUET.* in *Vesp.* c. 4. ^u *DIO*, lib. lx. p. 679. ^w Vol. xiv. p. 358, not. (Z).

himself in the *British* war. The inscription is as follows:

C. Gavio L. F.
Stel. Silvano
Primipilari Leg. VIII. Aug.
Tribuno coh. II. vigulum
Tribuno coh. XII. Urban.
Tribuno coh. XII. Prætor.
Donis Donato A D Claudio
Bello Britannico
Forquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
Corona Aurea
Patrono Colon.

Britain without bloodshed, which is confirmed by the following ancient inscription, copied by Mr. *Wright* from the *Barbarini* palace at *Rome*, and lately published by him in his travels:

Ti. Claudio Cæs.
Augusto,
Pontifici Max. Tr. P. IX.
Cof. v. Imp. XVI. P. P.
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
Reges Britannicæ Absq.
Ula Jactura Domuerit,
Gentesque Barbaras
Primus Indicio Subegerit.

(K) And yet *Suetonius* writes, that he became master of part of

Some of these rivers to a Roman province; and, for a farther security, made *Camalodunum* a military colony. This the *Brits* could not brook; and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, and encamped in an advantageous post, in order to prevent the Romans from penetrating farther into the island. However, *Ostorius*, advancing against them, after a most obstinate conflict, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the present counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*; but being informed, as he approached the *Irish* sea, that the *Brigantes* were in arms, he marched with all speed against them; and having caused the chief authors of the disturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the rest, he soon restored that country to its former tranquillity.

Ostorius defeats the *Iceni*, and quells the rebellious *Brigantes*.
Year of the flood 2399.
Of Christ 51.

AFTER this, *Ostorius* made war upon the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South Wales*, headed by *Caractacus*, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheless he defeated in a pitched battle*. *Caractacus*, upon his defeat, fled for protection to *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, who, dreading the Roman arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was sent to *Rome*, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. *Claudius*, moved with the speech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the constancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The *Silures*, notwithstanding the loss of their general, pursued the war with great vigour, and gained very considerable advantages over the Romans; which so affected *Ostorius*, that he died with grief. He was succeeded by *A. Didius*, who restrained the *Silures* making frequent and wide incursions into the Roman territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to restore *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, and an ally of *Rome*, to her kingdom. He defeated the *Brigantes* in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was advanced in years, he contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. *Vera-* *nus*, who succeeded him in the reign of *Nero*, died in less than a year after his arrival in *Britain*, without performing any thing worthy of notice.

Of Rome 799.
Caractacus defeated, and delivered up to the Romans.

Ostorius dies, and is succeeded by *Aulus Didius*; and he by *Veran-*

AFTER him, *Suetonius Paulinus* governed *Britain*, who reduced the island of *Anglesey*, and defeated with great slaughter the *Britons*, who, under the conduct of queen *Boudicea*, *Anglesey*.

* Vol. xiv. p. 358.

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The History of Britain

LXXIX

Year of the flood 2409.
Of Christ 61
Of Rome 809.

had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the Britons and their allies, to the sword. *Suetonius Paulinus* was succeeded in the government of Britain by *Petronius Verulanus*, and he by *Trabellius Maximus*. During their governments, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper, and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the Britons by any acts of hostility, giving to this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. In the meantime *Nero* dying, the Roman army in Britain was commanded, during the short reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, only by tribunes, among whom *Cælius* bore the chief sway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the Britons any just cause of complaint, kept all things quiet in the island. *Vitellius*, upon his accession to the empire, appointed *Vespius Bolanus* governor of Britain, who ruled with great gentleness, without either provoking the Britons, or being by them provoked. In the reign of *Vespasian*, who succeeded *Vitellius*, *Petilius Cerealis* was sent into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army there.

Petilius Cerealis reduces great part of the country of the Brigantes.

Julius Agricola governor of Britain
Year of the flood 2426
Of Christ 78.
Of Rome 826.

His birth, education, &c.

Petilius, upon his arrival, attacked the *Brigantes*, the most numerous and powerful of all the British nations; and having defeated them in several encounters, some of which proved very bloody, he reduced great part of their country, and continued to ravage the rest. He was succeeded by *Julius Frontinus*, who not only maintained the conquests made by his predecessor, but fought himself with great success against the warlike nations of the *Silures*, whom he intirely reduced.

JULIUS FRONTINUS being recalled, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was sent to command in his room. As we are to relate here the great exploits performed in Britain by this renowned commander, we shall briefly recount his course of life, and pursuits, before he was employed in this war. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Fregus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors, a dignity peculiar to the equestrian order. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, was a senator, famous for his eloquence and philosophy, but put to death by *Caligula* for refusing to accuse *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modesty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye, and with great care. In his early youth he studied philosophy and law in the city of *Marseilles*, with more avidity, as he himself used to declare, than became a Roman and a senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; so that he contented himself with a limited measure of philosophy. He

He was the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius* *Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was distinguished with particular marks of friendship and esteem. He was not one of those young men who turn warfare into riot, but studied to acquaint himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command: neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, or to absent himself from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profession of arms. As *Paulinus* was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himself in the knowledge of military affairs under so great a master.

DEPARTING from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon His public offices, he was first sent into *Asia* as quæstor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconsul. But neither the province, in itself very rich, nor *Titianus*, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the smallest encouragement, to have purchased a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but passed the year of his tribuneship in repose and inactivity, being well apprised, that under *Nero* sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorship, exhibiting however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public sports, according to the measure of his wealth, and in a manner no-way favouring of prodigality, but still deserving popular applause. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to survey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent search, he procured full restitution of all, save what had been sacrilegiously taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the soldiers of *Otho*, upon her estate at *Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*; and the estate itself plundered, with great part of her treasure, which had proved the cause of the murder. As *Agricola* hastened from *Rome*, to pay her the last duty, and solemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Vespasian* had assumed the title of emperor, and instantly espoused his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and soon after, as he discharged that trust with great uprightness and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them, and keep them to their duty. *Vestius Bolanus* was

was at that time governor of Britain; but as he was of great gentleness, *Agricola* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any military exploits. *Belanus* was succeeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who at his first entrance attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the most powerful people of the whole island; and after many encounters, some of which proved very bloody, held most part of their country as his conquest, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to display his valour and abilities. For trial of his skill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and sometimes, according to the measure of his success, set him at the head of forces still larger, sharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was so far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he ascribed to his general, as to the author of all, his success and good fortune.

Is raised
to the rank
of a patri-
cian.

UPON his return from Britain, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which trust he discharged with great uprightness, and general satisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the consulship; which office he discharged during the two last months of the preceding year. While he was consul, it was generally said, that for his province Britain would be assigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but because he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well observes, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his consulship, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the historian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as soon as he had resigned the fasces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of Britain, and, at the same time, honoured with the pontifical dignity. *Agricola* arrived in Britain about the middle of summer, when the Roman soldiers, supposing the service of the season to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repose, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to harass the Romans. The *Ordovices*, that is, the inhabitants of North-Wales, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horse stationed upon their confines, and by so notable an essay roused to arms the whole province. The summer was already near over; the Roman troops were severed, and lay dispersed over the province; and the soldiers had assured themselves of rest for the remaining part of the year.

For notwithstanding these discouragements, and the remonstrances of some who judged it better only to guard the

* *TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4.—9.* * *Idem ibid. c. 9.*
places

that were threatened, *Agricola* resolved to march against *the enemy* without delay. Having therefore drawn together *the power* of the legions, and a small body of auxiliaries, he led them against the *Ordovices*. But as the enemy kept themselves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not descend into even ground, *Agricola*, in order to inspire his men with equal courage, by sharing with them equal danger, marched in person at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the ascent. The soldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great resolution, put them to flight, and made such a dreadful havock of them, that almost the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this success, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to strike the enemy at once with general terror, he resolved to reduce the island of *Anglesey*, which had been formerly conquered by *Paulinus*, but lost again by the general revolt of *Britain*. As this counsel was suddenly concerted, and consequently ships were wanting, he detached a chosen body of auxiliaries, such as knew the fords, and, according to the usage of their country, were dextrous at swimming, and able to manage in the water themselves, their horses, and arms. These, unincumbered with baggage, made a descent and onset so sudden, that the enemy were quite struck with consternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and transports, and believed no enterprize difficult and unmountable to men who begin the war with such resolution. Thus they sued for peace, and immediately surrendered the island to *Agricola*, whom they already considered as a renowned commander, since, at his first entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to spend in shew and parade, he had achieved such feats, and under so much toil and danger, with amazing success. *Agricola* was so far from being elated with this conquest, that he would not so much as bestow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms in the recovery of an island which had been formerly subject to *Rome*. But by thus suppressing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation than if he had studied to divulge them, every one considering how vast must his views be, since he thus smothered in silence such great exploits already performed.

As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had also learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to settle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppressions, he resolved to cut off all the causes of war. Beginning therefore with himself, and those

about tons.

*Reconciles
them to the
Roman
govern-
ment.*

*Agrico-
la's second
campaign
in Britain.*

*Year of
the flood*

*2427.
Of Christ*

*79.
Of Rome*

827.

*Several
communi-*

about him, he regulated his own conduct, and many proves no less difficult than that of governing. By none of his domestics was transacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the soldiers to an higher rank, he was swayed by no personal interest or partiality, nor by the commendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that passed; but would not punish all that was amiss. He readily pardoned small faults; but such as were great, he punished with proportionable severity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather chose men who would not transgress, than such as he must afterwards condemn for transgressing. Though the tribute had been augmented, yet he softened it by a just and equal distribution of all public burdens, and utterly abolished whatever exactions had been devised for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itself; for the publicans used, under colour of securing the tribute, to seize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchase their own grain at an high price, and afterwards sell it back again to them at a low rate: besides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journeys, and carry grain cross the several countries to places extremely distant; insomuch that several communities, instead of supplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furnish such as were remote, unless they redeemed themselves from that trouble with considerable sums. All these grievances were utterly suppressed by *Agricola* in his first year; by which means the *Britons* began to be reconciled to the *Roman* government, and to live in a state of peace; a state which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no less dreaded than that of war ^b.

IN the beginning of the second summer he assembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending such of his men as in marching observed duty and rank, and checking such as were loose and straggling. He himself always chose the ground for encamping; the friths and woods he himself always first examined; and to the enemy in the mean time allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever harassing them with sudden incursions. Then having sufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he used to spare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the sweets of peace. By this conduct several communities, which till that day had held out upon equal terms, and maintained themselves in a state of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hostages, and

most fortresses to be erected in those territories; which was *his sub-*
done with so much care and skill, that no part of *Britain* con- *mit, and*
quered by the *Romans* till that time escaped being annoyed by *gives ho-*
them. This is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of what *flags.*

Agricola performed in the second summer's expedition; but as
he speaks in general, without naming any particular place, it
is no easy matter to determine through what part of *Britain*
Agricola marched his army, and how far into the country;
what friths he passed over, what communities submitted, and
gave hostages, and in what places the fortresses were erected
which *Tacitus* mentions. However, a modern writer ^d, whom
our readers may consult, endeavours by many learned con-
jectures to prove, that *Agricola* in his second campaign march-
ed directly from *Anglesey* into *Scotland*, and penetrated as far as
the frith of *Edinburgh*; that he bent his route through the
county of *Annandale*, and the adjacent counties, where re-
mains of antient *Roman* camps are still to be seen, some of
which the learned antiquarian concludes, from *Tacitus's* ac-
count of them, to have been made by *Agricola*; that the friths
he passed were those of *Dee*, *Ribble*, *Liverpool*, and *Solloway*;
and finally, that the communities or cities which suffered
themselves to be begirt, as *Tacitus* expresses it, with garisons
and fortresses, were those on the isthmus between *Clyde* and
Forth. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer
for a more distinct explanation of these particulars.

Through
what part
of Britain
he march-
ed.

AGRICOLA, having thus spent the summer, employed the *Agricola*
winter in measures extremely advantageous and salutary; for, *brings the*
to the end that the people, wild and dispersed over the coun- *Britons to*
try, and thence easily stirred up to war, might, by a taste of *love the*
pleasures, be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first pri- *Roman*
vately exhorted them, and then publicly assisted them, to build *customs.*
temples, houses, and places of public resort, reprimanding
such as were slow, and commending those who were assiduous
and forward in such pursuits. He took care to have the sons
of their chiefs instructed in the liberal sciences, finding their
genius superior to that of their neighbours the *Gauls*; and such
was his success, that those who had lately scorned to learn the
Roman language, were now become fond of its elegancies:
thence they began to assume the *Roman* apparel, and the use of
the gown grew frequent among them. Thus, by degrees,
they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effe-
minacy, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, elegant
entertainments, &c. all which things were, as *Tacitus* judi-
ciously observes, by the unexperienced, filed politeness, but, at

^c Idem, c. 20, 21.

^d GORDON. itiner. septentr.

He extends his conquests to the Taus or Tay. The *Islands* were nothing but baits of slavery. In the beginning of summer, *Agricola* took the field again, and, in pursuit of his conquests, discovered new people, and continued his devastations through the several nations quite to the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tay*: whence such terror seized the enemy, that they durst not attack him, though his troops were sorely harassed by terrible tempests; so that he had time to secure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was observed of *Agricola* by men of experience, that no commander ever chose his posts with more skill, in regard of their situation and convenience; and that no place of strength, founded by him, was ever taken by storm, or abandoned as not defensible. From these strong-holds frequent excursions were made, and, as they were supplied with provisions for a year, the *Romans* passed the winter in them without the least apprehension, every single fort defending itself; so that the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to despair, not being able, as formerly, to repair, by their success in the winter, the losses they had sustained in the summer. In these expeditions, *Agricola* never assumed to himself the glory of exploits performed by others, but, to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praise which was due to his achievements. By some he is said to have been too severe and sharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courtesy towards those who readily complied with their duty, so the slothful and negligent he appeared stern and severe. But his anger was easily appeased: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foster secret hatred.

He employs the fourth summer in securing the places already conquered. THE fourth summer after *Agricola's* arrival in *Britain*, was by him employed in settling and securing the places which he had already conquered; to wit, all the counties on this side the *Gloa* and *Bodotria*, now the *Clyde* and *Forth*, into which rivers the tide, from the opposite seas, flows so far up the country that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over.

Agricola pursues his conquests in Britain. THE following year, the first of *Domitian's* reign, and the fifth of the *British* war, he passed the sixth himself in the first ship that landed, subdued, in many successful encounters, nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of *Britain* which fronts *Ireland*; not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that island, but because he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it lies be-

between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of Gaul, *Agricola* considered, that it would prove of infinite use in linking together those powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domestic dissension, was already received into protection by *Agricola*, and, under the appearance of friendship, reserved for a proper occasion ^f. For these conquests, *Domitian* assumed the title of *imperator* the fourth time.

Year of the flood
2430.
Of Christ
82.
Of Rome
830.

THE following year, *Agricola* continued his conquests in Britain, or rather *Caledonia*. As it was apprehended, that the nations beyond *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*, would all take arms, and that all the ways and passages were beset with the enemy's forces, his first step was to coast, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the frith, probably those of the counties of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Aberdeen*, which lie beyond *Edinburgh* frith. As the fleet constantly attended the army, the same camp often contained the foot and the horse, and the marines, all intermixed, and severally magnifying their own feats, hazards, and adventures. The soldiers boasted their laborious marches over steep mountains, and thick forests; the sailors their dangers amidst the tempests and waves, all vying together, according to the usual vaunts and ostentation of soldiers. As for the *Britons*, upon the sight of the fleet, they were seized, as from the captives was learnt, with consternation and dismay, finding the recesses of the sea now discovered, and the last refuge of the vanquished cut off. The several people therefore, inhabiting *Calidonia*, had immediate recourse to arms, and, advancing with great parade, still made greater by common report, boldly attacked the *Roman* forts, and caused no small terror and alarm among the soldiers; inasmuch that there were some, who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of prudence, advised *Agricola* to return to this side of *Bodotria*, seeing it was less shameful to return back of their own accord, than to be repulsed, and driven by force. As *Agricola* was informed, that the enemy designed to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched, to prevent their surrounding him; for they surpassed him in numbers, and in the knowledge of the country. Hereupon the *Caledonians* changed their measures, and, in one body, fell upon the ninth legion, as the weakest of all. As the attack was in the night, they slew the guards, entered the trenches, and were already pursuing the slaughter in the camp itself, when *Agricola*, having learnt from his scouts what route the enemy had taken, and

Agricola's further conquests in Britain.

The Caledonians attack the ninth legion, but are repulsed.

^f TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 24.

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following their track, commanded the lightest of his cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty shout. Thus the *Caledonians* were dismayed with double distress, and to the *Romans* their courage returned; so that they fell upon the enemy with great resolution, and drove them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter ensued, the *Romans*, who were come to the relief of their companions, pressing them in the rear, and those who were in the camp, in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to shew that they brought relief, and the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At last the *Caledonians* were routed; and, had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted above §, was fought in the county of *Fife*; for *Agricola's* army was at that time, as is evident from *Tacitus*, on the north side of *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*; and the remains of a *Roman* camp are still to be seen in that county, at a place called *Lochore*.

The Roman soldiers demanded to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

To the south of the camp is a large morass, in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence strengthens his conjecture, that the ninth legion was attacked there; for *Tacitus* tells us, that, if the bogs and woods had not served for shelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war. The *Roman* soldiers, elated with this success, and thinking nothing could now prove unfurmoutable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of *Caledonia*, and to the utmost limits of *Britain*, which they hoped to find out by a constant course of victories. Thus those, who, a little before, had been so wary and so wise, were now, after victory, full of boasts and intrepidity: instead of returning to this side of *Bodotria*, they were for penetrating to the farthest bounds of *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Caledonians*, ascribing the victory gained by the *Romans*, not to their superior courage, but to the skill and address of their general, lost nothing of their spirit and resolution; but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of security, and, in general assemblies of their several communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by solemn sacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both sides equally irritated, and bent upon war and revenge.

§ GORDON. itin. septentr. p. 36.

h TACIT. ibid. c. 24.

In the first summer, a cohort of *Ulpian*, levied by the *Roman* in *Germany*, and thence transported to *Britain*, having with the centurion, and some *Roman* soldiers, placed among them to teach them the discipline, embarked in their vessels, with a design to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them: but, one of these forsaking them, and making his escape, or bringing them back, as we read in *Dio Cassius*, to *Britain*, they suspected, and therefore killed, the other two, and abandoned themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long tossed them at large, *Britain* carried them quite round about *Britain*; insomuch that, departing, according to *Dio*, from the eastern, they returned to the western coast, where the *Roman* army was then encamped. *discovered to be an island.*

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul the tenth time, with *Appius*, or, as others call him, *Oppius Sabinus*, the brave *Agricola* pursued his conquests in *Caledonia* with wonderful success. In the beginning of the summer, he lost, to his great grief, his son, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an ostentation of firmness and constancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Against this affliction war proved his chief remedy: having therefore sent forward his navy, in order to spread a mighty terror, by committing devastations in several places, he put himself at the head of his army lightly equipped, and to it added some of the bravest *Britons*, whose fidelity had been well proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the *Grampian* hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped; for the *Caledonians*, nothing daunted by the issue of the late battle, and boldly waiting either to take revenge, or to suffer bondage, had, by embassies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, *The Caledonians draw together*

¹ *Dio*, lib. lxxi p. 754.

(L) *Tacitus* tells us, that, having sailed quite round the island, they were driven on the coasts of *Germany*, where their vessels being lost, they were seized as pirates by the *Saxons* and *Frisians*; and, being sold for slaves, some of them, by change of masters, were brought over to the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*, where they became famous by relating such an extraordinary adventure, and by discovering,

that *Britain* was an island. Their provisions had soon failed them; so that they were obliged to make frequent descents, and engage with several of the *British* nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were sometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to such straits, as to feed upon one another, first upon the weakest, then upon whomsoever the lot fell.

thirty
thousand
men.

Year of
the flood

2432.
Of Christ

84.
Of Rome

832.
Galga-
cus's

speech to
them.

to the number of thirty thousand; and their youth from every quarter were continuing to flock in, as were also their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had signalized themselves in war, carrying with them their several ensigns of honour formerly gained in the field.

UPON the approach of the Roman army, the Caledonians, with great eagerness, prepared for battle; and Galgacus, who surpassed all their other leaders both in valour and descent, is said to have encouraged them with the following speech, which the learned *Lipsius* looks upon as one of the finest pieces of eloquence ever committed to the Roman language: *When I consider the causes of the war, and the necessity to which we are reduced, great is my confidence, that this day, and this your union, will give an happy beginning to the liberty of the whole island. Bondage we have never borne; and we are so beset, that beyond us there is no farther land, nor any security left us from the sea, while the Roman fleet is hovering upon our coasts. Thus, what brave men covet for glory, is to cowards become the safest expedient of all others; I mean, present recourse to battle and arms. The other Britons, in their former conflicts with the Romans, had still a remaining source of hope and succour in this our nation: for, of all the people of Britain, we are the most noble, placed in its remotest regions, and at a great distance from those nations that are held in bondage by the enemy; so that our eyes are yet unpolluted with the sight of lawless and usurped power. To us, who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth, and the last who enjoy liberty, this extremity of the globe, this remotest recess, unknown even to common fame, has proved the only protection and defence. At present, the utmost boundary of Britain is laid open: beyond us no more people are found, nor ought but seas and rocks; and already the Romans have advanced into the heart of our country. Against their pride and ambition you will in vain seek a remedy or refuge from any obsequiousness, or humble behaviour. These plunderers of the earth, these ravagers of the universe, finding countries to sail them, endeavour to risk the wide seas, and the ocean. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor, their ambition. Neither the eastern world, nor the western, vast as they are, can satiate these general robbers. Of all men, they alone thirst after acquisitions, both poor and rich, with equal avidity and passion. Devastations, murders, and universal destruction, they, by a lying name, stile empire and government; and, when they have spread a general devastation, they call it peace. Dearest to every man; by the instinct of nature, are his children and kindred. These are snatched from us to supply their armies, and doomed to bondage*

* *Lips. in vit. Agric. c. 31. not. 46.*

Another part of the earth. Our wives, daughters, and fields, are all under the yoke of violence from them as if we were enemies, and are debauched under the appearance of friendship. Our goods are their tribute, our corn their provision, our bodies and hands their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through woods, and drains in bogs, under continual blows and outrages. Other slaves, whom nature and fortune have destined to servitude, are but once sold, and thenceforward nourished by their lords. The Britons are daily paying for their servitude, are daily maintaining and feeding their imperious lords and oppressors. Moreover, as, in a tribe of domestic slaves, he, who comes last, is scoffed by his fellows, and serves for sport to them; so, in this antient state of slavery, to which the world is reduced, we, as the latest slaves, and thence held the most contemptible, are now destined to destruction; for we have no fields to manure, no mines to dig, no ports to make; works for which they might be tempted to reserve us. Besides, magnanimity and a daring spirit, in subdued nations, is always distasteful to jealous and arbitrary rulers: and truly our situation, so solitary and remote, the more security it affords to us, the greater jealousy it raises in them. Since therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouse your courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The Brigantes, even under the conduct of a woman, burnt their colony, stormed their intrenchments, and, had not such auspicious beginnings degenerated into sloth, might have, with ease, cast off the yoke, and recovered their former liberty. Let us, who are yet unsubdued, who still preserve our forces intire, and want not to acquire, but only to secure liberty, shew at once, in the very first encounter, what kind of men Caledonia has reserved for her own vindication and defence. Do you believe the Romans to be equally brave in war, as they are vicious and dissolute in peace? No; not from their valour have they derived their renown, but from our quarrels and divisions, which they have dextrously converted to the glory of their own army; an army compounded of a motly multitude of different nations, which, by success alone, are held together, and consequently cannot fail to dissolve upon any misfortune or disaster; unless you suppose the Gauls and Germans, and many of the Britons, whom with shame I mention, to be attached to them with any real affection: they have been all longer their enemies than their friends; and what restrains them at present is nothing but awe and terror, which being once removed, those who cease to fear, will immediately begin to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can incite men to victory, is found on our side. The Romans have no wives to encourage and urge them: they have here no fathers or mothers to upbraid them for flying. In number they are but few, ignorant of the country, and thence struck with dread, whilst whatever they behold around them, is wild and

strange, even the air and the sky, with the winds and the sun, so that the gods seem to have delivered them up, enclosed and protected, into our hands. Let not the vain show and glare of gold and steel terrify us; this is what can neither wound nor frighten. In the very army of the enemy we shall find many on our own side; the Britons will own and espouse their own cause, and abandon one foreign and unnatural to them; the Gauls will remember their former liberty; what the Usipians have lately done, the other Germans will do, and abandon the Romans. And what else have we to fear? Their forts are ungarisoned; their colonies peopled with the aged and infirm; the municipal cities are weakened, and rent into parties and factions, while the people are averse to obedience, and the magistrates rule with injustice. Here you see a general, here an army; there tributes and mines, with a long train of calamities and curses ever attending a state of slavery. Whether all these are to be for ever imposed and borne, or we forthwith avenge ourselves for the attempt, this very day must determine. As therefore you advance to battle, look back upon your ancestors, who lived in the happy state of liberty; look forward to your posterity, who, unless you exert your valour in this very field, must live for ever in a miserable state of servitude¹.

THIS speech was received with songs, according to the custom which then prevailed among the Caledonians, with joyful shouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, whilst the most resolute were running to the front. As the army was forming in battle-array, Agricola, though he saw his men full of alacrity, and hardly to be restrained, yet chose to discourse them in the following strain: *It is now the eighth year, my fellow-soldiers, since, thro' the auspicious fortune of the Roman empire, and by your own valour, you have been pursuing the conquest of Britain. In so many marches, in so many battles, you have had constant occasion to exert your bravery against the enemy, or your patience against the obstacles of nature. During all these struggles, we have found no cause of mutual regret, I to have conducted such soldiers, or you to have followed such a captain. We have both passed the limits which we found, I those known to antient governors, you those of former armies. The utmost bound of Britain is found, not by fame only and report; but we possess it with our arms and camps. Britain is intirely discovered, and intirely subdued. While we were marching, and fatigued with passing mountains, rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remarkably brave cry out, When shall we see the enemy, when he led to battle? Already they are come, roused from their*

¹ TACIT. in vit. Agric. c. 30—32.

to the sea and the other to the land. I have seen the end of all your
 courage; for it is now for all your valour, and all things promising
 me and propitious, if you conquer; but equally, if you fail, should
 you be overcome. To have thus marched over a tract of country so
 immense, to have passed through thick and gloomy forests, to have
 crossed arms of the sea, is matter of great glory and applause,
 while we advance against the enemy; but, if we fly from them,
 whatever is now most to our advantage, will prove most to our
 disadvantage and ruin. We are not so well skilled in the country
 as the enemy, nor have we the like store of provisions; but we
 have hands and weapons, and in these all things. For myself,
 I have been long since convinced, that neither for the soldiers, nor
 for the general, is there any safety in turning their backs upon
 the foe. Hence an honourable death is far preferable to a life
 with reproach; and security is inseparable from renown: neither
 would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this utmost verge of the
 world and nature. Were people unknown to you now arrayed
 against you, were you to engage men never before tried, I would
 animate you by the examples of other armies. At present, only
 recollect and enumerate your own exploits; only ask and consult
 your own eyes. These are the same men, who but the last year,
 trusting to the darkness of the night, attacked by stealth a single
 legion, and were, by the terror of your shouting, utterly over-
 thrown. These, of all the Britons, are the most timorous, and
 most prone to flight; and therefore have thus survived all the
 rest. As in forests and woods, beasts of the greatest strength are
 driven thence by superior force, and the timorous and spiritless are
 scared even at the cry of the pursuers; so all the bravest Britons
 are long since fallen by the sword, and only the most fearful and
 dastardly remain, whom at length you have found, not because
 they intended to stay and make head against you, but because they
 are overtaken and surprised. They stand in the field struck with
 dread, and bereft of all spirit; whence you may, without much
 danger, gain over them a glorious and memorable victory. Here
 conclude your warfare; here complete your expeditions and efforts,
 and put an end to a struggle of fifty years with one great and
 important day; so that the army may not be charged either with
 protracting the war, or with any cause for reviving it.

AGRICOLA had scarce ended his speech, when the soldiers, *He engages*
 transported with joy, flew to their arms. Agricola, seeing them *the Cale-*
 sufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in battle-*donians*
 array, placing the auxiliary foot, to the number of eight thou- *under the*
 sand men, in the centre, and three thousand auxiliary horse in *command*
 the wings. The legions he would not suffer to advance; but *of Galla-*
 commanded them to stand in battle-array close to the intrench- *cus.*

² TACIT. in vit. Agric. c. 33, 34.

moment before the victory, his thought, should have been to
 retire, and so, by sparing them, gained without losing the
Romans blood; and, on the other hand, they were still in
 support, should the rest be repulsed. The *Caledonians* were
 ranged upon the rising grounds in such manner, that the
 band stood upon the plain, and the rest rose successively upon
 the brows of the hills, one rank close above the other, as if
 they had been linked together. The enemy's chariots of war
 and cavalry filled the interjacent field. Then *Agricola* fearing
 as the enemy far surpassed him in number, lest he should be at-
 tacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and ex-
 tended his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak,
 many advised him to bring on the legions; but he, in all diffi-
 culties more prone to hope than to fear, without hearkening
 to their advice, dismissed his horse, and advanced on foot be-
 fore the ensigns. The onset was begun at a distance, wherein
 the *Britons* displayed great courage, and equal skill, eluding
 with their huge swords, and small bucklers, the missive wea-
 pons of the *Romans*, whilst of their own they poured a torrent
 upon them, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* cohorts,
 and two of the *Tungrians*, to close with the enemy, and bring
 them to an engagement hand to hand, as what to the veteran
 soldiers, by a long experience, was become familiar, but
 proved to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they
 were armed with little targets, and with swords of enormous
 size; for the swords of the *Britons*, as they were blunt at the
 end, were quite unfit for a close encounter. Hence the *Bata-
 vians* doubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron
 bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down
 all who opposed them in the plain, were carrying the attack
 up to the hills; insomuch that the other cohorts, encouraged
 by their example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and
 made a dreadful havock of all who resisted them; nay, such
 was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the
 enemy behind them but half-dead, and others not so much as
 wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves
 to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the battalions
 of foot, and intangled with the unevenness of the place, oc-
 casioned in the plain a general disorder and confusion. The
 engagement had not the least appearance of a combat of cavalry;
 for, standing obstinately foot to foot, they pressed to over-
 throw each other by the weight and bodies of their horses.
 Besides, the chariots abandoned and straggling, and likewise
 the horses destitute of managers, and thence wild and affright-
 ed, were running to and fro, just as the next fright drove them;
 insomuch that all of their own side who met them, or crossed
 their way, were beaten down by them.

At the meantime, the Britons, who were lodged upon the
 slopes of the hill, and had hitherto no share in the encounter,
 looking with scorn upon the small number of the Roman forces,
 began to descend slowly, and to surround them in the rear,
 while they were pursuing their victory. But *Agricola*, who
 had apprehended this very design, detached against them four
 squadrons of horse, which he had reserved near him for the
 sudden exigencies of the field. These, falling upon the enemy
 with great vigour and intrepidity, obliged them to retire; and
 put them in great disorder: then turning against the *Caledo-*
nians their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked
 the enemy in the rear. Hereupon the *Caledonians* began to re-
 tire in great confusion, and nothing was to be seen all over the
 open fields but pursuits, wounds, and captivity, and the pre-
 sent captives always slaughtered when others occurred to be
 taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their
 arms, before a smaller number, who pursued them; others,
 quite unarmed, rushing into danger, offered themselves thro'
 despair to instant death. On all sides lay scattered arms and
 carcases, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with
 blood. Some bands of the vanquished still fought with incre-
 dible resolution and bravery; and, when they drew near the
 woods, they rallied, and surrounded the foremost pursuers,
 who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far:
 whence the conquerors must have suffered some notable dis-
 aster, had not *Agricola*, who was constantly flying from one
 quarter to another, ordered the bravest cohorts lightly equip-
 ped to invest the enemy on all sides, and some of the cavalry to
 dismount, and enter the narrow passes, while the rest of the
 horse advanced into the more open and passable parts of the
 wood. The *Caledonians*, perceiving the *Romans* to continue
 the pursuit with regular and close ranks, betook them-
 selves to flight, not in united bodies, as before, but quite scat-
 tered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the
 utmost confusion making towards the deserts, and the most re-
 mote places. The *Romans* followed them close; and the pur-
 suit was not ended but with night, and a satiety of slaughter.
 Of the enemy, ten thousand were slain; of the Roman army, Romans
 three hundred and forty, among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, with
 commander of a cohort, who by his own youthful heat, and great
 also by a fiery horse, was hurried into the midst of the ene-
 my ^a (M).

The Cale-
donians
are utterly
routed;

and pur-
sued by the
Romans
with
great
slaughter.

THE

^a TACIT. in vit. Agricol. c. 35 — 38.

(M) We will not take upon of this memorable action, our
 us to ascertain the precise place antiquaries being greatly divided

THE following night proved a night of glory to the Romans, both from victory and spoil. But the Caledonians, in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help observing, that the chief argument, which the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* makes use of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes against his own. For he approves of no place, but where some vestiges are still to be seen of a Roman camp, capable of containing the army which Agricola had with him at this battle. Hence he rejects the opinions of those who pretend that the battle was fought in the Mearns, or at the Blair of Athol, because no remains of a Roman camp are to be seen in either of these places. Against such as maintain *Ardach* in *Strathallan*, and *Innesperry*, to be the spot on which the fate of Caledonia was determined, he alleges, that the camps, which are to be seen there, were not capable of containing the army which Agricola led out against the Caledonians. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers his own, which is, that the real place where the battle was fought, is in *Strathern*, half a mile south of the kirk of *Comerie*, there being still to be seen in that place a Roman encampment divided into two paritions or squares, which are joined together with a vast rampart of stone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that, having calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by *Polybius* for every foot-soldier, he was most agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number of foot which *Tacitus* says Agricola had with him at the battle of *Mon: Grampius*, to wit, eight thousand auxiliaries; and that the other square, where he supposes the horse lay, contained exactly three thousand horsemen. For *Tacitus*, says he, plainly informs us of the number of Agricola's army at that battle; for, speaking of his disposing of the troops, he says thus: *Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditem auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderent*: that is, Thus encouraged, and rushing forward, Agricola formed them so, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thousand men, composed the centre, and three thousand horse were placed in the wings. But were these eight thousand auxiliary foot, and three thousand horse, all the troops Agricola had with him at this battle? Does not *Tacitus* to the words we have just quoted subjoin, *Legiones pro vallo steterè, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, & auxilium, si pellerentur*? that is, The legions stood just without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without Roman blood; and that the legions might be ready to succour the auxiliaries, if repulsed. Hence it is evident, that Agricola, besides the eight thousand auxiliary foot, and three thousand horse, had some legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, without leaving

both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in despair: some dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling their lost friends; all abandoned their homes, and some in rage even set fire to them: not knowing where to shelter themselves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to consult, and from their counsels gathered some hope; sometimes, at the sight of their dearest pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, sometimes to resolution and fury: nay, some out of compassion and tenderness murdered their children and wives. The next day displayed more fully the greatness of the victory; on all sides a profound silence, solitary hills, a thick smoke rising from the houses on fire, and not a living soul to be found by the scouts. When from these, who had been dispatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be discovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, *Agricola*, considering that the summer was already far spent, and consequently that he could not pursue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the *Horestians*, that is, as is commonly supposed, into *Angus*. Having there received hostages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to sail round *Britain*, furnishing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accomplished; and thence proved *Britain* to be, as it was thought before, an island. On this occasion were discovered and subdued the isles of *Orkney*, till then unknown. *Fthule*, now called *Iseland*, or, as others will have it, *Shetland*, was likewise found, hitherto hid, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, by winter, under eternal snow. In the mean time, *Agricola* himself led on the foot and horse with a slow pace, that the minds of these new-conquered nations might be awed

He orders his fleet to sail round the island.

ing room to any reply, his own opinion, as must evidently appear to every reader. Besides, to us it seems quite absurd to suppose, as that writer does, that some vestiges must still remain of all the *Roman* camps in this island, and indeed elsewhere, notwithstanding the innumerable changes and alterations that must have happened, unknown to us, in the course of so many ages. How many camps were made by the *Romans* in *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities

have been overturned, and utterly destroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; inasmuch that antiquaries are at a loss about the places where they stood. But, admitting our author's supposition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse; besides which, *Agricola* had with him several legions, as is plain from the words of *Tacitus* (2).

(2) *Tacit. iv. vit. Agric. c. 35.*

He puts his
troops into
winter-
quarters.
Britain in-
tively re-
duced.

Year of
the flood
2432.

Of Christ
84.

Of Rome
832.

and dismayed by prolonging his march, ~~through them~~. He then put his army into winter quarters. Soon after, the fleet having sailed round the island, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed (N). Thus, after many struggles and contests, Britain was at length intirely reduced; but the Romans did not long continue masters, at least of Caledonia, what Agricola won being soon after lost by Domitian. The poet Juvenal speaks of a British king, by name *Arviragus*, who was at war with the Romans in Domitian's reign °; and all the Scots historians tell us, that, upon the departure of Agricola, the Caledonians possessed themselves of the castles and forts raised by him in their country. As for the Roman historians, they scarce take any notice of the British affairs till the reign of the emperor Hadrian, who came over into Britain, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to separate the Romans from the barbarians, as Spartianus files them P.

Domitian
is stung
with envy
at the
news of
his con-
quests:

yet causes
triumphal
honours to

AGRICOLA immediately acquainted Domitian by letters with the success that had attended his arms in Britain, and the situation of affairs there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modest, without all ostentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart, being well apprised, that his late mock-triumph over the Germans was held in public derision; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was everywhere sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook, that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course, upon this occasion, to smother his rancour till the fame of these conquests, and the affection of the army to Agricola, were somewhat abated. To him, therefore, he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and whatever else is bestowed instead of a real triumph,

° JUVEN. satir. iv. ver. 38.

P SPART. in vit. Hadriani.

(N) That port is called by Tacitus, *Trutulensis*, which is utterly unknown. Some, instead of *Trutulensis*, read *Rhutupensis*, supposed to be Sandwich haven. But from Tacitus it is manifest,

that the fleet at that time attended Agricola in Caledonia or Scotland; and consequently must have sailed from some port of that kingdom.

bestowing these honours with many expressions full of esteem and respect. But, in the mean time, he resolved to recal him; and that this might not be ascribed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to *Agricola* was destined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Asilius Rufus*, a man of consular dignity, since the ~~same~~ was reserved only for men of the first rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much trusted with the secret designs of his master, was by him dispatched to carry the instrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he still in *Britain* (for he had already named him a successor); that the freedman met *Agricola* crossing the chanel, and, without so much as speaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already surrendered to his successor, probably *Sallustius Secundus*, the province now settled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular distinction, and concourse of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace; where he was received by the emperor with a short embrace, without a word said, and then passed undistinguished amongst the crowd of courtiers. From that time forward, to lessen the reputation he had acquired of a military man, and a gallant commander, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to inactivity and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at most two, of his friends: insomuch that many, especially such as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and observed *Agricola*, could not conceive whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithstanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accused in his absence before *Domitian*, and as often in his absence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing else, save the glorious character of the man, and the perverse disposition of the emperor, hating all excellence, and every virtue. With these causes concurred the worst sort of enemies, such as extolled him, in order to destroy him. Besides, such times afterwards ensued as would not suffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; so that he was in constant danger of being sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor, but nevertheless lived nine years longer.

^a *TACIT. in vit. Agric. c. 38 — 42.*

AFTER the departure of *Agricola*, we have but lost and broken accounts of what passed in this island, till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. We do not even know who was *Agricola*'s successor in the government of *Britain*. We only read in *Suetonius* *, that *Sallustius Lucullus* was legate of *Britain* in the reign of *Domitian*; and that he was put to death by that prince, for suffering his name to be given to a sort of spears which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, and *Trajan*, who succeeded *Nerva*, some commotions happened in the island; but all we know of them is, that they were soon appeased, and the country restored to its former tranquillity, by the *Roman* troops quartered there; which, according to *Josephus*, amounted to four legions †.

In the reign of *Adrian*, the successor of *Trajan*, the *Caledonians*, having demolished some of the forts built by *Agricola* between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the *Roman* province. Against them was dispatched by *Adrian*, in the first year of his reign, *Julius Severus*, a commander of great renown; but he being suddenly recalled, and employed against the *Jews*, then in rebellion, *Priscus Licinius* was sent over in his room (N), and followed soon after by the emperor in person; whose arrival struck the *Caledonians* with such terror, that, abandoning the countries they had seized, they retired to the more northern parts of the island. *Adrian*, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order

*Adrian in
Britain.*

Year of
the flood
2468.
Of Christ

120.
Of Rome
868.

* SUET. in Domit.

† JOSEPH. apud Camden. in Roman.
SPARTIAN. in Hadrian. c. 5.

(N) It appears from an ancient inscription found near *Adrian*'s wall, that *Priscus Licinius* had been proprætor of *Cappadocia* before he was sent into *Britain*, had commanded the fourth

legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor *Adrian* in his *Jewish* expedition. The inscription is as follows:

M. F. Cl. Prisco
: : icinio Italico Legato Augustorum
PR PR. Provinc. Cappadociæ
PR. PR. Prov. Britannicæ
.

Lxx. 1111 Galliciæ Præf. Coh. 111 Lingonum
F. uil. Mil. ornato A Divo Hadriano
In Expeditione Judaica
Q. Cassius Domitius Palumbus.

to keep them quiet, relinquished to them all the country between the *Tine* and the two firths; but, at the same time, to restrain them from making incursions into the *Roman* province, he caused a wall to be built, extending from the *Eder* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length¹. Having thus settled affairs in *Britain*, and reformed many abuses there, he returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the title of *Restorer of Britain*; which was stamped on his coins (O).

To *Adrian* succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, in whose reign the *Brigantes* revolted; and the *Caledonians*, having, in several places, broken down *Adrian's* rampart, began anew to ravage the *Roman* territories. Against them was sent *Lollius Urbicus*, *Priscus Licinius*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Britain*, being, in all likelihood, dead; for *Antoninus*, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us², removed none of the governors whom *Adrian* had preferred.

LOLLIUS obliged the *Brigantes* to submit anew to the *Roman* yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as *Camden* and *Brietius* conjecture, from *Bremenium*, now *Brampton* in *Cumberland*, to the river *Essex*. For these achievements, *Antoninus* received the surname of *Britannicus*, tho' he had never seen *Britain* himself³ (P).

IN

¹ SPARTIAN. in *Hadrian* p. 6. c. 5. ² Idem ibid.

³ JUL. CAP. in *Antonin.*

(O) Some of these have reached our times, and, among the rest, one with the figure of *Adrian*, and three soldiers on the reverse, representing, as *Camden* conjectures, the three legions, of which the *Roman* army in *Britain* then consisted, to wit, the *Legio secunda Augusta*, the *Quartadecima Viatrix*, and *Vicesima Viatrix*, called also *Britannica*. Under them is this inscription, *Exer. Britannicus*. Other coins of the same prince bear this inscription, *Restitutor Britannia*.

(P) *Lollius Urbicus* was sent into *Britain*, according to *Alford*, in the third year of *Anto-*

nius's reign, of the Christian æra 142. and the same year he reduced the rebellious *Brigantes*, and built the wall which we have mentioned in the text. This *Alford* proves from two of *Antoninus's* medals, coined, by a decree of the senate, in that prince's third consulship, that is, as *Alford* shews, in the third year of his reign. On these medals he is stiled *Pater patriæ*; and on the reverse is represented *Britain*, on one sitting on a globe, and on the other holding a spear, and resting on a shield. As *Antoninus* is not, on either of these medals, stiled *Britannicus*, but on such only as were coined five years

Year of
the flood
2486.
Of Christ
138.
Of Rome
886.



Ulpus
Marcellus
drives the
Caledo-
nians out
of the
Roman
provinces.

The army
in Britain
mutines
on account
of Peren-
nis, who
is deliver-
ed up to
them.

In the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the successor of *Antoninus Pius*, new commotions were raised in *Britain*; which obliged the emperor to send thither *Calpurnius Agricola*, who seems, appeared them; for *Pronto*, the famous orator, mentioned by *Eumenius*, in a panegyric on the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, says, among other things, that though, residing in his palace at *Rome*, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot sitting at the helm, and guiding the helm, he deserved the honour of the whole expedition.

To *Marcus Aurelius* succeeded *Commodus*, in whose reign the *Caledonians*, having passed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* general, and most of his army, committed every-where dreadful devastations, without restraint, till *Ulpus Marcellus* was sent against them, who, as he was a commander of great experience, and a strict observer of the military discipline, drove back the *Caledonians* with great slaughter, and restored the island to its former tranquillity. The reputation he gained in this expedition was so great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipsed by that of his general, resolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government. For the great advantages gained by *Ulpus* in *Britain*, *Commodus* assumed the title of *imperator* the sixth time. That brave commander had no sooner left *Britain*, than the army there began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of *Perennis*, the emperor's favourite, who, governing with an absolute sway, sent only persons of the equestrian order to command the *British* army, whom the soldiers therefore refused to obey. The mutiny was carried so far, that the army sent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, says *Dion Cassius*, of their own body, to complain of *Perennis*. These the emperor met without the city; and, being by them informed, that *Perennis* aspired to the empire, and had, with that view, cashiered the bravest officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traitor to the fury of the praetorian bands, which he then commanded, and must have no less disoblged than he had done the *British* army, for he was by them, after a thousand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his sister, and his two

* EUMEN. panegyric x.
n. *Ætism.* 7. SPEDIUS, fol. 133.

† DIO, lib. lxxi p. 821. *CAMP.*

years after, *Alford* conjectures from thence, that some signal victory was gained, about that

time, over the revolted *Britons* or *Caledonians*, which procured him the title of *Britannicus* (3).

(3) Vide *Alford annal.* ad ann. 142, & 147.

The downfall and death of this favourite are related by *Herodian* in a quite different manner ^a. In the mean time *Clodius Pertinax*, afterwards emperor, was sent into *Britain*, to bring back the mutinous army there to a sense of their duty. Upon his arrival, the soldiery, not able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*, offered him the sovereignty; but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with much severity against the mutineers, provoked them to such a degree, that one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was shed, and *Pertinax* himself left for dead among the slain. However, in spite of all obstacles, he brought the army at last to submit, and restored tranquillity to the province; but, as his severity had drawn upon him the ill-will and hatred of the soldiery, he was, some time after, recalled, at his own request, *Clodius Albinus* being appointed governor of *Britain* in his room ^b. *Albinus*, having, in a speech to the soldiery, upon a false report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the senate against that of the emperor, was commanded by *Commodus* to resign the government of *Britain* to *Junius Severus*. But *Commodus* being soon after murdered, *Pertinax*, his successor, sent *Albinus* again into *Britain*, where he continued during the short reigns of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*. As he had, by his generosity and largesses, gained the affection of the *British* army, he was, upon the death of *Julianus*, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title against *Severus*, who had received the same honour from the army in *Pannonia*, he passed over into *Gaul* with his *British* troops; but, being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, his army was defeated, and he himself slain.

A new mutiny in the army quelled by *Pertinax*.

Albinus, governor of *Britain*, is styled emperor.

SEVERUS, now master of the whole *Roman* empire, divided *Britain* into two governments, not thinking it perhaps advisable to trust one man with so great a command. The hither, or southern part of the island, was given to *Heracitus*, and the northern to *Virius Lupus* (Q), who was so harassed by

Britain divided into two governments

^a *Dio*, lib. lxxii. p. 821 *LAMP.* in *Commod* p. 48 ⁴ *HERODIAN.* lib. i. p. 474. ^b *CAPITOL.* in *Pertinace*, c. 3.

(Q) The *Caledonians*, according to *Herodian*, had promised to restrain the *Meata* from making incursions into the *Roman* territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, *Virius Lupus* was obliged to apply to the *Meata* themselves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an

antient inscription found at *Ilkly* in *Yorkshire*, by *Ptolemy* called *Olinaca*, it appears, that *Virius Lupus* restored that place. The inscription is as follows.

Im Severus
Aug. & Antoninus
Cæs. Destinatus restitutum
Curante Virio Lupo Leg
eo um PR PR.

the

the continual inroads of the *Caledonians*, that he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of *Severus's* reign, when, breaking anew into the Roman provinces, they committed every-where dreadful devastations. *Virius Lupus*, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unless powerful and timely supplies were sent to make head against the barbarians. Hereupon *Severus*, resolved to put an end to the daily incursions of the enemy, by the intire conquest of the north, set out for *Britain*, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians* no sooner heard of his arrival, than they sent ambassadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. These the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request.

Severus goes over into Britain;

Year of the flood 2555. Of Christ 207. Of Rome 955.

and penetrates into the most northern parts of the island.

He builds a new wall.

Severus dies.

As soon as the season was fit for action, he marched into their country, and, putting all to fire and sword, advanced to the most distant and northern coasts of the island. Tho' no battle was fought in this expedition, yet partly by the enemy's continual ambuscades, partly by the hardships and toils the soldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marshes, &c. fifty thousand of them are said to have perished. The *Caledonians*, however, were, in the end, obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to *York*, leaving to his son *Caracalla* the command of the army, and the finishing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion, which to us seems most probable, on the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. For this expedition *Severus* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two sons with that of *Britannicus* ^c. The emperor being taken ill at *York*, the *Caledonians* were no sooner informed of his indisposition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked *Severus* to such a degree, that he ordered his son *Caracalla* to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the *Caledonians*, returned to *Rome* ^d.

^c SPART. in SEVER. GOLTZ. p. 82.

^d DIO, lib. LXXVIII. p. 882.

In the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, to wit, *Macrinus, Hellogabalus, Alexander, Maximinus, Pupienus, Gordian, Philip, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius*, we are left almost quite in the dark as to the affairs of Britain; for all we know of them, while these princes ruled, is, that Britain still continued to be a Roman province; that, in the reign of *Gordian III.* it was governed by *Nonnius Philippus* (R); that, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, the Roman troops quartered in the north, to restrain the *Caledonians*, were commanded by one *Desidienus Ælianus* (S); that *Britain*, revolting from *Gallienus*, declared for *Posthumus*, who had usurped the sovereignty in *Gaul*, that of the thirty usurpers,

(R) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, from an antient inscription found at a place, by the Romans called *Castra Exploratorum*, and by us *Old Carlisle*. It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his

wife, and the whole imperial family, set up by the Roman horse quartered in *Britain*, under the command of *Æmilius Crispinus*, a native of *Tudrum* in *Africa*. The words of the inscription are as follow.

I O A
Pro Salute Imperatoris
M Antonini Gordiani P T
Imperatoris Augusti et Sabinae Iur-
tae Tranquillae conjugis eius To-
raque Domus Divi et in Ala
duo et Gordiani ob Institutum
Appellata posuit, cui praestitit
Æmilius Crispinus Praefectus
Equitatus in Pro Africa De
Tudro sub cuius Nonni Phil-
lippi legatus Augusti Praefecto
Acto et Institutato
Cess

In two other inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, mention is made of *Mæcilius Fuscus*, and *Crius Lucilianus*, both proprietors of Bri-

tan in the reign of the same emperor *Gordian III*

(S) This appears from the following inscription found in *Northumberland*.

Pro Salute
Desidienus Æliani Praefectus . . .
et Dux
Posuit Votum
... eo Servus Libe-
rus Iulius et Bas-
ila Cess

Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, sent into Britain.

Burgundians and Vandals in Britain.

Carausius and Allectus usurp the sovereignty of Britain.

or, as they are stiled, tyrants, besides *Posthumus*, the following were acknowledged in Britain; to wit, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, and *Tetricus*, of whom the last being overcome by the emperor *Aurelian*, Britain submitted to the conqueror, who sent hither *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, to establish his authority in the island *. *Aurelian* was succeeded by *Tacitus*, and he, after a short reign of about six months, by *Probus*, whose time *Bonofus*, descended of a Spanish stock, but born in Britain, usurped the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in Gaul and Spain; but, being, after several battles, reduced by *Probus* to great straits, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hand of the conqueror (T). *Probus* was, according to *Vopiscus* †, the first that allowed the Britons, Spaniards, and Gauls, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the Rhine with the Burgundians and Vandals, taken their king *Igillus* prisoner, with many others of these two nations, he transplanted them into Britain ‡.

In the beginning of *Dioclesian's* reign, *Carausius*, a native of Gaul, passing over into Britain, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and *Maximian*, whom *Dioclesian* had taken for his partner in the empire, Britain was given up to *Carausius*, who governed it with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years; but was in the end killed by *Allectus*, as was *Allectus*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, in a pitched battle with *Asclepiodotus*, one of *Constantius's* officers. Upon his death, Britain was reunited to the empire, after it had been held about seven years by *Carausius*, and three by *Allectus*. The two emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* having resigned the empire to *Galerius* and *Constantius*, the latter, to whose share fell the western provinces, soon after his accession to the empire, passed over into Britain, to make war, says *Eumenius* §, on the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, whom he overcame; but, not long after, died at York ¶, where he had the satisfaction to see his son *Constantine* before he expired, and to ap-

* EUMEN. panegy. ix. & x. TREBEL. POLL. in 30 tyrann.
† VOPISC. in Prob. c. 18. § ZOS. lib. i. p. 865. § EUMEN.
panegy. ix. p. 194. ¶ HIER. chron. AUR. VICT. p. 526.
EUTROP. p. 587.

(T) *Zosimus* (4) and *Zonaras* (5) tell us, that a governor, sent hither by *Probus*, assumed the imperial purple; but was

soon after killed by *Victorinus*, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this island.

point him his successor; so that *Constantine* began his reign in *Britain*, and, some time after, returned to this island, as we read in *Eusebius*^k, probably to put a stop to the daily incursions of the *Caledonians*. He altered the division of *Britain*, which, by *Sæverus*, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, to wit, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, which last was afterwards divided into two parts, to wit, *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, which happened in the reign of *Constantine*, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the *Roman* province, the emperor having carried with him, first into *Gaul*, and afterwards into the East, not only most of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, but likewise the flower of the *British* youth; whence he is censured by *Zosimus*, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this side^l.

CONSTANTINE divided the empire among his three sons, *Constantine*, *Constans*, and *Constantius*, of whom the latter, being in a short time possessed of the whole, sent into *Britain* the famous notary and informer *Paulus*, surnamed *Catena*, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had sided with *Magnentius*. *Constantius*, about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the western provinces to *Julian*, afterwards called the *Apostate*, who, being informed, while he was in his winter-quarters at *Paris*, that the *Picts* and *Scots*, about this time first distinguished in history by that name (U), had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed every-where dreadful ravages, dispatched his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, with some troops, against them. *Lupicinus*, embarking at *Bologne* in the depth of winter, reached *London* in a few

The famous in-former Paulus, surnamed Catena, in Britain.

^k EUSEB. vit. Constant. lib. i. c. 25.

^l Zos. lib. ii.

(U) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the *Scots*. But *St. Jerom*, in his epistle against *Ctesiphon* the *Pelagian*, has given us a much more ancient passage, which he translated out of *Porphyrus* the *Greek* philosopher, who wrote an age before *Ammianus*. The passage is as follows: "Neither *Britain*, " a province fertile in tyrants, " nor the *Scotish* nations, nor the

" barbarous nations round about " to the very ocean, did ever acquire knowledge *Moses* and the prophets." *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Propertius*, and his animadversions on *Eusebius*, corrects the common editions of *Seneca's* satire upon *Claudius*, by reading, instead of *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoto Brigantis*; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuscript copies; and, besides, it is certain, that *Claudius* never made war upon the *Scots*, but kept in

The Roman provinces ravaged by the Scots and Picts

Theodosius the elder sent into Britain
He beats back the barbarians,

and makes a fifth province.

few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled^m, the northern nations having perhaps appeased *Julian* by their submission. During the short reigns of *Julian* and *Jovian*, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of Britain. But, under *Valentinian* I. the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Saxons*, and other northern nations, invaded the Roman province at one and the same time; and having killed *Vettaridus*, count of the maritim tract, and *Fuliofaudes*, who was distinguished with the title of *dux* or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition.

News of this invasion being brought to *Valentinian*, while he was on his journey from *Amiens* to *Treves*, he immediately dispatched *Severus* into Britain, his *comes domesticorum*; but soon after recalled him, and sent *Jovinus* in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, was thereupon chosen for this province, and trusted with the whole management of so troublesome a war. *Theodosius*, upon his arrival in Britain, divided his forces into several parties, which, advancing against the enemy, who were moving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and prisoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulsed, *Theodosius* entered *Lundonium*, or *London*, in a kind of triumph, and restored that, as well as several other cities, which had greatly suffered by the late invasions, to their former splendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the firths of *Gleta* and *Bodotria*, he built several castles on the isthmus between the two seas, in order to restrain them from breaking new into the province. By this means, all the country between *Adrian's* wall and the two firths, which had been, for some time, held by the *Picts*, was recovered. Of this tract *Theodosius* made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. *Theodosius*, before he left the island, crushed, in its very beginning, the revolt of one *Valentine*, or *Valentinian*, who, being banished into Britain, had prevailed upon some of the

^m AMMIAN lib xx p 154

the southern parts of Britain the emperor *Adrian*, that correction is generally looked upon as casus primus of Africa, altogether groundless (6) in the verses of the poet *Florus* to

inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but *Theodosius*, having got the usurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magistratesⁿ.

AND now *Britain* being restored to its former tranquillity, *Theodosius* returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. In the joint reign of the succeeding princes *Valentinian II.* and *Gratian*, *Maximus*, who commanded in *Britain*, hearing that *Maximus Gratian* had taken *Theodosius* the younger for his colleague in *usurps the* the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a *foreign sign-* person, in his opinion, so much beneath him in merit, resolved *ty in Bri-* to assume the imperial purple, and put himself upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the *Roman* legions quartered in *Britain*, he carried them, with the flower of the *British* youth, into *Gaul*. As these never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or settling elsewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its strength, became afterwards an easy prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*. Over these two nations *Maximus* is said to have gained great advantages before his usurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the island; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers. In the reign of *Theodosius*, the *Scots* and *Picts* were, it seems, kept in awe by *Chrysantius*, the son of *Marcian* bishop of *Constantinople*, who, being appointed governor of *Britain*, acquitted himself in that office with great reputation^o.

THEODOSIUS was succeeded by his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the former ruling in the East, and the latter in the West. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilicho*, who had been appointed by *Theodosius* regent of the Western empire during the minority of his son, is supposed to have sent over a legion into *Britain*, to defend it against the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Saxons*^p. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he secured *Britain* against the incursions of its antient enemies; *secures* for *Claudian*, in enumerating the great things performed by *Britain* *Stilicho* before his first consulship, tells us, that he succoured *against the* *Britain* attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the *incursions* *Scots*; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, *of the* nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he secured the *British* *Scots*, *coasts* against the descents of the *Saxons*^q. He adds elsewhere, *Picts, &c* that the *Saxons* being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the *Picts* having lost their strength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears^r. About this time, a proper officer was appointed

ⁿ AMMIAN. lib. xxviii. p. 368.

eccles. Britann. antiq. p. 595.

ii. p. 140. ^r Idem ibid. p. 139.

^o SOCRAT. lib. vii. ^p USS.

^q CLAUDIAN. de laud. Stil. lib.

The Britons choose an emperor.
 Marcus and Gratian chosen, and slain
 Constantine chosen

to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici* (W). But, not long after, the empire being over-run by the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Burgundians*, most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain were recalled, and the island left almost quite open to the attacks of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no assistance from *Honorius*, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly invested with that dignity, one *Maximus*, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed *Gratian*, a native of Britain, in his room. *Gratian*, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by *Constantine*, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, common to him with *Constantine the Great*. The new prince obliged the *Scots* and *Picts* to quit the Roman province, and retire beyond the two friths; which success inspiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a design of making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, he passed over into *Gaul*, taking with him the few Roman forces that had been left there, and

* Soz lib ix. c. 11 p 813

(W) The learned *Usher* ascribes to *Stilicho* the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons*. (7) This

Claudian seems to insinuate, when he introduces *Britain* thus speaking, in praise of that great general and minister.

*Atque vicinis periculum gentibus, inquit,
 Munxit Stilicho, totam cum Scotis Iernem
 Aluit, & infesto spumavit remigi, Iethys.
 Illus effretum curis, ne bella time em
 Scotica, nec Pictum tremorem, nec littore toto
 Prospicerem dubius venientem Saxona velis*

When neighbour nations fill'd me with alarms,
 'Twas *Stilicho* who sav'd me by his arms.
 When the fierce *Scots* rous'd all *Je ne's* isle,
 And *Iletris* foam'd with hostile sailors toil;
 Thro' his kind cares nor *Scot* nor *Pict* I dread;
 Nor *Saxon* vessels which my coast o'erspread.
 No terrors now my doubtful mind dismay,
 When from afar I view them cut the sea.

A *Stilicho* is supposed to have appointed troops to guard the coast of Britain, and prevent the *Saxons* from making descents, so

he may be likewise said to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of *The count of the Saxon shore*.

(7) *Usser. antiq. Brit* p. 595.

such

such of the *Britons* as were able to bear arms. Of the success Year of that attended him at first in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and of his unhappy the flood end, we have spoken at large in a former volume, to which 2755. Of Christ we refer the reader ¹.

THE unhappy *Britons*, thus left to themselves after the departure of the *Romans*, and the flower of their youth, were more harassed than ever by the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no opposition, broke into the country, and, putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced them to a most miserable condition. In this state they continued from the year 407. when the usurper *Constantine* passed over into *Gaul*, to 410. when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's assistance, they withdrew their obedience to *Rome*, says *Zosimus* ^u; and, being resolved to defend themselves with their own strength, would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor *Honorius* seemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even advised, them to provide for their own safety ^w; which was an implicit resigning the sovereignty of the island, and releasing the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to *Bede* ^x, a little after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in the year of the city 1158. for it is certain, that *Rome* was taken in 410. The *Britons*, now again a free people, seem to have at first fought with success against their ancient and irreconcilable enemies the *Scots* and *Picts*; for *Zosimus* writes, that they delivered their cities from the insults of an haughty enemy ^y. But, being in the end overpowered, they had recourse to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promising an intire and perpetual obedience to *Rome*, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppression of their merciless enemies.

HONORIUS, touched with compassion, sent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in *Britain*, cut in pieces great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*; and, having obliged them to retire beyond the fiths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbriton*, they advised the natives to build a wall on the isthmus from sea to sea, and then returned to the continent, where their assistance was wanted to repulse the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The *Britons*, without loss of time, applied themselves to the building of the wall; but, as it was done only with turf, the barbarians broke it down in several places, and, pouring in upon the territories of the *Britons* like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, de-

¹ Vol. xvi. p. 497, 498. 516—519. ^u Zos. lib. vi. p. 827.

^w Idem ibid. p. 830.

^x BED. hist. c. 11.

^y Zos. lib. vi.

p. 827.

stroying every thing with fire and sword *. This happened, according to the learned *Usher* ^a, in 422. but, according to *Alford* ^b, in 421 (X).

Another legion sent to their relief. THE unhappy *Britons*, after many miseries and calamities, sent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and dust on their heads, prevailed upon him to send new forces to their relief. These hastening into *Britain*, fell upon the barbarians, not in the least apprised of their arrival; and made a dreadful havoc of them, while they were roving up-and-down the island in quest of booty ^c. This slaughter of the northern nations is placed by *Usher* in 426 ^d. wherein he disagrees with *Bede*, who supposes it to have happened before the year 423. in which *Honorius* died ^e. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the *Romans*, who had no ambitious view in assisting the distressed *Britons*, but were come over merely out of compassion and good-nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further assistance from the emperor, that the troops he had now sent were ordered back to the continent, to make head against the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire, and that they were therefore obliged to take their last farewell of *Britain*, and intirely abandon the island. After this declaration, *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, commander of the *Roman* troops, exhorted the *Britons* to defend themselves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itself, their liberty, against an enemy no stronger than themselves, provided they would but lay aside their fears, and exert their antient courage and resolution.

NOT satisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withstand the attacks of the enemy, he ad-

^a GILD excid Britan c 12, 13 p 117

^a Uss p 1096.

^b ALFORD. annal ad ann. 421.

^c GILD ibid. c 14 p 118.

^d Uss ubi supra.

^e BED chron. p 114

(X) *Alford* produces a medal of the emperor *Honorius*, with this legend on the reverse, *Victoria Auggg* and thence concludes, that the slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* by the legion, which *Helio* sent over, happened in the year of the Christian era 421. the twenty seventh of *Honorius's* reign. The word *Auggg*, de

notes, as he rightly observes, three emperors reigning at the same time. These were *Honorius*, *Theodosius*, and *Constantius*. Now, as *Constantius* was made emperor and died in the same year 421 the victory ascribed to the three emperors must necessarily have been gained in that year (8)

vise them to build a wall, not of turf, but of stone, offering them the assistance of his soldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the *Britons*, jointly with the *Romans*, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with such diligence, that, though eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height, it was soon finished. This wall stood, says *Bede*^f, in the same place where *Severus* had built his, that is, according to the most probable opinion, as we have observed above, on the isthmus between the two friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*. They likewise built towers at convenient distances on the east coast against the *Picts*, and other barbarians, who, coming from *Germany*, made frequent descents on that side. The *Roman* commander, having thus secured the nation, employed the rest of the time he continued in the island in instructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make, after many encouraging exhortations, he, with his *Romans*, took his last farewell of *Britain*; and, telling the *Britons*, that they must expect their return no more, he crossed over to the continent^g. From this last departure of the *Romans* we may date the total desertion of *Britain* by them, and the final period of the *Roman* empire in this island (Y). The *Britons* fought, as we have seen, for many years against the *Romans*, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodshed that they submitted to the yoke. But, being in the end pleased with their servitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the space of four hundred years and upwards, they were no less unwilling to part with them, than they had been at first to receive them. This appears from the last message they sent to *Actius*; but, since it happened after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned the island, we shall refer the further relation of it to the following section.

^f *BED. hist. c. 12. p. 156.*
^c *12. p. 156.*

^g *GILD. c. 24. p. 118. BLD. hist.*

(Y) As to the year, in which *Britain* was thus finally abandoned, there is a great disagreement among chronologers, some placing the retreat of the *Romans* in 426. some in 435. or 437. According to *Alford*, *Gallio* returned to *Gaul* in 422. the twen-

ty-eighth of *Henorius's* reign (9). *Bede*, in his history, speaks of the departure of the *Romans* as happening in 431 (1). but, in his chronicle, he seems to suppose it to have happened even before the year 423. and hence *Alford* places it in 422.

(9) *Alford. annal. ad hunc ann.*

(1) *Bede, hist. lib. i. c. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.*

S E C T. III.

The History of Britain, from its Desertion by the Romans, to the Invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

*The Scots
and Picts
break into
the Bri-
tish terri-
tories*

THE Romans having abandoned Britain, with an intention to return no more, as we have related in the foregoing section, the *Scots* and *Picts* no sooner heard of their departure, than, landing in swarms from their leather vessels, in the lands of the *Britons*, they committed greater ravages than ever, destroying all with fire and sword. These two nations, differing somewhat in manners, but equally greedy of spoil and booty, seeing the cowardly *Britons* fly like sheep before them, resolved to attack the wall, which had been lately repaired, not doubting but they should become masters of it without great loss, since it was defended by such a faint hearted enemy. At their approach, the *Britons*, instead of preparing for a vigorous defence, stood trembling on the battlements, till the enemy, more bold and active, pulling some of them down with long iron hooks, and driving the rest, with showers of darts and arrows, from their stations, made themselves masters of the wall. The *Britons* betook themselves to flight, which, however, could not save them, for the *Scots* and *Picts*, pursuing them close, made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and took possession of the frontier towns, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. As the enemy met with no opposition, they overran the whole country, putting all to fire and sword without controul. This general havock and devastation bred a dreadful famine, which occasioned new mischiefs, and a kind of civil war among the *Britons* themselves, obliged, for their support, to plunder each other, and take from their friends the little the common enemy had left them. The whole country being thus ruined, the famine became general, and raged to such a degree, that the *Britons*, who remained, were obliged to betake themselves to the woods, and there live upon what they could get by hunting. In this deplorable condition they continued some years. The *Britons* had already kings of their own, but *Gildas*, in his usual melancholy strain, finds fault with his countrymen for raising to the throne such one as were remarkable for their cruelty. Perhaps they judged him best qualified to redress the disorders, and put a stop to the robberies, that prevailed all over the island. The same author adds, that those, who had raised them to the throne,

^a GILDAS. c. 15, 16. p. 118

^b Idem, c. 19 p. 119.

caused them soon after to be murdered, not because they had found them guilty of any crime, but that they might choose worse men in their room. If any of their princes proved more mild and humane than the rest, he was abhorred by all as a coward, and persecuted as a public enemy^c. The unhappy Britons, thus at variance among themselves, and, at the same time, pressed with famine, and pursued by a merciless enemy, had recourse once more to the Romans for assistance, writing *The Brito-Actius*; who was then consul the third time, and governed the Western empire almost with an absolute sway. To move him to compassion, they directed the letter thus: *The groans of letters to the Britons to the consul Actius*. And in the letter; *The barbarians*, said they, *drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or to be cruelly massacred by the enemy*. What answer they received is uncertain: all we know is, that they could not prevail upon Actius, who was then in Gaul, to lend them the least assistance, the emperor Valentinian III. being then, as Usher thinks, under apprehension of a war with Attila^d, who had not yet broken into the Western empire.

THE Britons, now despairing of any relief from the Romans, and, on the other hand reduced to the utmost extremity by the famine, which increased daily, knew not what measures to take to free themselves from their unfortunate circumstances. Great numbers of them fled over to Armorica, where those Britons, who attended Maximus into Gaul, are supposed to have settled^e: others submitted to the Scots and Picts, purchasing a miserable sustenance with everlasting slavery. Some however, more resolute, placing their confidence in God, betook themselves to their arms, and, sallying out in parties from their woods and caves, fell upon the enemy, while they were roving up-and-down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire. The Picts withdrew, in all likelihood, to the country about the wall, either abandoned by the Britons, or inhabited by such of them as had submitted to their new masters. The Scots, as Usher conjectures^f, returned to Ireland, whence they originally came; but Gildas and Bede only tell us, that they returned home^g.

AND now the Britons, having some respite, began anew to cultivate their lands; which, after having for some time lain

^c GILD. *ibid.* ^d Uss. p. 1104. ^e Vol. xvi. p. 378, 379. (U). ^f Uss. p. 609. 1105. ^g GILD. p. 119. BED. *chron.* p. 114.

They abandon themselves to all manner of vice.

fallow, produced all sorts of provisions in such plenty, as in no age had been remembred: This plenty was attended with luxury, wantonness, and all manner of vices incident to human nature; but what above all contributed to the immorality and irreligion that prevailed all over the land, was, according to *Gildas*, the hatred of truth, and love of lyes, evil being miscalled good, and good evil, and every thing transacted directly contrary to the common welfare, and public safety. The clergy, who should have reclaimed the ~~people~~ with their example, proved the ringleaders to every vice, being, for the most part, addicted to drunkenness, envy, contention, &c. and incapable of discerning between good and evil ^h. In the mean time, the *Britons* were alarmed anew with a report, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with a greater force than ever, being determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and plant themselves in their room from one end of the island to the other. This report occasioned a general consternation; which, however, was not sufficient to reclaim them from their wicked ways, says *Gildas*: and therefore they were visited with a dreadful plague, which, raging with uncommon fury, swept away most of those, whom the sword and famine had spared; insomuch that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. But this calamity likewise proving ineffectual, the contagion no sooner ceased, than the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced the unhappy *Britons* to the utmost extremity. *Vortigern* was then the chief, if not the only king of *Britain*, a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, quite regardless of the public welfare, and no less incapable of promoting it in the field, than in the cabinet. However, being awaked by the clamours of the people, and finding it was absolutely necessary for his own preservation to repulse the enemy, he summoned a council, to deliberate with the chief men of the nation about the proper means to deliver the country from the calamities it then groaned under, and prevent the like misfortunes for the future. In this council, they all agreed, being, in a manner, infatuated, on the most pernicious expedient that could be imagined, and what, in the end, proved the utter destruction of the nation; which was, to invite the *Saxons* into the island, a people at that time famous for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded, even by the *Britons*, as death itself ⁱ (A). The expedient

A dreadful plague.

The Britons under Vortigern

^h GILD. c. 19 p. 119.

ⁱ Idem ibid. BEN. hist. c. 16. p. 157.

(A) The first *Saxon* troops are said, by most historians, to have landed in the year 449. though, by some, this event is placed a few years sooner; by others, a few years later.

pedient being approved, embassadors were dispatched in all haste into *Germany*, to represent to the *Saxons* the request of the *Britons*, and offer them advantageous terms, provided they would come over to their assistance (B). *agrees to invite the Saxons over.*

THE *Saxons* were highly pleased with the proposal, the more as they were foretold by their soothsayers, that they should plunder the country, to which they were called, for the space of an hundred and fifty years, and quickly possess it twice that

Prosper supposes the *Saxons* to have been masters of the island in 444. and consequently to have landed many years before. But that writer was therein grossly mistaken, as is manifest from *Gildas*, *Bede*, and all the historians who speak of this event. *Bede* places the arrival of the *Saxons* and *Angles* in the reign of *Marcian*, before the death of *Valentinian III.* that is, between the year 450. and 455. and seems to suppose the resolution of the *Britons* to call them in, to have been taken before the reign of *Marcian*; so that, according to *Bede*, their arrival may be well placed in 450. and in that year it is accordingly, by the learned *Usher*, supposed to have happened (1).

(B) *Witichind*, a *Saxon* historian, who lived in the ninth century, in his history *de gestis Saxonum*, introduces the *British* embassadors making the following speech before an assembly of the *Saxons*: “ Illustrious *Saxons*, the fame of your victories having reached our ears, the distressed *Britons*, harassed by the continual inroads of a neighbouring enemy, send us to implore your assistance. We have a fertile and spacious country, which we are commanded to submit to you. We

have hitherto lived under the protection of the *Roman* empire; but our antient masters having abandoned us, we know no nation more powerful than you, and better able to protect us. We therefore recur to your valour. Forake us not in our distress, and we shall readily submit to what terms you yourselves shall think fit to prescribe to us.” If the *Britons* made such a frank surrender, and promised such an absolute subjection, as is insinuated in this speech, it is strange, that neither *Bede* nor *Ethelwerd*, both *Saxons*, should take any notice of it; nay, the latter writer tells us, that the *Britons* promised to live in perpetual friendship and amity with the *Saxons*; and friendship and amity are inconsistent with absolute subjection. Besides, when the *Saxons*, designing to make themselves masters of the island, wanted a pretence to quarrel with the natives, they did not urge the promise of the *British* embassadors, which they would certainly have done, had any such promise been made; but alleged, for a pretence, their short diet, and bad pay, as *Gildas* tells us in express terms, which plainly shews, that they came over only as mercenary soldiers

(1) *Bed. Hist. c. 15. p. 157. Chron. p. 114. Usher. p. 1107.*

The arrival of the Saxons.

Year of the flood 2798
Of Christ 450.
Of Rome 1198.

The seats of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes.

1198

time*. Having therefore fitted out three long ships, called in their language *chiules*, they put to sea, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, the sons of *Witigisl*, great-grandson to the celebrated *Woden*, from whom all the royal families of the *Saxons* pretended to derive their pedigree¹. These, arriving at *Libbsfleet* in the isle of *Thanet*, were received there, both by the prince and people, with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The isle itself was allotted them for their habitation, and a league was immediately concluded with them, in virtue of which the *Saxons* were to defend the *Britons* against all foreign enemies; and the *Britons*, on the other hand, to allow the *Saxons*, besides their place of abode, pay and maintenance. Historians have not told us what the number was of these *Saxon* auxiliaries; but they could not be above fifteen hundred, since they all came over in three ships; and we cannot well suppose any of those ships to have carried above five hundred men.

BUT, before we proceed farther in this history, it will be necessary to give some account of the origin, manners, government, and religion of the people, who, being called in by the *Britons*, to their assistance, made themselves masters of the island, and hold it to this day. The *Saxons* were, according to the most probable opinion, a colony of the *Cimbrians*, that is, of the inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now *Futland*; who, finding their country overstocked with people, sent out, much about the same time, three numerous bands to seek for new settlements. To one of these bands was afterwards given the name of *Suevi*, to another that of *Franks*, and to the third the name of *Saxons*. The *Suevi* took their route towards *Italy*, the *Franks* advanced to *Belgic Gaul*, and the *Saxons* possessed themselves of the whole country between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; nay, by degrees, extending their conquests along the coast of the *German* ocean, when the *Britons* sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present *Westphalia*, *Saxony*, *East* and *West Friseland*, but likewise of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The first place they settled in, upon their leaving the *Chersonesus*, was the present duchy of *Holstein*; which is thence called the antient seat of the *Saxons*. Between this country and the *Chersonesus*, or *Futland*, dwelt a people, known, even in *Tacitus's* time, by the name of *Angli*^m. According to this account, which we have copied from *Beau*ⁿ, the *Angles* inhabited that small province in the kingdom of *Denmark*, and duchy of *Sleswick*, which is called at this day *Ard*^l, and of which the city of *Flensburg* is the metropolis. *Lindbergius*, in his epistles, styles

* GILD. c. 23. p. 119, 120.

¹ BED. hist. c. 15. p. 157.

^m TACIT. de Germ. mor. c. 40. p. 136.

ⁿ BLD. lib. 1. c. 15.

the country *Little England*; and *Ethelwerd*, who wrote about the year 950. speaking of the ancient habitation of the *Angles*; *Old Anglia*, says he, lies between the Saxons and *Giota*. The metropolis of this country is, by the Saxons, called *Sleswick*, but, by the Danes, *Haithby*. Britain took the name of those by whom it was conquered, and is therefore now called *Anglia*. The same writer adds, that *Hengist* and *Horsa* came from the country of the *Angles* into Britain^o. When the Saxons came first out of the *Chersonesus*, going in quest of new settlements, the *Angles* joined them, and, in process of time, became one nation with them. Hence they are, by most authors, comprised under the general name of *Saxons*, though some distinguish them by the compound name of *Anglo-Saxons* P.

SOME time after the *Saxons*, *Franks*, and *Suevians*, had left the *Chersonesus*, the *Goths*, having driven out the *Cimbrians* that were remaining, made themselves masters of that peninsula, which was thenceforth called *Gutland*, or *Jutland*, *Gothland* from its new inhabitants the *Goths*, or *Jutes* (C). Great numbers of these *Giota* or *Jutæ*, mixing with the *Saxons* and *Angles*, came over with them into *Britain*, to share in their conquests. This is the most probable account of these people, after their settling in *Jutland* and *Germany*, that we have been able to gather from the several authors, who have studied this subject. Of their origin, which *Cluverius* and *Verstegan* derive from the *Germans*, but *Grotius* and *Sherringham*, with more probability, from the ancient *Getæ* or *Goths*, of their various migrations before they settled in the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, and their conquests under their several kings, especially under the celebrated *Woden*, we shall speak at large in the histories of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. As the *Saxons* were, by their piracies on the coasts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, better known at the time of their settling in this island, the conquest of *Britain* is, by the ancient writers, ascribed to them, and not to the *Angles*, or *Jutes*; nay, *Britain* was for some time, from them, called *Saxony*: but, in the end, the name of *Anglia*, from the *Angles*, prevailed. The *Jutes* were less known, at

• *ETHELWERD. chron. lib. i.* P *Vide ALFORD. ad ann. 449.*

(C) These, in the old printed copies of *Rede*, are styled *Vitæ*; but the learned *Usher* assures us, that all the manuscript copies of that author, which he consulted, read *Jutæ*, and not *Vitæ* (2). *Fabius Ethelwerd*, whom we have mentioned above, a writer of the *Saxon* blood royal, and the fourth in descent from king *Adulph*, or *Ethelwolf*, calls the country *Giota*, and the people *Giota*.

under that name, than the poet, Claudian, who, however, tells us, that the provinces of *Angli* and *Essex*, and the country lying over against it, now *Hampshire*, were peopled by the *Jutes* (D).

Their manners: THE Saxons were, as is agreed on all hands, and appearing from their conquests, one of the most warlike nations inhabiting Germany. They were not known to the Romans, by the name of Saxons, till the fourth century, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and the poet *Claudian*, being the first Roman writers, who make mention of them. The former, speaking of them, says, *They were formidable above all other enemies*: and *Zosimus*, *The Saxons are inured to the toils of war, and, for their courage*

(D) As to the name of Saxons, it has occasioned a great disagreement among authors. *Bezanus* and *Camden* suppose them to have been first called *Sacsons*, that is, the sons or descendants of the *Saca*, to whom, according to these writers, they owed their origin. But they are by no ancient writer styled *Sacsons*, as *Sheringham* well observes, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*. Besides, none of the ancients speak of colonies sent by the *Saca* out of *Asia*, where they dwelt, in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea, but *Strabo*, on the contrary, tells us, that the whole nation of the *Saca* were to a man destroyed by the *Perfians* (3). *Isidore* derives their name from the Latin word *saxum*, a stone, because they were a strong and hardy nation. But they were so called many ages before the Romans had any knowledge of them, or they of the Romans. The opinion of *Lippius*, which *Vesfegan* has followed, seems to us the most probable, to wit, that the name of *Saca* was given them by their neighbours, from their wearing a short sword, called in their tongue *sax*, and hence the

arms of *Saxony*, as *Pontanus* observes (4), are to this day two daggers placed across. As to the name of *Angles*, *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus*, son to *Humbius* king of the *Danes*. But how the *Angles* came to borrow their name from a son of the king of *Denmark*, he has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Widschind*, a Saxon writer, will have the *Angles* to be so called from a certain island in the corner or angle of the sea, which they subdued. But this, as well as all other etymologies deriving their name from the Latin tongue, seems to us altogether improbable, and foreign to the purpose, when we consider, that the names of other German nations are not Latin, but German or Gothic. *Coropius* therefore derives the name of *Angles* from the Saxon word *angel* or *engel*, signifying a fishing hook, the *Angles*, who lived on the sea-coast, being, like the other Saxons, greatly addicted to piracy, and, on that account, styled *Angles* by the neighbouring nations, as if, like hooks, they caught all that was in the sea. Different derivations are brought by *Avertin*, and other etymologists.

(3) Vide *Sheringham*, c. 11.

(4) *Pontanus*, orig. Francic. lib. II. c. 24

and strength, reckoned the most warlike of all the German nations. As they were a barbarous and uncivilized people, they treated their enemies with great cruelty, especially the prisoners they took in war, sacrificing them to their gods. As to their government, the countries subject to them were, according to *Verstegan*, divided into twelve provinces, each of which was governed by a chief or head, accountable to the general assembly of the nation. By this assembly, a general was chosen in time of war, who commanded with almost a sovereign power; but his authority ceased as soon as the war was ended. Their religion was the same with that of the other northern nations. Their chief gods, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the celebrated *Woden*, his son *Thor*, his wife *Frigga*, or *Fræa*, *Tuisto*, *Theutates*, *Hesus*, *Tharamis*, &c. The three last are mentioned by *Lucan* (E), as is *Tuisto* by *Tacitus* ¹.

WODEN was the god of war; *Thor* presided over the air, and was thought to have storms, winds, showers, and fair weather, at his disposal; *Frigga* was the goddess of pleasure. The two first days of the week were consecrated to the *Sun* and *Moon*; the third, according to some, to *Tuisto*, or *Tuisto*, according to others, to *Thysa*, or *Dysa*, the goddess of justice, and wife to *Thor*; the fourth to *Woden*; the fifth to *Thor*; the sixth to *Frigga*, or *Fræa*; and the seventh, as *Verstegan* supposes, to *Crodo*, named also *Saeter*; but the latter name, as *Sheringham* observes, is to be found in no writer before *Verstegan*. The *Saxons* had, besides these, several other deities, to whom they paid great veneration, namely, the goddess *Eostre*, to whom they sacrificed in the month of *April*, which was thence by them filed *Eostur monath*, or the month of *Eostre*; and thence the word *Easter*, which the *Saxons* retained even after their conversion to the Christian religion, giving it to the solemn festival, which we celebrate in commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection. *Nocca* was the

¹ Zos. apud Cæd. ² TACIT. de mor. German. ³ WORMIUS, monument Dan. lib. i. c. 4. ⁴ SHERING c. 14. p. 318.
⁵ BLD. de ratio. temp. c. 13.

(E) In the following verses:

- Et quibus immutis placatur sanguine dîro
Teutatis, horrensque fivis altaribus Hesus,
Et Tharamis Scythica non mitior ara Diane (5).
Teutates' altars there are drench'd with blood,
Whose ruthless deity nought else subdu'd.
Stern Hesus there and Tharamis appear,
Scythian Diana's self not more severe.

(5) *Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. v. 444—446.*

same among the *Saxons*, as *Neptune* among the *Romans*. *Mara* was a frightful spectre, that terrified and oppressed people in their sleep; whence the word *night-mare* ^w. *Tanfana*, mentioned by *Tacitus* ^x, was worshiped by the *Saxons* as the god of lots ^y. The *Elvæ*, or *Elfs*, named also *Fairies*, were honoured by them with a kind of sacrifice called *Alf-blót* ^z. The *Dysæ* were inferior goddesses, the messengers of the great *Woden*, whose province it was to convey the souls of such as died in battle to his abode, called *Valhalla*, ^a that is, the hall of slaughter, where they were to drink with him, and their other gods, *cerevisia*, a kind of malt liquor, in the skulls of their slaughtered enemies (F). On the contrary, those who died a natural death, were, by the same *Dysæ*, conveyed to *Hela*, the goddess of hell, where they were tormented with hunger, thirst, and all kinds of evils ^a. The *Angles* worshiped, as we read in *Tacitus*, the goddess *Hirthur*, that is, the *Earth*, as the mother of all things ^b. As to the worship the *Saxons* paid to their gods, and the sacrifices they offered to them, we refer our readers to *Helmius*, *Vesfegan*, *Isaacus Pontanus*, and other *German* and *Danish* writers, it being now time to resume the thread of our history.

THE

- ^w SHERING. c. 14. p. 331, 332. ^x TACIT. annal. lib. i.
^y SHERING p. 333, 334. ^z WORM. mon. Dan. lib. i. c. 5.
^a SHERING p. 322, 323. ^b TACIT. de mor. Germ.

(F) Of these goddesses men ing lines were thus translated by
 tion is made in an ancient *Danish* *Sheringham* :
 monument, whereof the follow-

Fert animus finire.
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Othin aula
Othinus mihi misit.
Lectus cervisiam cum Afis
In summa fide bibam.
Vitæ elæ, æ sunt horæ.
Ridens moriar (6).

With the dead I long to be :
 Now the *Dysæ* beckon me,
 Whom great *Woden* from his hall
 Sent, and order'd, me to call.
 In the *Afæ's* lofty house
 I shall sit, and ale carouse.
 Hours of life already fly.
 Let me laugh, and laughing die.

(6) Vide *Sheringb. c. 14. p. 336.*

Cicero

THE Saxons being arrived in Britain, under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, as we have related above, and put in possession of the isle of Thanet, king Vortigern did not suffer them to continue long there without employment; but led them, soon after their arrival, against the Scots and Picts, who had made an irruption, and were advanced as far as Stanford in the province now called Lincolnshire. There a battle was fought, *They de-* in which the Scots and Picts were utterly routed, and forced to *feat the* save themselves by a precipitate flight, leaving the Saxons in Scots and possession of the spoil and booty they had taken ^c. Vortigern, Picts. highly pleased with the conduct of the two Saxon brothers, rewarded them with ample possessions in Lincolnshire ^d. We are told, that Hengist desired here only as much land as an ox-hide could encompass; and that, upon Vortigern's granting him it, he cut the hide into small thongs, and inclosed with them a space large enough to hold a castle, which to this day is from thence called *Thong-caster*, that is, *the castle of thongs* ^e. Be that as it will, Hengist, taken with the fruitfulness and wealth of the island, and, at the same time, observing the inhabitants to be enervated with luxury, and addicted to ease and idleness, began to entertain hopes of pro-

^c GILD. p. 120. BLD. p. 157. ^d MATT. WESTM. ad ann. 450. ^e Vide CAMDEN. in Cor. an.

Cicero writes, that the Cimbrians envied those who fell in battle; but pitied the condition of such as died a natural death (7). Hence they went joyful to battle; but bemoaned their misfortune, when seized with any

distemper, looking upon that kind of death as mean and inglorious (8). Lucan takes notice of this, as he styles it, philosophy of the northern nations, and calls it an happy error:

— Certe populi, quos despicit Arctus,
Felicis errore suo, quos ille timor um
Maximus haud urget lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: Et ignavum reditura parcere vitæ (9).

Those nations, whom the stars of Arctus bound,
Are doubtless happy in their error found:
For them the terror which all others sways,
The slavish fear of dying, ne'er dismays.
Thence can their souls the mortal steel disdain,
With ardor ev'ry form of death sustain.
Bravely they deem it base a life to spare,
Which shall so soon return, and bloom as fair.

(7) Cic. *Tuscul. quæst. lib. ii.*
(9) Lucan. *P'burf. lib. i. c. 4.* 8—462.

(8) Val. Max. *lib. ii. de institut. antiq.*

curing a settlement in *Britain*. Having therefore first obtained *Vortigern's* consent, he sent home to acquaint his countrymen with the fruitfulness of the country, and the effeminacy of the inhabitants, inviting them to share with him in his good success, of which he had not the least occasion to doubt.

New supplies of Saxons arrive in Britain.

Year of the flood 2800.
Of Christ 452.
Of Rome 1200.



Oëta and Ebusa settle in Northumberland.

The Saxons begin to quarrel with the Britons;

THE Saxons, glad of the opportunity, readily complied with the invitation; and, arriving in seventeen large ships, made up, with those they found in the island, a considerable army. With this supply came over, if *Nennius* is to be credited, *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengist*, with whose charms the king was so taken, that, divorcing his lawful wife, he married her, after having obtained the consent of her father, who pretended to be averse to the match, by investing him with the sovereignty of *Kent*. Thus *Nennius*, and those who have copied from him. But no mention is made of *Rowena* in the *Saxon* annals, which rather seem to insinuate, that the *Saxons* made themselves masters of *Kent* by force of arms; for we are told there, that *Hengist* defeated the *Britons* in two pitched battles, and obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*. But this did not happen till the arrival of the third body of *Saxon* troops; for *Hengist*, by laying before the king, and exaggerating, the dangers that threatened him, not only from the *Scots* and *Picts*, but from his discontented subjects, obtained leave to send for a new reinforcement of *Saxons*; who, coming over in forty ships, under the conduct of *Oëta* and *Ebusa*, the son and nephew, or, as others will have it, the brother and nephew of *Hengist*, arrived at the *Orkades*; and, having ravaged there, and all along the northern coast, the countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they made themselves masters of several places beyond the firths, and, in the end, obtained leave of the king to settle in *Northumberland*, under the specious pretence of securing the northern part, as *Hengist* did the southern. *Hengist*, encroaching still on the king's favour, sent by degrees for more men and ships, till the countries from whence they came were almost left without inhabitants.

AND now their numbers being greatly increased, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding larger allowances of corn, and other provisions, and threatening, if their demands were not complied with, to break the league, and lay waste the whole country. The *Britons*, refusing them what they demanded, desired them to return home, since their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. This answer, however just and reasonable, provoked the *Saxons* to such a degree, that, having secretly concluded a league with the *Scots*

and *Picts*, they turned their arms against those whom they and lay were come to defend, and, over-running, without opposition, waste the whole island, destroyed all with fire and sword from the whole eastern to the western sea. The public, as well as the private island. buildings, were laid level with the ground; the cities pillaged and burnt; the priests slain at the altars; the bishops cruelly massacred, without the least respect to their dignity; and the people, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, butchered in such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy *Britons*, who escaped the general slaughter, took refuge among the inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers of them either perished with hunger, or were forced, by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and, delivering themselves up to their merciless enemies, preserve their lives at the expence of their liberty. Some, crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations, settling either in *Holland*, where the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old castle, built, as is supposed, by them on this occasion, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in *Armorica* (G). But those who remained at home, suffered inexpressible calamities, living among the woods, rocks, and mountains, in perpetual apprehensions, and want of necessities &c.

NENNIVS tells us, that *Vortigern* was so far from being reclaimed by these calamities, that, on the contrary, adding to his other crimes that of incest, he married his own daughter, and had by her a son named *Faustus*, who led a solitary and religious life near the river *Rennis* in *Glamorganshire*. The same writer adds, and after him *Matthew of Westminster*, that the *Britons*, highly provoked at the king's wickedness, and the partiality he shewed to the *Saxons*, deposed him, and raised to the throne his son *Vortimer*, who, as he was a brave and valiant youth, undertook the defence of his distressed country; and, falling upon the *Saxons* with what troops he could assemble, drove them into the isle of *Thanet*, and there kept them closely besieged, till, being reinforced with fresh supplies from *Saxony*, they opened themselves a way through the *British* forces. But *Vortimer*, not yet disheartened, fought with them four battles; the first on the banks of the *Derwent* in *Kent*, where he obtained a signal victory, and cut in pieces

§ GILD. p. 120. BED. p. 157.

(G) Most of our historians suppose the *Britons* to have been settled in *Armorica* long before the arrival of the *Saxons*; but this supposition, as we shall shew anon, is not counteranced by the authority of any antient writer.

cess against the Saxons.

Year of the flood 2802.

Of Christ

454.

Of Rome

1202.

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Vortimer dies.

great numbers of the enemy; the second at a place called in the Saxon tongue *Episford*, and in the British, *Sathengabail*, now *Aylesford* in *Kent*. In this battle fell *Horfa*, and likewise *Catigern*, the brother of *Vortigern*. Some writers will have the *Britons* to have won the day <sup>h</sup>, and others the *Saxons* <sup>i</sup>; nay, *Ethelwerd* seems to ascribe to this victory the founding of the kingdom of *Kent*, <sup>kl</sup>. *Horfa* is supposed to have been buried at a place, called from <sup>kl</sup> to this day *Horsted*; and *Catigern* near *Aylesford*, where a monument is to be seen somewhat like *Stonhenge*, called by the country-people *Kith's Coty-house*, that is, *Catigern's house* <sup>l</sup>. The place where the third battle was fought is not mentioned; but we are told, that *Vortimer* engaged the *Saxons* the fourth time at a place called *Lapis tituli*, which *Camden* and *Usher* take to be *Stonar* in the isle of *Thanet*; but *Sommer* <sup>m</sup> and *Stillingfleet* <sup>n</sup>, instead of *Lapis tituli*, read *Lapis populi*, that is, *Folkstone*, where, according to them, the battle was fought. In this battle the *Saxons* were routed with great slaughter, and forced back to their ships, on which they embarked, being no longer able to withstand the valour of *Vortimer*, and, abandoning the island, returned home, where they continued till the death of *Vortimer*, that is, for the space of five years, without making any attempt upon *Britain*. Thus *Nennius*, and the historians who have copied from him. But of these battles no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. The former writer only tells us, that the *Saxons* retired, which most of our historians understand of their returning home, though *Gildas* perhaps meant no more, than that, after having laid waste the island, they withdrew to the territories that had been granted them by *Vortigern*, that is, to *Kent* and *Northumberland*. And truly, it seems to us altogether incredible, that, had the *Britons* gained so many signal victories, *Gildas* would have passed them all over in silence. Our historians tell us, that *Vortimer* died about this time, after a short reign of six years; and add, that, upon his death-bed, he desired his servants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* used to land, being persuaded, that the secret virtue of his bones would deter them from making any attempts there for the future; but they, neglecting his commands, buried him at *Lincoln* <sup>o</sup>, or, as others will have it <sup>p</sup>, at *London*. Some will have him to have been poisoned by his mother-in-law *Rouena* <sup>q</sup>; others write, that he

<sup>h</sup> HUNN. lib. ii MATT WESTM. ad ann. 455. <sup>i</sup> FLOR. of Wor. <sup>k</sup> ETHEL. lib. i. ad ann. 445. <sup>l</sup> Vide CAMDEN. in Cantio. <sup>m</sup> SOMM. forts and ports, p. 94. <sup>n</sup> STILLING. orig. Brit. p. 322. <sup>o</sup> WESTM. ad ann. 457. <sup>p</sup> SIGEBERT. ad ann. 437. <sup>q</sup> WESTM. SIGIBERT. ibid. RICH. vit. &c.

died a natural death<sup>r</sup>. Be that as it will, *Hengist* was no sooner informed of his death, than he returned with a numerous body of *Saxons* to *Britain*; and, landing in spite of all opposition, fought several battles with the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Vortigern*, who, upon the death of his son *Vortimer*, was restored to the throne.

In one of these battles, fought at a place called *Crecaanford*, *The Britons* were ~~over~~thrown, with the loss of four thousand men; which obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*<sup>a</sup>. From this victory most authors date the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengist*, who took his son *Esk* for his colleague. But *Vortigern* still maintaining the war against the *Saxons*, *Hengist* had recourse to treachery; and, pretending a great desire to conclude a peace, and renew the former amity between him and the *British* king, sent ambassadors to require an interview with him. To this proposal *Vortigern*, after advising with his nobles, readily consented; and it was agreed, that they should meet at an entertainment without arms. But the treacherous *Saxon* having secretly ordered those who attended him to take their daggers, and keep them in readiness concealed under their garments, when they met, pursuant to the agreement, and the *Briton* suspecting no treachery, began to be heated with wine, the *Saxons*, starting up at a signal given, and drawing their daggers, dispatched each of them his next man, to the number of three hundred, the flower of the *British* nobility. *Vortigern* alone was spared; but being taken prisoner, and put in fetters, he was forced, for his ransom, to surrender to the *Saxons* those provinces that were afterwards called *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. By this means the *Saxons* got such footing in the island, that they could never afterwards be driven out. Thus *Nennius*<sup>t</sup>, and *William of Malmesbury*<sup>u</sup>. But of these transactions no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. *Vortigern*, being set at liberty, retired, as we are told, to a vast wilderness near the fall of the *Wye* in *Radnorshire*, where he was, some time after, consumed by lightning, with the city *Kuer Gourtigern*, which he had built there for his refuge<sup>w</sup>.

UPON the retreat of *Vortigern*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or, as *Gildas* calls him, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, took upon him the command of the *British* forces. He was a wise and modest man, says *Gildas*, and perhaps the only *Roman* that remained in the island, having, in the calamitous times of *Britain*, lost his parents, who had worn the purple. Thus *Gildas*<sup>x</sup>, with

<sup>r</sup> HUNTING. lib. ii.<sup>s</sup> NENN. c. 46<sup>t</sup> Idem, c. 47. 48<sup>u</sup> MALMLS. de reg. lib. i. c. 1.<sup>v</sup> Vide CAMD. in Radnor.<sup>x</sup> GILD. c. 25.

Year of the flood 2806. Of Christ 458. Of Rome 1206.

out explaining himself farther. He adds, that the offspring of *Aurelius* continued still in the island in his time, but had greatly degenerated from the good qualities of their ancestors <sup>y</sup>. *Bede* writes, that his parents had borne the royal name and ensigns; but had been slain <sup>z</sup> (H). But the great disagreement we find among the writers after *Gildas* and *Bede*, convinces us, that we cannot depend upon any thing they have related.

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He defeats the Saxons with great slaughter.

can gather from the best authors ^s, that the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Ambrosius*, took courage, and falling upon the *Saxons* when most of their forces were returned home, routed them with great slaughter ^a. It was perhaps in this battle that *Horfa* was slain; for of the other battles mentioned above, no notice is taken either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. From this time, the war was carried on, says *Bede* ^b, sometimes favourable to the *Britons*, and sometimes to the *Saxons*, till the latter made themselves masters of the whole island. Those who have written several ages after *Bede*, give us a more particular account of the transactions of those dark times; but we will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what they relate. According to them, *Ambrosius*, after the above-mentioned victory, assembled the nobility at *York*; and, having ordered the churches to be rebuilt or repaired throughout the kingdom, which had been destroyed by the *Saxons*, he marched from *York* to *London*, from *London* to *Winchester*, and from thence to *Salisbury* (I),

en.

^y GILD. c. 25. ^z BED. c. 15. p. 157. ^a GILD. c. 25. BED. c. 15. ^b BED. de sex atat in Zenon.

(H) Neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* name his parents; which has given room to many conjectures; some maintaining him to have been the son of *Constantine*, who was chosen emperor by the *Romans* in *Britain* about the year 407 (1). Others think he was descended from some of the *British* kings, who reigned in the island after the departure of the *Romans*; for it is manifest from *Gildas*, that the *Britons* had several kings at the same time. *Matthew of Westminster* tells us, that *Ambrosius* had fled, with his brother *Uterpendagus*, whom others call *Uther*, into *Armorica*, to

avoid falling into the hands of *Vortigern*, who, it seems, had usurped his right (2); nay, some writers tell us, that the fear of *Ambrosius* induced *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*. *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that the *Britons*, no longer able to bear *Vortigern*, sent for *Ambrosius*, and his brother; who, complying with their invitation, landed with a considerable body of men in the island; upon which *Vortigern* retired to the mountains of that part of *Britain*, which is now called *Wales*; and *Ambrosius* was declared king.

(I) *G Geoffrey of Monmouth* tells us,

(1) *Alford. ad ann. 464.*

(2) *Westmon. ad ann. 454.*

that,

endeavouring every-where to restore the declining state of the church and kingdom ^c.

In the mean time *Pascentius*, *Vortigern's* third son, aspiring to the crown, raised a rebellion in the north; but was overcome and put to flight by *Ambrosius*, who nevertheless bestowed upon him *Bualth* in *Brecknockshire*, and *Kacr-Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. After this the Britons enjoyed some respite; but were, in the eighth year of *Ambrosius's* reign ^d, worsted in a pitched battle by *Hengist*, and his son *Esk*, who took a great booty ^e. No mention is made of any other battle fought, till four years after, when other Saxons coming over, under the conduct of *Ella*, and his three sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, and *Cissa*, the Britons fell upon them as they were landing at a place called *Cymenshore*, that is, *Cymen's shore*. The Saxons, says *Huntington*, who were tall, strong, and vigorous, gave the Britons a warm reception; and, having put them to flight, as they advanced in straggling parties, they pursued them to the forest of *Andredesleige*, supposed to be the weald of *Kent*, and the woody parts of *Suffex* ^f. After this victory, the Saxons possessed themselves of all the sea-coast of *Suffex*, and continued to extend their dominions more and more till the ninth year after the arrival of *Ella*, when all the kings and princes of *Britain*, says *Huntington*, having united their forces, engaged *Ella* and his sons at a place called *Mercedesbunne*. The victory, according to *Henry of Huntington*, remained doubtful, and both armies retired with great loss ^g; but others will have the Saxons to have won the day. *Ella*, being greatly weakened by the loss he had sustained, sent for fresh supplies, says the above-mentioned writer, out of his own country.

In the mean time *Hengist*, having raised and garisoned several forts in *Kent*, marched with great expedition into the north; and, having joined there the *Slets* and *Picts*, took and fortified several towns. But *Ambrosius*, drawing together his

^c WESTMONAST. ad ann. 465.

^d ALFORD. ad hunc ann.

^e ETHELWERD. lib. i.

^f HUNTING. lib. ii.

^g Idem

ibid.

that, on this occasion, *Ambrosius* erected the famous monument known by the name of *Stonehenge*, in honour of the British nobles treacherously slain there, as he supposes, by *Hengist*. It is surprising, that any of our historians should have followed him; and yet *Matthew of Westminster* copies the main of his account;

and *Walter of Coventry* sets it down as a thing not to be questioned, adding two circumstances to render it the more probable, to wit, that *Ambrosius* was crowned, and, not long after, buried there. *Polydore Virgil* supposes it to be the monument of *Ambrosius*; and *John of Tinmouth* calls it *Mons Ambrosii*.

forces,

The Britons
routed by
Hengist,
and his
son.
Year of
the flood
2813.
Of Christ
466.
Of Rome
1213.

Ambro-
sius ob-
tains a sig-
nal victo-
ry over
the Sa-
xons.
The Sa-
xons, un-
der the
conduct of
Ella, be-
siege An-
dredchest-
er ;

which
they take,
and level
with the
ground.
The second
Saxon

forces, marched in quest of the enemy, and, coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow ^h. The following year, 467. died *Hengist* king of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his son *Esk*, called also *Oisc* and *Ofisc*, who reigned twenty-four years, without attempting to enlarge his dominions ⁱ (K).

In the mean time *Ella*, having received fresh supplies from *Germany*, laid siege to *Andredchestre*, supposed by *Camden* to be *Newenden* in *Kent* ; by *Somner* to be *Stemsey* or *Hastings*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, having raised a great army, advanced to the relief of the place, and, with frequent attacks, harassed the *Saxons* to such a degree, that they were obliged to abandon the siege. Hereupon the *Britons* withdrew to the woods, not caring to venture a battle ; but the *Saxons* were no sooner returned to the siege, than the *Britons*, falling out upon them anew, forced them to quit it. Thus the *Saxons* lost great numbers of their men, and made but a small progress in the siege. But *Ella* having at last divided his army into two bodies, one of which pursued without intermission the siege, while the other observed the enemy's motions, the citizens, quite spent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer withstand the efforts of the aggressors. The town was therefore taken, and by the merciless conquerors leveled with the ground, after they had put to the sword all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Such is the account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this siege ^k. Thus in the year 491. thirty-four years after the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent*, began the second kingdom in the island, called the kingdom of the

^h HUNTING. lib. ii. ad ann. 487. ⁱ Idem, lib. ii. F. THELW. ad hunc ann. MALMESB. de reg. lib. i. c. 1. ^k HUNTING. lib. ii.

(K) Some writers tell us, that *Hengist* was taken prisoner in the above-mentioned battle by *Eldol* duke of *Claudiocestria*, and beheaded by him, pursuant to the sentence which had been pronounced against him in a great council, at the instigation of *Eldadus*, brother to *Eldol*, and bishop of *Claudiocestria*, who declared, that, if the rest spared him, he would, with his own hands, cut him in pieces (3). But

this account is generally looked upon as an arrant fable. *Hengist*, as we have observed above, withdrew from *Britain*, after his landing there, to recruit his army, which was greatly diminished. *Cornelius Kempius*, in his history of *Frisia*, tells us, upon what grounds we know not, that *Hengist* retired to *Holland*, and there built, on the banks of the *Rhine*, the city of *Leyden* (4).

^l Fl. l. ad ann. 489.

(4) Corn. Kemp. in *Frisia*, lib. ii

South-Saxons, which comprised at first only *Suffex*; but was *kingdom in* extended by *Ella* before his death (for he reigned twenty-four *Britain.* years) to all the provinces lying south of the *Humber* ^l.

News being carried into *Germany* of the good success that attended the *Saxons in Britain*, new adventurers flocked over daily to share with them their good fortune. Among the rest came *Cerdick*, the son of *Woden*, with his son *Cenrick*, and as many men as he could transport in five ships. These landing at a place, which, from their leader, was called *Cerdick's-shore*, now, according to *Brompton*, *Yarmouth in Norfolk*, were vigorously attacked by the *Britons*, whom, after a short engagement, they put to flight. Several other battles were fought; but fortune proving ever favourable to the *Saxons*, the natives were forced to retire, and leave them in possession of the sea-coasts ^m. About six years after, *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, arrived at *Portsmouth*, so called, as some imagine, from him; and, having defeated with great slaughter the *Britons*, who attempted to oppose his landing, and killed a young *British* prince, who commanded them, he possessed himself of the neighbouring country ⁿ. But the progress made by *Cerdick* most of all alarmed the *Britons*; and therefore, seven years after the arrival of *Porta*, and sixty after the first coming of the *Saxons*, *Nazaleod*, whom *Henry of Huntington* styles the greatest of the *British* kings, assembled the whole strength of *Britain* to put a stop to his conquests. On the other hand, *Cerdick*, aware of the danger that threatened him, had recourse to *Esk* king of *Kent*, to *Ella* king of the *South-Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his sons, who all sent him powerful supplies. With these he advanced against the *Britons*, leading the right wing himself, and his son *Cenrick* the left.

As the two armies drew near each other, *Nazaleod*, perceiving the enemy's right wing to be by far the stronger of the two, charged it with the flower of his army, and obliged *Cerdick*, after an obstinate resistance, to save himself by flight; but, as he was pursuing the fugitives with more heat than caution, *Cenrick*, falling upon his rear, renewed the battle with *Nazaleod* such vigour, that the *British* army was utterly defeated, and *Nazaleod* himself slain, with five thousand of his men ^o. Who this *Nazaleod* was, is much controverted: some think it may be the *British* name of *Ambrosius*, who, as *Gildas* informs us, fought, about this time, several battles with the *Saxons*; others will have it to be the name of his brother *Uther Pendragon*. But the story of *Uther Pendragon* is now deemed a fable

The South Saxons.
More Saxons arrive under Cerdick and Porta.
Year of the flood 2839.
Of Christ 491.
Of Rome 1239.

^l BED. lib. ii. c. 5.
ann. 490.

^m HUNTING. lib. ii. Chron. Sax. ad
ⁿ HUNTING. ibid.

^o Idem ibid.

Arthur
succeeds
Naza-
leod.

by all the *British* antiquaries. *Matthew of Westminster* speaks of *Nazaleod*, whom he calls *Nathanlioth*, not as a king, but only the general of *Uther Pendragon*, by whom he was sent against the *Saxons*, who slew him, and fifteen thousand of his men. But the *Saxon* annals, *Ethelwerd*, *Florence of Worcester*, and *Henry of Huntington*, agree in distinguishing him with the title of king; nay, the latter writer styles him the greatest of the *British* kings. *Uther* conjectures *Uther* and *Nazaleod* to be one and the same person, the surname of *Uther*, signifying in the *British* tongue *terrible*, having been given him on account of the great things achieved by him ^p. But as this is the darkest period of the whole *British* history, our best antiquaries can allege nothing but mere conjectures to clear it. It is even uncertain who succeeded *Nazaleod*. The *Welsh* annals leave an interregnum of about six years, and place the beginning of *Arthur's* reign in 514. or 515. The learned *Usher* conjectures him to have been the son of *Nazaleod*, called also *Uther*. Some have doubted whether there ever was such a person (L); but the generality of our histo-
rians

^p Vide Uss. in primord. p. 466, 467.

(L) The history of king *Arthur* has been so disfigured, and interwoven with so many absurd, ridiculous, and romantic stories, that some have doubted, whether there ever was such a person in the world. Among these, *Milton* alleges the following objections against *Arthur*: 1. That he is not so much as mentioned by *Gildas*, or any antient *British* historian, except *Nennius*, who lived three hundred years after him, and is allowed by all to have been a very credulous and trifling writer, and to have vented a great many fables. 2. Though *William of Malmesbury* and *Henry of Huntington* have both related his exploits, and his many victories over the *Saxons*, yet the latter took all he wrote concerning him from *Nennius*; and the former either from the same fabulous author, or from some monkish legends in the ab-

bey of *Glassinbury*; for both these writers flourished several centuries after *Arthur*, and consequently knew no more of him, than we do at this day. 3. In the pretended history of *Gioffrey of Monmouth*, such contradictions occur concerning this prince's victories, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, *Italy*, and other countries, as are sufficient to make us look upon him as an hero altogether fabulous and romantic. But these objections, however plausible in appearance, are not of weight enough to convince us, that whatever has been written of king *Arthur* is quite fabulous; for, in the first place, his not being mentioned by *Gildas* does not at all seem strange to us, since that author's design was not to write an exact history of his country, but only to give us a short account of the causes of its ruin
by.

rians not only agree, that there was such a prince, but that he made a powerful resistance against the *Saxons*. Some will have

by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*; of which the chief was, according to him, the great wickedness of the *Britons*, and the general corruption of manners, that prevailed among them. On this he chiefly dwells; and from this subject no exploits of the princes, who then reigned, were capable of diverting him. Besides, he only mentions those princes, whose notorious wickedness seemed to draw down upon the unhappy *Britons* divine vengeance, expatiating upon the vices to which they were addicted, without taking the least notice of their good qualities, or of the exploits that were performed by them, or by others; though it is evident even from him, that the *Saxons* met with a vigorous opposition, and were often defeated by the *British* kings or commanders. As for *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred years after *Arthur's* time, allowing what is objected against him to be true, yet we cannot persuade ourselves, that the whole story of *Arthur*, and the battles he fought, were a mere invention of his. We are rather inclined to believe, that he copied, at least, part of what he wrote, from other more ancient authors, or perhaps from the general tradition of his countrymen at that time. It is true, the *Saxon* annals make no mention of this king, perhaps because they could not do it, without transmitting to posterity the many overthrows he gave the *Saxon* nation. But *Rudolphus de Diceto*, one of

our best and most antient *English* historians, speaking of king *Cerdick*, mentions his fighting several battles with king *Arthur*. As for *William of Malmesbury*, and *Henry of Huntington*, though neither of them perhaps knew any thing of *Arthur*, but what they learnt from *Nennius*, or the antient registers of *Glassenbury*, yet, in our opinion, they deserve some credit, since we cannot persuade ourselves, that those registers consisted merely of fables. *William of Malmesbury* himself owns, that the *Britons* had vented a great many fables concerning this prince; but adds, that he was a hero more worthy to be celebrated in true history, than in romance. The many stories, feigned and related of his exploits by the *Britons* or *Welsh*, encouraged *Geoffrey of Monmouth* to write many incredible fables of his conquests. But it does not thence follow, that whatever has been related of him must be fabulous; for a genuine history may be corrupted, and yet the substance of it may remain true. If we therefore distinguish truth from falsehood, and reject what favours too much of romance, we shall meet with nothing in the life of this hero unbecoming the character of a great prince. He was buried at *Glassenbury* in *Somersetshire*, and his coffin was dug up in the reign of *Henry II.* with this inscription on it, in *Gothic* characters, *Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia*. We are told, that the following account of this

have him to have been king of all *Britain*; while others confine his kingdom to *Cornwall*.

NENNIUS,

this discovery was hung up in the monastery of *Glastenbury*, and was to be seen there till the dissolution of the said monastery. " In an island, which is called the island of *Avallonia*, " nay, in this burying place of " saints at *Glastenbury*, rest the " renowned king *Arthur*, the " flower of the *British* kings, " and *Gwendoluna* his queen, " who, departing this life, were " honourably interred near the " old church, between two stone " pyramids, where they lay many years, till the time of *Henry de Sully*, who was abbat of the place after the burning of the said church. This abbat, being importuned by many persons, ordered some to dig between the pyramids for the bodies of the above mention'd king and queen. Having dug very deep, they at length discovered a great wooden coffin close shut, which they opened, and found in it the king's body, with a leaden coffin, on which was the following inscription, *Here lies buried the renowned king Arthur in the island Avallonia*

" Then they opened the queen's grave, and found her lying with her hair disheveled, as if she had been but just buried, which, however, fell to ashes, as soon as touched. The abbat and convent, with great joy, took thence their remains, and placed them in the greater church in a tomb, which was cut in a rock, and divided into two parts, the king's body being by itself at the head of the tomb, and the queen's in the eastern part of it. On the tomb were inscribed their several epitaphs (5). The abbat, by whom these bodies were discovered, was not, as *Leland* supposes, *Henricus Blakenfis*, nephew to *Henry I* but *Hemricus Dolhacensis*, or *Henry de Sully*, or *Sully*, who was made abbat after the burning of the church of *Glastenbury* in 1184 was afterwards raised to the bishoprick of *Worcester*, and died in 1195. The epitaphs, which he caused to be engraved on the monuments of king *Arthur* and his queen, were as follows

*Henric et Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem reus, probitas, commendant laude perenni*

Here *Arthur* lies, the flower of kings, and glory of his land,
Whole virtuous deeds, and probity, a lasting praise command.

*Arthurus hic est juxta militem secunda,
Quem reus aëlos et virtutem prole jecunda*

King *Arthur* lies here in comfort due beneath this marble lie,
Whole virtue and his valiant place in heav'n most high.

(5) *It*
c. 13

165 * C. 13 *Cambr.* in spec. c. cl. f. li. u

NENNIVS, who lived about three hundred years after him, *He is said* tells us, that he overthrew the Saxons in no fewer than twelve to have battles. The first of these was fought near the mouth of a certain river, called *Glein*, or *Gleni*, placed by some in *Devon-shire*; by others in *Lincolnshire*: the second, third, fourth, the Saxons and fifth, near the river *Duglas*, in the country of *Linvis*, or in *Lincolnshire*. This river, some suppose to be the *Dug* or *Duc* in *Lincolnshire*; others, the *Engles* near *Wigan* in *Lancashire*. The sixth battle was fought on the banks of a river called *Bassas*, supposed by some to run by the town of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*; the seventh in the wood of *Chelidon*, called in the *British* language *Cattoit* *Calidon*. *Matthew of Westminster* gives us a very particular account of this battle; but, in our opinion so fabulous, that it does not deserve a place in history⁹. The eighth battle was near the castle of *Suinnon*; the ninth near the city of *Lergis* or *Leogis*, called in the *British* tongue *Kaerleon*; the tenth in the neighbourhood of the river *Ribiot* or *Arderic*; the eleventh on the hill *Brenion*, supposed to be somewhere in *Somersetshire*; and the twelfth on the hill of *Baden*. *Gale* thinks these battles were fought in the space of forty years, under *Vortigern*, *Ambrosius*, and others, though they have been all ascribed to *Arthur*.

CERDICK, having sustained great losses in the many battles *new sup* that were fought with the *Briton*, sent over to *Germans* for *plus of* new supplies; which, arriving in three ships, under the conduct Saxons

⁹ WESTM. ad ann. 524.

We are told, that, in the king's body, were plainly seen the marks of ten wounds, whereof one only seemed mortal. What *Giraldus Cambrensis* writes of his statue, and the dimensions of his body, is unquestionably fabulous. The leaden cross was preserved in the treasury of the church of *Glassenbury*, till the dissolution of that monastery, and there seen and carefully viewed by *Leland* (6). His tomb was discovered in the reign of *Henry II.* about the year 1189. that is, six hundred years after his death. So great was the love and esteem of the *Britons* for this hero, that, for

several ages, he was thought by many to be still alive: nay, this notion, as our historians assure us, was not intirely rooted out, till his tomb was discovered. It was this, perhaps, that gave occasion to the many fables that have been invented concerning *Arthur's* travels, and his numberless victories in foreign countries. To conclude, had this renowned hero of the *British* nation been less celebrated by romantic writers, no one perhaps would have questioned the truth of what has been related concerning his noble deeds by more grave historians.

(6) *Leant apud Uff.* p. 12c. in *offert Arthur.*

arrive
under Stuf
and Wit-
gar.

of *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, landed at *Cerdickshere*, where they were attacked by the *Britons*, whom they put to flight. *Henry* of *Huntington*, who describes this battle at large, tells us, that the *British* forces were drawn up on the side of a hill, and likewise in a valley, which at first frightened the new-comers; but, recovering themselves from their consternation, they fell with great resolution upon the *Britons*, and put them to flight^r. In this year *Esk*, the son of *Hengist*, and second king of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his son *Otta*, who reigned twenty-two years; but performed nothing worthy of notice^s. The same year died, as we are told by *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ella*, the first king of the *South Saxons*, having reigned twenty-four years. *Cissa*, his youngest son, succeeded him, the other two, who came over with him, being, in all likelihood, dead before him. *Cissa* is supposed to have built *Chichester*, called in the *Saxon* language the city of *Cissa*. About this time *Cerdick*, after he had been twenty-four years in the island, and made himself master of a very large territory, took upon him the title of king, and founded the third kingdom in the nation, called the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, comprehending the counties of *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, to which was afterwards added *Cornwall*. In subduing these countries, *Cerdick*, though reinforced with continual supplies from *Germany*, spent twenty-four years; which shews, that the *Britons* did not tamely part with their territories; but, being overpowered with numbers, were forced, after a long and vigorous resistance, to quit them. The same year that *Cerdick* assumed the regal title, he fought a battle with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-ford*, supposed to be *Charford* in *Hampshire*.

The third
Saxon
kingdom.
The West
Saxons.

Cerdick
defeats the
Britons.

THE account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this battle is very advantageous to the *Saxons*; but upon what grounds he gives it, we know not, since the *Saxon* annals only tell us, that from this time forward, the royal offspring, meaning the offspring of *Cerdick*, reigned over the *West-Saxons*; which seems indeed to imply, that *Cerdick* won the day, and, by this victory, secured the crown to his posterity. No mention is made of *Cerdick* till seven years after this battle, when we find him again engaged with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's lea*, or *Cerdick's-league*, supposed to be *Cherdley* in *Buckinghamshire*^t; but whether the *Saxons* conquered, or the *Britons*, we are no-where told. All we know from the annals is, that, after this battle, *Cerdick* reduced the isle of

^r HUNTING. ib.d.
annal. ad ann. 527.

^s RAN. HIGD. in polychron.

^t S x.

C. XIX. The History of Britain.

... a convincing proof, that the battle had been favourable to him. He is said to have granted the isle of *Wight* to *Orsa* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, who put to the sword an incredible number of the inhabitants, at a place called from the latter *Witgaraburg*, and now, by contraction, *Caesbroke*. Of these battles *Henry of Huntington* gives us very particular accounts; but as we are convinced he did not copy them from any authentic or credible writers, we forbear descending with him to particulars.

BUT that we may not rely altogether on the *Saxon* annals, nor those authors who have written long after the things they relate had happened, *Gildas*, a writer of unquestionable authority, who lived in those times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on *Badon-hill*, supposed to be *Banjosoun* near *Bath*, in which the *Saxons* were utterly routed by the *Britons*. This battle is said by *Nennius*, and after him by most of our historians, to be the last of the twelve fought by king *Arthur*. There are not, however, wanting some, who maintain, that this battle was fought in the reign of *Ambrosius*, but, at the same time, they ascribe the victory to the valour and conduct of *Arthur*, who commanded the *Britons* as general to *Ambrosius*. In this battle the *Saxons* received such an overthrow, that, for many years, they found more mol... the *Britons*. It was fought, according to the best *Rish* manuscripts, in the year 520 though some place it in 491, and others, even before the year 491. Be that as it will, the *Britons*, it seems, still enjoyed the peace and tranquillity which so signal a victory produced, when *Gildas* wrote his account of the destruction of *Britain*, that is, forty-four years after the battle was fought. This seems the most natural sense of the obscure words of *Gildas*, though *Bede* understood him as if he had meant, that the battle was fought forty four years after the first coming of the *Saxons*, whence, in his chronicle, he places it in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, who died in 491. But, notwithstanding the peace which the *Britons* enjoyed, the *Saxons*, who were continually flocking over, and making new encroachments, founded, according to the *Saxon* annals, in the year 527. a fourth kingdom, called the kingdom of the *East Saxons*, comprising *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. This kingdom was begun by *Erchenwin*, descended from one *Saxnat*. To *Erchenwin* succeeded, according to *Henry of Huntington*, his son *Steda*, whom *William of Malmesbury* makes the first of the *East-Saxon* kings, and the tenth

The Saxons receive a total overthrow on Badon-hill
Year of the flood
2868
Of Christ
520
Of Rome
1268

The Britons enjoy a long peace.

The fourth Saxon kingdom
The East-Saxons.

^a GILD c 26 p. 120
hist. c. 16 p 258.

^w Vide USS p 477.
^y Idem chron p 114.

^x BED.

Arthur
dies.

The fifth
Saxon
kingdom.
North-
umber-
land.

Year of
the flood
2895.

Of Christ
547.

Of Rome
1295.



Civil
wars a-
mong the
Saxons.

from *Woden*. About fifteen years after the founding of the *East-Saxon* kingdom, that is, near the year 542. the great king *Arthur* is supposed to have died, and to have been succeeded by his kinsman *Constantine*; but the most antient *British* chronicles leave an interregnum of near eleven years, without so much as mentioning *Constantine*.

In the year 547. *Ida*, the tenth by descent from *Woden*, founded the fifth kingdom in this island, called the kingdom of *Northumberland*, as it comprised that part of the *British* provinces that lies north of the *Humber*. *Otta* and *Ebusa* had, at the request of *Hengist*, as we have related above, been allowed by *Vortigern* to settle in those parts, under pretence of making war on the *Scots* and *Picts*, and securing the northern provinces against their incursions. This they effected; but, having at the same time driven out the antient inhabitants, they seized on those countries for themselves, and held them as inferior governors and vassals to the kings of *Kent*. This moderation, says our historian², descended to their posterity; so that, for the space of an hundred years, the princes of *Northumberland* continued subject to the kings of *Kent*. But this year 547. the principality was changed into a kingdom, *Ida*, a person no less famous for his virtues than for his birth, assuming the title of king of *Northumberland*. This proved a powerful kingdom; for it comprehended all *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh* frith. *Ida* was not, according to *Matthew of Westminster*, son to any of those princes who governed *Northumberland* before it became a kingdom, but an adventurer come lately out of *Germany*, and raised to the throne, in regard of his extraordinary merit. He reigned about twelve years with great applause, and built a town, which he called, as *Bede* seems to insinuate², *Bebanburgh*, now *Bamborough* in *Northumberland*, from his wife *Bebba*. Upon his death, the kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof the one, lying south of the *Tine*, was called *Deira*, and the other, extending from that river to *Edinburgh* frith, *Beræicia*.

In the year 561. *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*. As he was young and ambitious when he ascended the throne, he was the first who raised civil wars and disturbances amongst the *Saxons* themselves, claiming, as king of the most antient *Saxon* kingdom, a kind of right over the rest. This claim he attempted to support by dint of arms; but, being twice defeated, he, who at first was formidable, became, in a short

² MALMESB. lib. i. c. 3.

² BED. lib. iii. c. 6.

time,

in a manner, contemptible; for *Ceaulin*, king of the *Saxons*, and his son *Gutha*, having pursued him into his own dominions, slew, at *Wibbandun*, *Oslac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief commanders. By means of these civil contests among the *Saxons*, but chiefly by the late victory gained on *Badon-hill*, the *Britons* lived, at least for the space of forty-four years, unmolested by their common enemy. But the peace they enjoyed proved more destructive to them than any war; for though those, who had felt the calamities that had befallen their nation, acknowledged themselves, by their Christian and regular lives, indebted to Heaven for their deliverance, yet the next generation, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease, abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and debauchery to such a degree, that, the principles of truth and justice being totally subverted, scarce any footsteps of them remained either in the clergy or laity, in the people or their princes; so that they became odious, as *Gildas* informs us, to all the neighbouring nations. But how far injustice, irreligion, and immorality, prevailed among all ranks of men, will better appear from that writer's own words.

Year of
the flood
2899.
Of Christ
361.
Of Rome
1299.

*A general
corruption
of man-
ners pre-
vails a-
mong the
Britons.*

AND to begin with the king, who then reigned in *Britain*, *The wickedness of* he thus reproves them in the epistle, which he wrote while living in *Armorica* out of their reach. *Britain*, says he, has their kings; but tyrants; judges, but such as prey upon the innocent; the kings have wives, but abandon themselves to harlots; they swear oft, but perjure themselves; they wage war, but an unjust and civil war; they punish thieves, yet have the greatest near them, even at their own tables; they sit in the seat of judgment, but seldom observe the rules of right judgment; they proudly overlook the modest and harmless, but countenance the audacious, though guilty of most abominable crimes; they fill their prisons, but with men whom they have committed rather out of malice, than for any crime. He then proceeds to each king in particular, beginning with *Constantine* then reigning in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, whom he calls *the tyrannical whelp of an impure* *Damonian lionsess*, and charges with the murder of two innocent youths of the blood royal, whom he assassinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the holy abbat. He likewise inveighs against this prince, as one that was polluted with many adulteries, and had put away his lawful wife.

In the next place, he reproaches *Aurelius Conan* with an *loss of* adulteries, with parricide, and greater cruelties than the former was guilty of. He adds, that this prince, hating the peace of his country, had, for the sake of booty and prey, fomented civil

Vortipore, &c.

civil wars. Where *Aurelius Conanus* reigned, is not expressed; but his condition was not, it seems, very prosperous: for *Gildas* wishes, that, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren forest, he may call to mind the pride and arrogance of his father and elder brothers, who came all to untimely deaths. In the third place, he applies himself to *Vortipore*, whom he calls the wicked son of a good father, and the tyrant of *Demetia*, or *South-Wales*. He upbraids him, though advanced in years, with adulteries, with falshood, and cruelty in governing. In his latter days, he put away his wife, and, if we mistake not the meaning of *Gildas*, was guilty of incest with his daughter. In the next place, our author comes to *Cuneglasus*, supposed by some antiquaries to have reigned in *North Wales*: him he reproves for raising civil wars, for divorcing his wife, and marrying her cousin, who had vowed perpetual chastity: he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his riches. *Gildas* concludes with a sharp reproof of *Maglocunus*, the greatest, and likewise the most wicked, of all the *British* princes. He had driven out, or slain, many other kings or tyrants, and is called by our author *the island dragon*. He was tall in stature, a great warrior, and profuse in his gifts. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle in battle, and drove him from the throne: then, touched with remorse, he betook himself to a monastic life, which he soon forsook, as he did afterwards his wife, taking the wife of his brother's son in her room; who, to prevent her marriage being deemed null or unlawful, found means to dispatch her own husband, and *Maglocunus's* former wife. This is the substance of *Gildas's* reproof to the *British* kings; from which all we can gather is, that there were, at this time, at least five kings in *Britain*, and all guilty of most enormous crimes; but by what means they came to the crown, what great actions they performed during their reigns, who succeeded each of them in their respective territories, &c. we are not told by any authentic writer.

and of the clergy.

FROM the kings our author passes to the clergy, whom he sharply reproves as pastors in name, but in reality wolves, intent, on all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper themselves; not called to the ministry, but seizing it as a trade; teaching the people, not by sound doctrine, but by evil example; haters of truth, broachers of lyes; looking on the poor with an eye of contempt, but fawning on the rich, however wicked; great promoters of other peoples alms, but themselves ever contributing least; seldom officiating at the altar, and scarce ever with pure hearts; slightly touching the reigning vices of the age, but highly aggravating their own injuries,

as

as done to CHRIST himself; seeking preferments in the church, more than Heaven; ignorant of the doctrines contained in the holy Scriptures, but cunning and practised in worldly matters; bearing their heads high, but having their thoughts and affections abject and low. He likewise taxes them as gluttons, drunkards, and, above all, as guilty of the enormous sin of simony; and then addresses the laity thus: *What can ye expect, unhappy people, from these beasts, all belly? Shall they reclaim you, who weary themselves in committing iniquity? Shall you see with their eyes, which are open only to gain? Leave them rather, lest ye fall both blindfold into perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what did it avail Eli to be himself blameless, while he connived at the wickedness of his sons?* &c. Our author, at the end of his history, gives a further account of the sad state of affairs, and general corruption of manners, in those times; and complains, that the cities and towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a state of ruin and desolation; for, foreign wars being ceased, civil wars broke out, which brought all things to a most deplorable condition. Such was the state of the government and religion among the Britons during the peace, which was produced by the victory on *Badon-hill*, and lasted till the time *Gildas* wrote that is, for the space of about forty-four years.

NOT long after, that is, about the year 575. began, as is supposed (for the year is not set down in the *Saxon annals*, or any other history), the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, comprising the countries we now call *Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire*, and the isle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uffa*, the eighth from *Woden*, though there were, it seems, before him several petty princes, who had settled in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, but *Uffa*, more powerful than they, drove them all out, and reigned alone with such reputation, that, from him, the succeeding kings were called *Uffinga*. *William of Malmesbury*, disagreeing with all other writers, supposes this kingdom to have begun before that of the *West-Saxons*. And now the *Saxons*, who had been, ever since the battle on *Badon hill*, either inactive, or engaged in civil wars and quarrels among themselves, began afresh to harass the *Britons*, and, in a few years, drove them out of all the countries they held in that part of the island, which is now known by the name of *England*: for *Cuthwulf*, the brother of *Ceaulin* king of the *West Saxons*, having defeated the *Britons* at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, the head of the adjacent province, says *Henry of Huntington*, he tons over-

The sixth Saxon kingdom. The East-Angles. Year of the flood 2913. Of Christ 575. Of Rome 1313.

^b HUNTING. lib. ii. MALMES. lib. i.

comes in
several
battles.

took from them four towns, to wit, *Liganburgh*, now *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*, or, as others will have it, *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*; *Eglesburg*, now *Alesbury* in *Buckinghamshire*; with *Bennington* and *Ignesham*, now *Benson* and *Evesham* in *Oxfordshire*. *Cuthwulf* died the same year he obtained this victory. For the space of six years after, we hear of no action, as if *Ceaulin* had had no commander to place in his brother's room. But, after that time, he renewed the war; and, having, with his son *Cuthwin*, engaged the *Britons* at a place in *Gloucestershire* called *Deorham*, he slew three of their kings, *Cornail*, *Conidan*, and *Farinmaile*; and took three of their chief cities, to wit, *Glewancaster*, or *Gloucester*, *Cirencester*, and *Bathancaster*, now *Bath*. Who these kings were, we are no-where told; but some conjecture the first to be *Cuniglasus*, and the second *Aurelius Conanus*, both mentioned by *Gildas*. We read of no other battle between the *Saxons* and *Britons*, though, in all likelihood, several skirmishes happened, till seven years after the battle of *Deorham*, when *Ceaulin*, and his son *Cutha*, fought against the *Britons* at a place called *Frethanleag*. In this battle *Cutha* was slain, and the *Saxons* obliged, according to *Henry* of *Huntington*, to retire; but, fresh succours seasonably arriving, they returned to the charge, routed the *Britons*, and took several towns c.

The
seventh
Saxon
kingdom.
Mercia.
Year of
the flood
2933
Of Christ
585.
Of Rome
1333.

ABOUT this time, that is, about the year 585. according to *Henry* of *Huntington*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, was founded, by *Crida*, the seventh kingdom in this island, called the kingdom of *Mercia* (M). This kingdom, though the last erected, was one of the largest of the *English* Saxon kingdoms, and one of the last that was conquered by the *West-Saxons*. It comprehended seventeen counties, to wit, *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Cheshire*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. The *Britons* were now confined within very

c HUNTING. I. ii.

(M) Whence it took that name, is uncertain; some derive it from the river *Merse*, which, running between *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, was the north-west boundary of the *Mercian*

kingdom (7). Others will have it to have been so called from the Saxon word *meark*, signifying a limit; because most of the other kingdoms bordered upon it (8).

(7) *Ltuid. fol. 23.*

(8) *Can. i. in Cornuall.*

narrow bounds. However, before they abandoned all on this side the mountains, they once more engaged the *Saxons* at a place called *Woden's Beareth* near the ditch in *Wiltshire*, which, by the neighbouring people, is called *Wansdike*, and, in the *Saxon* tongue, *Wodenſdic*, or the dyke of *Woden*, and, running through the middle of the country, divides it from east to west. This battle proved very bloody; but who were the generals on either side, we are no-where told. *Henry of Huntington* only writes, that the *Britons* having drawn up their army after the *Roman* manner, the *Saxons* charged them with their usual boldness. Hereupon a sharp engagement ensued, adds that writer, in which *GOD* gave the victory to the *Britons*; for the *Saxons* were routed, and almost their whole army cut off^d. In this battle, the *Britons* were assisted, according to *William of Malmesbury*, by the *Angles*, jealous of the overgrown power of *Ceaulin* king of the *West-Saxons*, whose military genius, and great exploits, had struck terror into the *Angles*, as well as the *Britons*. But, after the loss of this battle, he was driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge in some other kingdom; but whether in this island, or elsewhere, is not recorded in history.

The Britons obtain a compleat victory over the Saxons:

FROM this victory the *Britons* reaped but little advantage; for, being daily more confined and harassed on one side by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and on the other by the *Saxons*, they were, in the end, obliged to abandon their antient seats, and take shelter among the craggy and mountainous places in the west of the island, whither their cruel enemies could not easily pursue them. There they long continued a warlike nation, defending their liberty, and, though separated from the *Saxons* by a deep ditch, the work of *Uffa* king of the *Mercians*, making frequent inroads into the *Saxon*, or, as we may now stile them, the *English* territories, where they put all to fire and sword. They had been attended with far better success, had they not been continually quarreling among themselves; which was chiefly owing to the ambitious and restless humours of the petty princes, or rather tyrants, by whom they were governed. Some of the unhappy *Britons* took refuge, as we have said just now, in that part of the island, which the *Latins* called *Cambria*, and the *English*, after the *German* custom, *Wales*^(N). The *Britons*, upon their retiring into *Cambria*,

but are, in the end, obliged to retire into Wales, and other parts.

or

^d HUNTING. ubi supra.

(N) The *Germans*, as the well observes, calling the learned antiquary *Humphry Lhuys* gers that lived near them on one

Wales divided that country, as we read in the same author, into six regions, *Guynedh*, *Powys*, *Debenarh*, *Reynuc*, *Esfyluc*, or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc*, or *Morgan*. Each of these six petty kingdoms.

regions or districts was governed by its own king till the year 843. when *Roderic the Great* became sole monarch of *Cambria*, or *Wales*, which, at his death, he divided among his three sons, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place. Some of the *Britons* were driven into *Cornwall*; others, according to the learned antiquary, whom we have quoted above, settled in the most southern parts of *Scotland*, and in the neighbourhood of *Carlisle*, and continued there till the year 871, when they were driven out by the *Scots* and *English*, and forced to take shelter among their countrymen in that part of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which, by the *Latin* writers, is stiled *Venedotia*, and by us *North Wales*. The *Britons* at first possessed all the countries beyond the *Dee* and the *Severn*, which two rivers, in antient times, divided *Cambria*, or *Wales*, from *England*, the towns, which stand on the eastern banks of these two rivers, having been most of them built to restrain the *Cambrians*, or *Welsh*, from breaking into *England*. But the *English*, having passed the *Severn*, by degrees, seized on the country lying between that river and the *Wye*; so that all *Herefordshire*, and that tract, which was antiently called the *Danish-wood*, with *Gloucestershire*, and such parts of *Worcestershire* and *Shropshire*, as lie beyond the *Severn*, are still inhabited by the *English*; nay, in former times, some parts of *Flintshire* and *Denbighshire* were subject to the kings of *Mercia*: for *Uffa*, the most powerful king of that country, caused a deep ditch, with an high wall, to be carried on, as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the *Cambrians*, from the mouth of the *Dee*, a little above *Flint-castle*, over steep mountains, cross deep valleys, fens, and rivers, to the mouth of the *Wye* (O). Thus far of the places, into which the distressed *Britons* were driven within the island.

Uffa's ditch.

side *Gauls* or *Walls*, gave afterwards the same appellation to all strangers; and hence, according to that writer, the *Walloons* in the *Low Countries*, and the *Wallachians* on the *Danube*, received their denominations.

(O) This ditch, called by the *Welsh* to this day, *Claudh Uffa*, or the ditch of *Uffa*, is still to

be seen in several parts; and all the towns, situated on the east side of it, have names ending in *ton* or *ham*; an evident proof that they were inhabited by *Saxons*; nay, the inhabitants of them are by the *Welsh* still called *Guyr y Mers*, that is, the men of *Mercia*.

BUT

BUT *Gildas* tells us, that some of them, committing themselves to the mercy of the waves, sought for shelter beyond the sea; and it is the general opinion, that they fled to their countrymen in *Armorica*. That some *Britons* had settled in *Some of Armorica*, now *Bretagne*, before this time, is past dispute, the distressed though there is a great disagreement among authors as to the precise time of their first settling there (P). They are said to have passed over to, and settled in, *Armorica* at three different times; to wit, in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, during the usurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Saxons* made themselves masters of the island. No antient historian makes any mention of their settling in that country, either in the reign of *Constantius*, or of *Maximus*; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. All we know for certain is, that the *Britons* were settled in that part of *Gaul*, which, from them, was called *Britany*, before the *Saxons* and *Angles* made themselves masters of the whole country now called *England* (Q). *Britons take shelter in Armorica.*

THE

(P) The first mention we find of the *Britons* in *Armorica* is in the year 461. when *Monsuetus* bishop of the *Britons* subscribed, among the other prelates of *Gaul* and *Armorica*, to the articles established in the first council of *Tours* (9). It is manifest from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that, in 469. they were already settled on the banks of the *Loire* (1). About the year 470. the *Britons* in *Armorica* had a king of their own, named *Riobam*, who, at the request of the emperor *Anthemius*, marched at the head of twelve thousand men against *Euric*, king of the *Visigoths*; but was defeated by that prince in the province of *Berri* (2). *Sidonius Apollinaris* highly commends the moderation of *Riobam*; but speaks of his men in such terms, as shew, that they were not at all mended by the calamities they had suffered at home. *Sidonius*, after he was made bishop, had often occasion to complain of them to their prince (3). An anonymous writer, who was a native of *Armorica*, and wrote the life of *St. Wingalof*, not long after the *Saxons* had made themselves masters of *Britain*, tells us, that the *Britons*, embarking on floats, arrived in *Armorica*, being driven out of their native soil by the *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous nation. He adds, that the *Britons*, being worn out with misfortunes and fatigues, continued quiet for a while, without engaging in any wars (4).

(Q) *William of Malmesbury* writes, that the *Britons*, who

(9) *Concil. tom. iv. rer. G. tb. c. 45. p. 678. Greg. Tur. hist. Frar. lib. 11. c. 8. p. 282.* (1) *Sidon. lib. i. ep. 7. p. 16.* (2) *Jornand. lib. i. c. 45. p. 678.* (3) *Sidon. lib. i. c. 8. p. 282.* (4) *Vite Camd. & Uff. in primord. p. 421.*

They make
themselves
masters of

THE Britons, who settled in *Armorica*, having, by degrees, got the better of the natives, treated them much in the same manner, as their countrymen, whom they had left behind in the island, were treated by the Saxons: for, not to allege other testimonies, *Regalis* bishop of *Vannes*, speaking of the unhappy condition of the *Armoricans*, *We live*, says he, *in captivity under the Britons, and bear a most grievous and heavy yoke*. The *Armoricans*, thus overpowered by the Britons, were blended with them under the common appellation of Britons, their country being called *Britannia Armorica*, and *Britannia Cismarina*, in the same manner as the Gauls, in other parts of Gaul, were blended under the common name of Franks, and their country called *Francia*. The *Armorican Britons* defended themselves with great bravery against the Franks, first under petty kings, and afterwards under counts and dukes, as we shall relate in a more proper place. But to return to our distressed Britons at home: those who had taken refuge among the mountains beyond the *Severn*, attempted, from time to time, to recover the countries they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to extend their conquests beyond the mountains. Such of the Britons as submitted to, and lived among, the Saxons, were treated by them as slaves, and employed in the most servile offices.

THUS, omitting such accounts as are generally deemed fabulous, we have related the most remarkable events, that happened in Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, to the retreat of the Britons into *Cambria*, or *Wales*. The venerable *Bede* takes no notice of what was transacted here, from the battle on *Badon-hill*, to the conversion of the Saxons in the time of pope *Gregory the Great*; which does not a little incline us to question the truth of what we read in the writers, who came after him. These had not better records or memoirs than that venerable author, but less discernment, and more credulity; which perhaps may have prompted them to relate, and even believe, such things, as did not appear to that judicious author so well attested, as to deserve a place in his history. With these, however, we have been forced to take up, for want of

went over with the tyrant *Maximus*, were, for their faithful services, rewarded with lands in Gaul, on the shore of the ocean; but others maintain, that, before the Saxon invasion, no Britons had settled in Gaul;

which opinion seems to us by far the most probable, since, by the antient and most credible historians, frequent mention is made of the Britons in Gaul after, and none before, the coming of the Saxons.

better

better guides, when abandoned by *Gildas* and *Bede*; but, as we do not ourselves give intire credit to what they relate, we are far from exacting it of our readers. The unfortunate *Britons* being, in the manner we have related, driven into *Cambria*, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, remained masters of the whole country now called *England*, where they had already founded seven kingdoms, known by the name of the *heptarchy*. But of these kingdoms we shall speak at large in a more proper place, the method, which we have proposed to ourselves, obliging us to leave them at present, and hasten to the history of other more antient nations.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The antient State of the several Northern Nations, to their breaking into the Roman Empire; and their several Expeditions, and mutual Expulsions, till the Settling of the Hunns in Hungary, the Vandals, Visigoths, and Sueves, in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Franks in Gaul, the Ostrogoths in Italy.

S E C T. I.

The antient State, &c. of the Hunns, till their settling in Hungary.

The anti-ent seats of the Hunns THE Hunns, a fierce and savage nation, inhabited that part of *Asiatic Sarmatia*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais*, the antient boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*^a. Their country, as described by *Procopius*^b, lay north of mount *Caucasus*, which, extending from the *Euxine* to the *Caspian* sea, parts *Asiatic Sarmatia* from *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, lying on the isthmus between the two above-mentioned seas. In this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, were two narrow passes leading out of *Asiatic Sarmatia* into *Iberia*, one of which was antiently called *Porta Caucasica*, but, in *Procopius*'s time, *Tzur*, and the other *Porta Caspia*; which, however, we must distinguish from the famous *Porta Caspica*, or the narrow passes in mount *Caspus*, which, at a great distance to the south of mount *Caucasus*, divided *Media* from *Parthia*. The two passes in mount *Caucasus* let the neighbouring *Hunns*, says *Procopius*^c, into the territories of the *Romans* and *Parthians*; whence it is manifest, that, according to *Procopius*, the antient seats of the *Hunns* lay north of mount *Caucasus*, and at a small distance from it. In those seats, called by *Procopius* the *Sulyfian* region, dwelt the *Hunns*, divided into several tribes, but all comprised under the general name of *Ugri*, changed afterwards into that of *Hunni* or *Unni*. In the authors, who wrote after the year of the Christian æra 376. when the *Hunns* first broke into *Europe*, mention is made of the *Ulurgurian*, *Suturgurian*, *Onugurian*, *Vultinzu-*

Different tribes of Hunns.

^a AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xxxi. p. 435, 441. AGATH. lib. v. p. 154. ^b PROCOF. bell. Goth lib. iv. c. 3, 4, 5. ^c Idem, ibid.

rian, Burugunian, Sabirian, or Gabrian, and Nephthalite or Ephthalite, Hunns^d. Procopius tells us, that one of their kings had two sons, Uturgur and Cuturgur, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories among them; and that such of the Hunns, as were subject to Uturgur, were called Uturgurian Hunns; and those, who fell to the lot of Cuturgur, Cuturgurian. Of the other denominations, no notice is taken by the historians. On the south side of the *Palus Mæotis*; where it discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea by a narrow channel, called *Bosporus Cimmerius*, dwelt the Uturgurian Hunns; and north of them, towards the *Tanaïs*, the Cuturgurian^e.

THE Ephthalite, as Procopius terms them, or Nephthalite *The Ephthalite or Nephthalite Hunns*, as they are stiled by Agathias, inhabited a rich country, bordering to the north on *Persia*, and at a great distance from the *Sarmatian* or *Scythian Hunns*, with whom they had no intercourse, nor the least resemblance either in their persons or manners. They were a powerful nation, and often served against the *Romans* in the *Persian* armies; but, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, being provoked by *Perozes* king of *Persia* laying claim to part of their country, they defeated the *Persians* in two pitched battles, slew their king, over-ran all *Persia*, and held it in subjection for the space of two years, obliging *Cabades*, the son and successor of *Perozes*, to pay them a yearly tribute. These Hunns, called by the writers of those times the *White Hunns*, did not wander, like the others, from place to place; but, contented with their own country, which supplied them with all necessaries, they lived under a regular government, subject to one prince, and seldom made inroads, unless provoked, either into the *Persian* or *Roman* territories. They lived according to their own laws, and dealt uprightly with one another, as well as with the neighbouring people. Each of their great men used to choose twenty or more companions, to enjoy with him his wealth, and partake of all his diversions; but, upon his decease, they were all buried with him in the same grave^f. This custom favours of barbarity; but, in every other respect, the Nephthalite were a far more civilized nation, than the *Scythian Hunns*, who, breaking into the empire, filled most of the provinces of *Europe* with blood and slaughter.

THE latter were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*^g, *The Sarmatian* or *Savage* people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous na-

^d AGATH. lib. ix. p. 154. PROCOP. ibid. PAUL. WARNEFRID. miscel. lib. xii.

^e PROCOP. ibid. PAUL. WARNEFRID. miscel. lib. xii. p. 383.

^f PROCOP. bell. Pers. lib. i. ^g AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. c. 11.

Scythian
Hunns.
Their cus-
toms and
manners.

tions. They begin^a to practise their cruelty, says *Jornandes*, upon their own children the very first day they come into the world, cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males, to prevent the growth of hair, which they must have looked upon, contrary to the sentiments of other nations, as unbecoming and unmanly. They had, perhaps, in this practice another view, which *Jornandes* seems to insinuate elsewhere, to wit, to strike terror into the enemy with their countenances thus deformed, and covered with scars^b. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, being quite unacquainted with the use of fire, and no houses at all, not even huts; but lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods, and on the mountains, where, from their infancy, they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships; nay, they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that, when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to come within the walls of any house, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They used even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting; which, in all likelihood, induced *Zosimus* to write, that the *Hunns* could not walk^c. They covered their nakedness with goats skins, or the skins of a sort of mice sewed together. Day and night were indifferent to them, as to buying, selling, eating, and drinking. They had no law, nor any kind of religion; but complied with their inclinations, whatever they prompted them to, without the least restraint, or distinction between good and evil^k (A). In war, they began the battle with great fury, and an hideous noise; but, if they met with a vigorous opposition, their fury began to abate after the first onset; and, when once put in disorder, they never rallied, but fled in the utmost confusion. They were quite unacquainted with the art of besieging towns; and authors observe, that they never attacked the enemy's camp. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most so-

^a JORN. rer Goth. c. 24. p. 643.

^c Zos. lib. iv. p. 747.

^k AMMIAN. lib. xxxi p. 435—437—615—618. Zos. lib. iv. p. 747. ISIDOR. car. ii. p. 297. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643, 644. SALVIAN. lib. iv. p. 89.

(A) St. *Ambrose* writes, that they were greatly addicted to lewdness, with which, he charges them, seems quite foreign to the gaming; which occasioned frequent murders among them (1). manners of a warlike nation, inured to all sorts of hardships. But this vice, as well as that of

than treaties, than they found their advantage in observing them. Hence we often find them, upon the least prospect of obtaining more advantageous conditions, breaking into the Roman empire, in defiance of the most solemn oaths and engagements. Several corps of *Hunns*, after their coming into *Europe*, served in the *Roman* armies against the *Goths*, and other barbarous nations; nay, they were ready, for hire, to fight against each other, being blind to every other regard and consideration¹. Of this the emperor *Justinian* was apprised, and, by promising a large sum to the *Uturgurian Hunns*, prevailed upon them to fall upon the *Cuturgurians*, and drive them quite out of the empire^m.

THE form of government that prevailed among them, was *Their form* not, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, properly speaking, *of govern-* monarchical; for that author, writing of the *Scythian Hunns*, tells us, that they had never learnt to submit to the authority of a king; but that they were headed and conducted by some of their chief menⁿ (B). As to the origin of the *Hunns*, *Procopius*

¹ AMMIAN. *ibid.* p. 439, 440. PRISC. *de legat.* p. 65. ^m PRO-
COP. *bell. Goth.* lib. iv. c. 18, 19. AGATH. *lib. v.* p. 155. ⁿ AM-
MIAN. *ibid.* p. 436.

(B) These, by some histori-
ans, are honoured with the title
of kings, but by others stiled
only generals or leaders. *Jor-*
nandes calls them constantly
kings; and truly in war they
seem to have been invested with
the supreme command. The
same author writes (2), that *Ba-*
lamir, whom elsewhere he calls
Balamber (3), was king of the
Hunns, when they first passed the
Palus Mæotis, and subdued the
Goths, that is, about the year
376. The name of *Uldin*, king
or general of the *Hunns*, is fa-
mous in the history of the reign
of *Arcadius*. *Olympiodorus* men-
tions one *Caraton*, whom he
calls the first king of the *Hunns*

(4). Several of the ancestors of
the famous *Attila* had, accord-
ing to *Priscus* the rhetorician (5),
been honoured with the com-
mand of the *Hunns*. *Mundi-*
uchus, or, as others call him,
Mundzuchus, father to that prince,
maintained, to use the expression
of *Jornandes*, the antient splen-
dor of his family (6). He had
three brothers, *Oskar*, *Roas*, who
were both kings or leaders of
the *Hunns*, but not of the whole
nation, and *Obarisus*, who out-
lived the other two, but served
under *Attila* (7). *Oskar* and
Uptar, who made war upon the
Bugundians in 436 as we shall re-
late hereafter, seem to have been
one and the same person; but

(2) *Jornand. rer. Goth.* c. 24. p. 64.

(3) *Falsf. rer. Fran. lib. iii.* p. 154. *Pbot* c. 90.

(6) *Jorn. ibid.* c. 3. p. 66.

(7) *Ider. ibid.* *Prisc.* p. 69.

(3) *Id. m. ibid.* c. 48. p. 681.

(5) *Prisc. de legat.* p. 48.

copius seems to insinuate, that they were descended from the *Albanians*, and that they removed from *Albania*, lying on the *Caspian* sea, into *Asiatic Sarmatia*, where they settled. *Jornandes*, an irreconcilable enemy to the *Hunns*, who had driven his countrymen the *Goths* from their antient habitations, gives us the following account of their original, an account intirely owing to the hatred he bore them. *Filmer*, the son of *Gandaric the Great*, and the fifth king of the *Goths* after their going out of the peninsula *Scanzia*, or *Scandinavia*, having entered the *Sythian* territories, discovered among his people a great number of witches, called, in the language of his country, *aliorunnæ*. These he drove into the wilderness far from his army, where the unclean spirits, who haunted those wild and solitary places, being taken with their charms, kept them company, and from their conversation sprung the nation of the *Hunns*°. We are almost ashamed to allow a place in our history to such a ridiculous fable, though very gravely related by *Jornandes*†, and, with no less gravity, confuted by a modern writer‡.

Their origin.

As for the name of *Hunns*, some authors will have them to have been so called from one of their leaders named *Hunnor*; but of this *Hunnor* no mention is made by any antient writer. They are frequently stiled *Ugri* by *Procopius*, and other writers; and the word *Ugre*, in the *Sclavonic* language, signifies *aquatic*, that is, living in or near the water; a name well adapted to a nation living in wet or marshy places; and such were the antient seats of the *Hunns* bordering on the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais*†. *Ptolemy*, in his *Sarmatia Europæa*, mentions a people, whom he calls *Chuni*, dwelling in his time on the banks of the *Borysthenes*. These the *Hunns* subdued, and settled in their country; whence, from their name *Chuni*, some derive that of *Hunni*. But, to dwell no longer on conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the several migrations and expeditions of the *Hunns*, from their first coming into *Europe*, to their settling in *Pannonia*, called after-

° JORN. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643. † Idem ibid. ‡ P. CALLIMACH. edit. cum Bonfinio, p. 854. † Vide LUDEWIG. in vit. Justinian & Theodoræ, p. 529. not. 704.

we must not confound, as some have done, *Roas*, whom *Priscus* calls *Roua* (8, and *Tyro Prospe*, while he was making war upon *Theodosius II.* (1).

(8) *Prisc.* p. 47. (9) *Vid. Sacrat. lib. vii. c. 43. p. 387. & Bucher. Eist. Belgic.* p. 588. (1) *Prisc.* p. 47.

wards from them *Hungary*, following therein *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the most antient author that speaks of them, at least among such as have reached our times, and other credible writers, who lived in or near those times.

THE *Huns*, as we have observed above, dwelt on the east side of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the sea of *Zabache*, quite unacquainted with the people and countries lying on the opposite side, till an hind pursued by some hunters; or, as we read in other authors, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some *Huns* followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable than their own. Hereupon, returning to their own country, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had seen; and, at the same time, informed them, that what they had till then looked upon as a deep sea, was only a marsh, and might be passed without the least danger *. Encouraged with this account, and desiring to settle in a more kind soil, they passed the marsh; and, entering the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and were thence called *Tanaites*, they laid it waste far and near, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged such of them as were left alive, and able to bear arms, to join them. Thus reinforced, they fell upon the *Goths*, by *Ammianus* called *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes* *Ostrogoths*; and spread every-where such terror among them, that *Ermenric* their king, though a warlike prince, and conqueror of many nations, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid seeing the calamities that threatened his people, and to him seemed unavoidable †. *Jornandes* tells us, that *Ermenric*, whom he calls *Ermanaric*, having punished with death a woman named *Saniolk*, of the nation of the *Roxolani*, for the murder of her husband, her two brothers, *Sarus* and *Amnius*, conspiring against him, gave him a dangerous wound in the side; which, with the concern he was under in seeing his country over-run by the *Huns*, occasioned his death, in the hundredth and tenth year of his age ‡. He was succeeded by *Vithimir*, who, having hired a body of *Huns*, with them, and his own troops, made, for some time, a vigorous resistance; but was in the end, after many losses, slain in battle. He left behind him a son named *Vitheric* or *Videric*, whom, as he was under age, he committed to the care of *Alathens* and *Saphrax*; but these, though men of known valour and experience in war, foreseeing all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, thought it

They pass the Palus Mæotis; Year of the flood 2724. Of Christ 376. Of Rome 1124.

and substituted the Alans.

They fall upon the Ostrogoths;

* JORN. *ibid.* c. 24. p. 644.

† AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 439.

‡ JORN. *rer. Goth.* p. 645.

and drive them out of their country. adviseable to abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*; which country is now known by the name of *Podolia*.

ATHANARIC, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, being informed of what had happened to the *Ostrogoths*, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence on the banks of the *Danastus*, now the *Nieper*, which parted the *Greuthongi* from the *Thervingi*. But, the *Huns* falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, he was put to flight, after having lost great numbers of his men, and obliged to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the *Gerasus*, or the *Pruth*, to the *Danube*, in the country now known by the name of *Moldavia*. All the *Gothic* nations being alarmed at this sudden and unexpected irruption of the *Huns*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock which those barbarians made of their people, resolved to abandon their country to an enemy whom they were no longer able to withstand, and to save themselves within the *Roman* dominions, separated by the *Danube* from the countries over-run by the *Huns*. Accordingly they retired from their antient seats, and, approaching the banks of the *Danube*, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor *Valens*, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*.

THE *Romans* were struck with terror and amazement, in hearing, that such multitudes of barbarians were hovering about the banks of the *Danube*, driven out of their seats by greater barbarians than themselves. *Valens*, however, complied with their request, allowing them to pass the *Danube*, and enter *Thrace* in such numbers, that *Ammianus* compares them to the sparks, which, at that very time, issued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the sands of the *Libyan* shore. Those were, for the most part, *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, the subjects of king *Athanasius*. As for the *Greuthongi*, or *Ostrogoths*, they, being likewise driven out of their country by the *Huns*, flocked in swarms, to the banks of the *Danube*; and, encouraged by the reception their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, begged to be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor not thinking it adviseable to comply with their request, after they had continued some time on the banks of the *Danube*, they passed it in spite of the *Romans*. *Athanasius* king of the

Thervingi, not thinking it safe to take refuge in the territories of the *Romans*, on account of his having assisted the usurper *Procopius*, retired, with part of his people, to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*, whose country lay west of the *Gerasus*, or the *Pruth* ^r. Thus the *Hunns*, in the year 376. not only settled in *Europe*, but made themselves masters of that vast country, which extends from the *Tanais* to the *Danube*, and was, before their arrival, possessed by the *Alans*, the *Goths*, and several other barbarous nations, whom they either drove out, or forced to submit to their victorious arms.

The Hunns masters of the whole country between the Tanais and the Danube.

Of the *Hunns*, who settled in *Europe*, we find no further mention made in history till the year 388. when great numbers of them are said to have lifted themselves in the *Roman* armies, *Theodosius I.* who was then emperor, encouraging them with large sums to serve under his banner, both on account of their warlike temper, and to divert them from raising disturbances on the frontiers of the empire ². But the *Nepthalite Hunns*, who had continued in *Asia*, and were neighbours to the *Persians*, as we have observed above, breaking into the *Roman* dominions, over-ran *Mesopotamia* in 383. and even laid siege to *Edeffa*; but were repulsed by the *Roman* garison, and obliged by a body of troops, consisting chiefly of *Goths*, sent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire ². The *European Hunns* first passed the *Danube* in 391. and being joined by the *Goths* and other barbarians, committed dreadful ravages in *Mæsia* and *Thrace*. But *Stilicho*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow; and, pursuing them close, shut them up in a narrow valley, where they must have perished with hunger, or surrendered at discretion, had not *Theodosius* chosen to conclude a peace with them, following therein, says the poet *Claudian*, the pernicious counsel of the traitor *Rufinus* ^b.

The Nepthalite Hunns over-run Mesopotamia.

The Scythian Hunns invade Thrace, and are defeated by Stilicho.

ABOUT four years after, that is, in 395. the *Hunns*, breaking unexpectedly into the eastern provinces, penetrated as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties ^c. *St. Jerom*, speaking of this irruption of the *Hunns*, says: 'All the East trembled, when the dismal news were brought, that swarms of *Hunns*, coming from the far-distant *Mæotis*, and dwelling between

They ravage the eastern provinces.

¹ AMMIAN. *ibid.* JORN. c. 25. p. 646. ² AMBROS. *ep.* xvii. p. 214. PACAT. *panegy.* ad Theodof. p. 270. ³ SOCRAT. lib. v. c. 11. p. 270. *sur* 15 Novemb. p. 342. ⁴ CLAUD. *de laud.* Stil. lib. i. p. 125, 126. ⁵ SOCRAT. lib. vi. c. 1. p. 300. SOZ. lib. viii. c. 1 p. 753. CHRYS. *psal.* xcvi. p. 897.

Year of the frozen *Tanaïs* and the country of the savage *Massagetes*, the flood flew up-and-down, and filled all places with blood and slaughter. While the *Roman* armies,' continues that writer, 2743. 'were employed in civil wars,' that is, against the usurper *Eugenius*,³⁹⁵ 'the cruel enemy roved, without controul, where they pleased, preventing, by their speed, the report of their coming. They had no regard either to religion, or dignity ; no age they spared, nor were they softened by the tears of the crying infant ; but put those to death who had scarce begun to live, and who, not apprised of their danger, smiled, when in the enemy's hands, at those very weapons that were immediately to destroy them.' He adds, that the general terror and consternation spread as far as *Palæstine*, upon a report, that they proposed to advance to *Jerusalem*, and plunder the holy city^d. The same author speaks of this irruption of the *Hunns* in several other places^e (C), and likewise St. *Chrysostom*^f, *Philostorgius*^g, *Socrates*^h, and *Sozomen*ⁱ (D).

THE

^d *HIER.* epitaph. Fabiol. 200, &c. & in vit. S. Chrysost. 1087. lib. xi. c. 8. p. 154. ibid.

^e *Idem*, epist. iii. xxx. &c. p. 26, ^f *CHRY.* ubi sup. ^g *PHI.* ^h *SOCRAT.* ubi sup. ⁱ *SOZ.*

(C) *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Zosimus*, and the poet *Claudian*, agree in this, that the *Hunns* invaded the eastern provinces at the instigation of *Rufinus*. On the other hand, it is manifest from the same authors, as well as from the code, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that *Rufinus* was put to death in the month of *November* 395. In the code are several laws enacted the following year, and addressed to *Cæsar*, who succeeded *Rufinus* in the office of *præfectus prætorio*. *Socrates* writes, that *Rufinus* was put to death on the twenty-seventh of *November* 395 (2). which is confirmed both by the *Alexandrian* chronicle placing his death after the last offices

paid to the body of *Theodosius* on the ninth of the same month (3), and by the code, where the laws are addressed to *Rufinus* till the eleventh of *October*, and, from the thirtieth of *November*, to his successor *Cæsar* (4). However, St. *Jerom*, in his third epistle (5), which we cannot suppose to have been written before the year 397. says, that this irruption had happened the year before, *Ecce tibi anno præterito*, &c. But St. *Jerom* was either mistaken, or speaks in that epistle only of the ravages and devastations, which began in 395. but were continued, as appears from *Claudian* (6), in 396.

(D) St. *Chrysostom* tells us, in one of his homilies (7), that se-

(2) *Socrat. lib. vi. c. 1. p. 300.* (3) *Chron. Alex. p. 710.* (4) *Cod. Theod. 2. tit. 9. lib. viii. p. 133.* 10. tit. 6. lib. 1. p. 410. 16. tit. 5. lib. xxvii. p. 144. (5) *Hier. epist. iii. p. 26* (6) *Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i. p. 99.* (7) *Chrys. in psal. xcvi. p. 893.*

THE *Hunns*, having over-run and plundered several provinces, returned home of their own accord, loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives. They met with no opposition, the armies that had been sent into the West to suppress the usurper *Eugenius*, not being yet returned.

AFTER this irruption, the *Hunns* seem to have continued quiet for the space of nine years, that is, till the year 404. When passing in great multitudes the *Danube*, they entered *Thrace*; and, having over-run that province, they penetrated into *East-Illyricum*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry with them ^k (E).

THE following year 405. we find great numbers of *Hunns* They di-

chiefs or kings; and to him was chiefly owing the signal victory gained by *Stilicho* in *Hetruria*; for, having, with his *Hunns*, surrounded one of the three bodies into which *Radagaisus* had divided his army, he cut them all in pieces, to the

^k Soz. lib. viii. c. 25. p. 793. PHILOSTORG. lib. xi. c. 8. p. 530.

veral Christians, on that occasion, suffered martyrdom; and that others were brought to *Antioch*, to be sold there, or ransomed. *Philostorgius* places this irruption of the *Hunns* after the death of *Rufinus*, and even after that of the eunuch *Eutropius*, who succeeded him in his power and employments. But he was therein certainly mistaken, since not only *Claudian* (8), but *Socrates* (9), *Sozomen* (1), and *Zosimus* (2), tell us in express terms. that *Rufinus* privately stirred up, by his emissaries, the *Hunns* to break into the empire, and likewise the *Goths*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*.

(E) A modern writer quotes a letter written this year by *Hono-*

rius, emperor of the West, to his brother *Arcadius*, who reigned in the East, to express his concern for the ravages committed by the *Hunns* in *Thrace*, and for the ruin and loss of *Illyricum*. These calamities *Honorius* ascribes to the wrath of heaven, justly provoked at the iniquitous proceedings of the court against the holy bishop *Chrysostom* (3). By the loss of *Illyricum* is only meant, in the above-mentioned letter, the ruin of that province; for the *Hunns*, upon advice, that the imperial troops were assembling with a design to cut off their retreat, repassed the *Danube* with all the haste the immense booty they carried with them allowed (4).

(8) *Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 20.*

(1) *Soz. lib. viii. c. 1. p. 753.*
Baron. annal. ad ann. 404.

(9) *Socrat. lib. vi. c. 1. p. 300.*

(2) *Zof. lib. v. p. 782.*

(4) *Soz. Philostorg. lib. xi.*

(3) *Ibid.*

Uldin number of an hundred thousand men¹ (F). *Uldin* was well known to the *Romans* before this time, from the vigorous opposition he had made in the year 400. against the famous *Gai-nas*, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* service, of whom we have spoken at large elsewhereⁿ.

Uldin ra- No prince had hitherto deserved better of the empire than
wages *Uldin*. But, two years after the signal victory obtained
Thrace; chiefly by his means over *Radagaisus*, he became, on what
Year of provocation we know not, an irreconcilable enemy to the
the flood *Romans*; and, passing the *Danube*, entered *Thrace*, at the
2756. head of a numerous army, consisting of *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or
Of Christ *Scyri*, a northern nation, subject, in all likelihood, to the
408 *Hunns*. As this irruption happened during the minority of
Of Rome *Theodosius* II. *Anthemius*, who had taken upon him the admin-
1156. istration, did all that lay in his power to appease *Uldin*; but

he confiding too much in his own strength, and insisting upon conditions that could not be honourably granted, *Anthemius* ordered a body of *Roman* troops to march against him; at whose approach several of his officers, offended at his haughty and imperious behaviour, laid hold of that opportunity to abandon him, and side with the *Romans*. This alarmed *Uldin*, who thereupon retired with great precipitation, and re-passed the *Danube*, after having lost, on his hasty march, many of his men. As for the *Squiri*, the emperor's troops coming up with them before they reached the *Danube*, they were all to a man either killed or taken. The prisoners were sold, and dispersed all over *Asia*, to prevent their ever returning to their own countryⁿ. By this overthrow, and one they had received in 381. from *Theodosius* the Great, grandfather to the reigning emperor *Theodosius* the younger, that nation, once very numerous, was almost utterly extirpated^o.

but is
forced to
retire.

¹ Zos. p. 803. PROSP. chron. Aug. civ. p. 63. ^m Vol. xvi. p. 482—487. ⁿ SOCRAT. lib. ix. c. 6 p. 806, 807. ^o Idem ibid. Soz. lib. iv. p. 759. Zos. l. iv. p. 759.

(F) *Orosius* ascribes this victory not to the *Hunns*, but to a panic, which, spreading all on a sudden throughout the camp, obliged *Radagaisus* to withdraw from before *Florenti*, which he had invested, to the neighbouring mountains of *Fiscli*, where most of his men perished with famine, and the rest submitted to the *Romans*. Thus the victory, says the same writer, was owing to the Lord of hosts, and not to his enemies the *Hunns* (75). But to them it is ascribed by St. *Austin*, *Zosimus*, and *Prosper*, whose authority is of far greater weight with us than that of *Orosius*.

FROM this time the *Huns* seem to have continued quiet till the year 423. when the emperor *Honorius* dying, and *John* his chief secretary assuming the purple, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated *Aetius*, who had sided with the usurper, to espouse his cause. As *Aetius* had been formerly given to them, on what occasion we know not, as an hostage, and was, by that means, become acquainted with their chiefs, the usurper sent him, as the most proper person, with large sums, to engage them in his cause. Accordingly, a few months after his departure, he returned at the head of sixty thousand *Huns*. Upon his entering *Italy*, he was met by *Aspar*, one of the generals of *Theodosius*, who, upon the death of his uncle *Honorius*, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But in the mean time *Aetius*, being informed of the death of the usurper, who had been taken and beheaded in *Ravenna* three days before the battle, submitted to *Theodosius*, and persuaded the *Huns*, not without distributing considerable sums among them, to return home P.

The Hunns, to the number of 60,000, march to the assistance of the usurper John. They return home.

HOWEVER, *Thrace* was this very year pillaged and laid waste by some of that nation, whom *Theodoret* styles *Scythian Nomades*, that is, *Scythian wanderers*. They were led by one *Rougas* or *Roilas*, who, in a boasting manner, threatened to ravage over-run the whole empire, and to lay siege to *Constantinople* itself, which, he threatened, he would take at the first assault, and, having plundered it, lay it in ashes. But *Theodosius*, not in the least frightened at the menaces of the barbarian, committed the event, according to his custom, says *Socrates*, to Providence, and soon obtained what he desired; for *Rougas* was killed with lightning, a plague broke out in his army, and swept off the greatest part of his men, and fire from heaven consumed most of those whom the plague had spared. This complication of misfortunes, as we may call it, struck the barbarians with such terror, that they retired of their own accord, dreading, not the arms of the *Romans*, says *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently disowned the cause of *Theodosius*. *Socrates* adds, that St. *Proculus*, who preached then at *Constantinople*, and was afterwards raised to the see of that city, made a sermon to the people on the dispersion of the *Huns*, applying to them what we read in the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning *Gog* and *Magog* (G).

He is killed with lightning, and his army dispersed.

P PHILOSTORG. lib. xii. c. 14. p. 538. PROSP. chron. CASSIODOR. chron. SOCRAT. lib. vii. c. 43. p. 387. THEODORET. lib. v. c. 36. p. 749. SOCRAT. ibid. Idem ibid.

(G) *Valesius* is of opinion, that this irruption, and *Rougas*, the leader of the *Huns* in immediate predecessor of *Attila*, and

Six years after this irruption, that is, in 423. we find the *Hunns* in possession of *Pannonia*; for *Actius*, being that year disgraced by *Valentinian III.* or rather by his mother *Placidia*, who governed during the minority of her son, is said to have retired to the court of *Roas* king of the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* † (H). As the *Hunns* were chiefly indebted to *Actius* for the lands they held in *Pannonia*, *Roas* their king not only received that able commander with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and friendship upon his being disgraced at the court of *Placidia*, and obliged to quit the *Roman* territories, but sent him back at the head of a powerful army of *Hunns*; which

† *PROSP. chron. PRISC* p. 37.

and his uncle, according to *Jordan's* (6), on the father's side, are one and the same person (7). But this opinion is no-ways agreeable to what we read in *Socrate*, *Theodoret*, and *Priscus* the rhetorician, for the two former writers tell us, that *Rougas* lost his life in this incursion, in the manner we have related (8). On the other hand, it is manifest from *Priscus* (9), that there was no war between the *Romans* and *Hunns* when *Rouas* died. Besides, it is certain, that *Rouas* did not die in 425 the year in which the *Hunns*, under the conduct of *Rougas*, broke into *Thrace*, for *Priscus* tells us (1), that *Plinthas* and *Dionysius*, who were sent with the character of ambassadors to *Rouas*, had been consul, and *Dionysius* was not consul till the year 429.

H) *Priscus* tells us, that they settled in *Pannonia*, in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Attila*, but when, or on what occasion, this treaty was made, we are nowhere informed. They were

not in possession of that country in 427 for in that year *Theodosius* is said to have transplanted the *Goths* from *Pannonia*, which they had held ever since the year 377. when they first entered it, into *Thrace*, and to have reunited that province to the empire (2). On the other hand, they were masters of *Pannonia*, or, at least, held part of that province, in 432 for in that year *Actius*, as we have hinted above, not thinking himself safe in the *Roman* dominions, is said to have taken refuge among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* (3). In 437 *Valentinian III* yielded, as we read in *Cassiodorus* (4), *East-Illyricum*, which comprised *Pannonia*, to *Theodosius II* which must be understood of the towns and fortified places, for these the *Romans* seemed to have kept; and hence it is, that we find *Attila*, several years after the *Hunns* had been in possession of *Pannonia*, obliged to lay siege to *Sirmium*, the metropolis of that province (5).

(6) *Jordan's* rer. Goth. c. 2. (7) *Idem* per *Fræn* lib. iv. p. 124. (8) *Socrate* lib. i. c. 1. p. 81. *Martini* lib. i. c. 1. p. 81. (9) *Priscus* lib. i. c. 47. 48. (1) *Idem* lib. d. (2) *Theodoret*. (3) *Cassiodorus*. (4) *Cassiodorus*. (5) *Idem* lib. i. c. 1.

so terrified *Placidia*, that she restored *Aetius* to all his employments, and raised him to the rank of a patrician ^u.

In the year 435. a strong body of *Hunns*, marching thro' *Germany* into *Gaul*, joined *Aetius* against the *Burgundians*, *Aetius* who, having been allowed, in 413. to settle in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and ravaged *Belgic Gaul*. *Aetius*, having gained a complete victory over them, obliged *Gondicarius* their king to sue for peace; which he granted, but *not* *Gondicarius* nor his people long enjoyed; for, in the beginning of the following year, he was cut off, with twenty thousand of his men, by the *Hunns* ^w, at the instigation of *Aetius*, provoked, as some authors write ^x, at their revolting anew; while others charge *Aetius*, on this occasion, with breach of faith, and the blackest treachery. *Socrates* writes, that the unhappy *Burgundians*, harassed with continual inroads by the *Hunns*, and no longer in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, only three thousand of them being left alive, had recourse to Heaven; and, repairing to a city in *Gaul*, there declared their desire of embracing the Christian religion. The bishop of the place enjoined them a seven days fast, during which time he instructed them in the mysteries of our holy religion; and, having administered to them the sacrament of baptism, he sent them home full of courage and confidence. In this condition they marched against the *Hunns*; and, finding them destitute of a leader, *Uptar* their king dying the night before, gorged with immoderate eating and drinking, they fell upon them, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Thenceforth the *Burgundians*, adds *Socrates*, continued steadfast in the Christian religion ^y.

NOTWITHSTANDING this overthrow, the *Hunns*, either this year 436, or the following, as *Idatius* will have it ^a, marched with a considerable body to the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Aquitain*, but, not satisfied with the countries allotted them, had made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid siege to *Narbonne*. Against them the *Romans* called the *Hunns* to their assistance; who, being led by count *Litorius*, fell upon the *Goths* busied in the siege, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman

^u PROSP. chron. IDAT. p. 20. VAL. rer. Franc. lib. v. p. 140.

^w IDAT. p. 21. SIDON. car. vii. p. 338. PROSP. chron. Belg. p. 486. ^y VAL. rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 136, 131. ^x BUCH. ^a IDAT. p. 21.

carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a very seasonable supply, the inhabitants being reduced to the utmost extremity ^b. *Idatius* ascribes the raising of the siege to *Aetius* ^c, probably because *Litorius* acted by his orders, he being commander in chief of all the armies of the Western empire. The *Hunns*, who thus signalized themselves against the *Goths*, had, the year before, been employed by the *Romans* against the rebellious *Armarici*, whom they reduced. From *Armorica* they marched against the *Goths of Aquitain*; but, on their march, they plundered the province of *Auvergne*, though belonging to the *Romans*, whom they served as auxiliaries ^d. *Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths*, laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital; but was in the end overcome in a pitched battle by *Theodoric* their king, and taken prisoner (I). About this time two chiefs of the *Hunns*, *Basie* and *Curfic*, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, which they had, for some time, employed against the *Persians*, came to *Rome*, and entered into the service of *Valentinian III.* emperor of the West ^e.

Theodo-
sius II.
pays a
yearly pen-
sion to the
Hunns.

ROUGAS king of the *Hunns*, of whom we have spoken above, had been succeeded, in 425. by *Rouas* or *Roas*, who concluded a peace with *Theodosius II.* whereof one of the conditions was, that the emperor should pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold ^f. But *Rouas*, resolving, a few years after the conclusion of this peace, to subdue the *Boischi*, and other nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom *Theodosius* had taken under his protection, dispatched one *Elias* to the court of *Constantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodosius*, if he lent them the least assistance. Hereupon *Plintha* and *Dionysius*, two generals of no small renown, were appointed to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken ^g. In the mean time *Rouas* died, and

Bleda and
Attila suc-
ceed Rouas:

was succeeded by his two nephews *Bleda* and *Attila* ^h (K).
News

^b PROSP. chron. VAL. rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 140.

^c IDAT.

p. 21. ^d SIDON. car. vii. p. 331, 338.

^e PRISC. legat.

p. 64. ^f Idem, p. 45.

^g Idem, p. 47.

^h Idem ibid.

(I) It was probably during this war between the *Romans* and *Goths* in *Gaul*, which lasted four years, that *Curfic* king of the *Hunns* besieged the city of *Bazas* belonging to the *Goths*; but

was obliged, by a miraculous apparition, to drop the enterprize, and retire, as the reader will find related at large by *Gregory of Tours* (6).

(K) *Bleda* alone is named

(6) *Greg. Tur. de glor. marty. lib. i. c. 13. p. 31—34. Val. rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 140.*

News of the death of *Rouas* reaching *Constantinople* before the departure of the ambassadors, they were ordered to treat with the two princes his successors, and impowered to conclude with them a lasting peace; which they did accordingly, upon the dishonourable terms which we have related elsewhere ⁱ. *Attila* and *Bleda*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at liberty to make what conquests they pleased, reduced several northern countries; insomuch that their authority was acknowledged by all the barbarous nations, from the *Danube* to the most distant coasts of the *Euxine* sea ^k. Among the rest he subdued the *Acatziri*, who dwelt on the north coast of the *Euxine* sea, and were divided into several nations, each of them having a king of their own. But the most antient among those princes had, it seems, some pre-eminence above the rest; for *Priscus*, who lived in those times, tells us, that the jealousy which *Couridachus*, the eldest of the kings, conceived of the rest, gave *Attila* an opportunity of subduing them all. *Theodosius* II. in order to unite them, and induce them to renounce the friendship of *Attila*, and enter into an alliance with the empire, sent rich presents to each of them; but the person, whom the emperor employed on this occasion, not applying in the first place to *Couridachus*, that prince, thinking himself thereby highly injured, acquainted *Attila* with what had passed, inviting him at the same time to come and revenge the affront that had been offered him. *Attila* laid hold of the opportunity; and, having, without loss of time, sent a powerful army against the *Acatziri*, he soon reduced the other princes, but suffered *Couridachus* to enjoy his dominions undisturbed ^l. Some time after, *Attila* invited him to his court; but *Couridachus*, alleging he could not bear the presence of so great a god, prudently declined complying with his invitation. The *Hunn*, pleased with this plea, never offered him the least violence; but gave

ⁱ Vol. xvi. p. 554. ^k PRISC. legat. p. 84. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661. ^l PRISC. p. 54 — 63.

by *Tyro Proſper* (7), and the first by count *Marcellinus* (8); whence authors conclude, that he was the elder brother. *Jornandes* thinks, that, to his share, fell the provinces bordering on the western empire, and to *Attila's* the more eastern (9). But we

cannot help thinking *Jornandes* therein mistaken; since not to *Bleda*, but to *Attila*, the princess *Honorio* applied, as we shall relate anon, stirring him up to make war upon her brother *Valentinian* emperor of the west.

(7) *Proſp. chron.* p. 661.

(8) *Ma-cel. chron. ad ann. 442.*

(9) *Jorn. c. 43.*

Attila appoints his son Ellac king over all the nations bordering on the Euxine sea. Resolves on a new war with the Romans.

the countries belonging to the other *Acatzirian* princes to his eldest son, named *Ellac*, appointing him king over all the nations bordering on the *Euxine* sea. The young prince, in going to take possession of his new kingdom, had the misfortune to break his right arm by a fall from his horse ^m.

ATTILA, having, with the assistance of his brother *Bleda*, brought under subjection all the northern nations, began, as his ambition knew no bounds, and his arms had been hitherto attended with wonderful success, to entertain thoughts of reducing, not only the *Goths* settled in *Thrace*, but the *Romans* themselves, and making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, having drawn together a very numerous and formidable army, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, put all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. At this time perhaps happened what we read in *Priscus*, to wit, that, during a fair, the *Hunns* fell upon the *Romans*, killed a great many of them, and made themselves masters of a castle. The *Romans* complained of these hostilities; but the *Hunns* pretended, that the *Romans* had been the aggressors, the bishop of *Margum* having plundered, they said, their treasure; on which account they insisted upon his being delivered up to them, with all those of their nation who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions. The bishop denied the charge; but the *Hunns*, who wanted only a pretence to quarrel with *Theodisus*, engaged at this time in two troublesome and expensive wars with the *Persians* and *Vandals*, without offering to prove it, entered the empire in an hostile manner ⁿ. *Vorbursus* supposes *Attila* to have been stirred up by *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, powerfully attacked at this time by *Theodisus* ^o.

Attila and Bleda break into the Eastern empire;

BE that as it will, *Attila* and his brother *Bleda* took several towns and castles, which the *Romans* had built on the banks of the *Danube*, to awe the barbarians, and restrain them from entering the empire ^p. Among the other towns, they made themselves masters of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*. The *Romans*, alarmed at this sudden inundation of the *Hunns*, advised the emperor to comply with their request, and deliver up to them the bishop of *Margum*; which he no sooner understood, than he repaired to the enemy's camp, and found means to put them in possession of the city ^q. *Attila*, elated with this success, dispatched

^m PRISC. p. 63—69.
Rom German. p. 117.

ⁿ Idem. p. 33. ^o VORB. hist.
^p PROCOP. ædific. lib. iv. c. 5. p. 79.

^q PRISC. p. 33. 59.

a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring him to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly pension, which had been stopt ever since he took up arms, and to send proper persons to settle what sums should be paid him for the future. He added, that there was no time to lose, since he could no longer restrain or moderate the ardour of his troops, thirsting after blood and spoil. *Theodosius*, though not a little terrified at these menaces, chose rather to try the chance of war, than abandon those whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promised to send proper persons to *Attila*, with full powers to conclude a lasting peace. *Attila*, not satisfied with this answer, pursued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing several cities and strong-holds, to wit, *Retiarium*, *Singidunum*, *Naissus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum* (L). *and make themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds.*

THE emperor was to such a degree alarmed at the progress the two brothers made in *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, that, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, he withdrew into *Asia*, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, to whom he was

* PRISC. p. 34.
MARCELL. chron.

Idem. p. 34—49. THEOPH. p. 88. 441
Of Rome 1189.

(L) *Retiarium*, a great and populous city, stood on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*, in the same place, according to *Sanfon*, where *Zangona* stands, a city in the present *Servia*. *Singidunum* and *Naissus* were both cities of *Upper Mæsia*. The former stood on the *Danube*, and the latter about five days journey distant from it. *Baudrand* thinks *Singidunum* stood where stands the present city of *Zenderin*, once the capital of *Servia* (1); but places it somewhat higher on the *Donube*, and nearer *Taurunum* or *Belgrade*. *Naissus* gave birth to *Constantine the Great*, as was shown elsewhere (2). It was intirely ruined by the *Hunns*; inasmuch that in 449. it was still destitute

of inhabitants, there being only some sick people in the churches and hospitals. The neighbouring plains were even then covered with the bones of those who had been killed in war (3). Some think *Naissus* stood where *Nissa*, a city of no small note in *Servia*, stands; but *Sanfon* places it at some distance from the present *Nissa*. *Sirmium*, now *Sierp*, stood in *Lower Pannonia*, and is famous in history, on account of the many laws enacted by the emperors while residing there, which have been collected by *Jacobus Gothofredus* in his topography of the cities mentioned in the *Theodosian code*. It is at present a city of *Sclavonia*.

(1) *Baudr.* p. 198.

(2) *Vols.* xv. p. 326, (L).

(3) *P. Jc.* p. 47.

forced to grant an advantageous peace ^t. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we know is, that a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*; but upon what terms, we are no-where told.

*Attila
causes his
brother
Bleda to
be assassinated.*

DURING this peace, *Attila*, no longer able to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother *Bleda* to be assassinated; and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the *Huns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations besides the *Huns*. *Jornandes* names among the rest the *Goths*, meaning, without all doubt, those who chose to remain in their antient seats, the *Gepidae*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semendrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Sattagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Aatzirians* ^u. He was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*, which no one had ever held before him ^w.

*His great
power.*

Priscus observes, that no prince ever subdued so many countries in so short a time; his authority being acknowledged by all the states and princes from the *Rhine* to the most northern borders of the *Persian* empire, which he had once some thoughts of invading, and might, according to *Priscus*, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole *Roman* empire ^x. *Priscus* says, that the *Romans* declined giving him the title of king, and only stiled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who, as they were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but *Attila* rejected it with contempt, saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves ^y. *Jornandes* writes, that, when he entered *Gaul* in 451. he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission ^z. They referred all their differences to *Attila*, looked upon his decisions as oracles, and in every thing submitted to him as to the king of kings. Among these kings were two, to whom *Attila* paid a particular regard, to wit, *Valamir* or *Balamir*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who had remained among the *Huns*, a man of a frank and open temper, and an enemy to all art and dissimulation; and *Ar-*

^t PROSP. chron. THEOPH. p. 87. MARCELL. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730 ^u JORN. p. 685—688. ^w Idem, c. 49 p. 684.
^x PRISC. p. 64. ^y Idem, p. 65. ^z JORN. c. 38. p. 667.

deric, king of the *Gepidæ*, a prince of great penetration, and inviolably attached to *Attila* ^a.

As to the person of *Attila*, *Jornandes* has left us the following portrait of him: He was black, low in stature, had a broad breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes ^b. He was fond of war; but depended more upon his counsel than his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but often craft and artifice, and sometimes low wiles, and even lyes, to obtain his end ^c. He was constantly forming new projects, and vast designs, aspiring at nothing less than the monarchy of the universe. He was so elated with his great power and success, as not to hearken to reason, however plain and evident ^d. The pride and haughtiness of his mind appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; insomuch that no one could behold him, without concluding, that he was sent into the world to disturb it ^e. His presence, joined to the reputation he had acquired, struck all who beheld him with such awe and terror, that very few ventured to approach him, or speak to him ^f. However, we are told, that an ambassador sent to him by *Valentinian III.* appeared quite unconcerned before a man who made the world tremble. As the ambassador had justice on his side, he was not afraid of his wild and menacing looks; but, in spite of the rage to which he abandoned himself, answered all his complaints without betraying the least fear, leaving him at his departure calm, and capable of reason, though he had found him quite outrageous and untractable ^g. In his time was found a sword, thought to be the sword of *Mars*, and, on that account, held in great veneration by the antient kings of *Syithia*. It had been lost for some ages, and was said to have been found in the following manner: a cowherd, observing one of his cows wounded in the foot, followed her bloody traces to the place where she had received the wound. There he discovered the edge of a sword appearing above ground, which the cow had trod upon. The sword he immediately dug up, and carried it to the king, who, knowing it to be the famous sword of the god of war, received it with inexpressible joy, as portending, that he was to extend his conquests to the most distant limits of the world ^h. *Priscus*, from whom *Jornandes* copied this account, writes, that nothing gained *Attila* so much respect and veneration among the superstitious vulgar, as the discovery of this sword in his

^a JORN. c. 38. p. 667. ^b Idem, c. 35. p. 661. ^c Idem, c. 43. p. 674. & c. 36. p. 660. 663. ^d PRISC. p. 64. ^e JORN. c. 35. p. 661. ^f PRISC. p. 54. ^g CASSIODOR. lib. i. epist. 4. p. 512. ^h JORN. c. 35. p. 662.

time ⁱ. The same author adds, that he was so blinded with pride, as to forget he was a man, and to suffer divine honours to be paid to him ^k.

*His good
qualities.*

HE was not, however, without some good qualities; for, to those who referred their controversies to him, he administered justice, according to the strictest rules of equity. He treated his subjects with great mildness, suffering them quietly to enjoy their estates, and levying only such sums as they could easily pay ^l. In his dominions, says *Sylvianus*, no poor were seen oppressed with tributes and taxes ^m. He was ever ready to forgive those who submitted to him, and was never known to have abandoned such as he had once taken under his protection ⁿ.

*An enemy
to pomp
and shew.*

He was so far from placing his grandeur in pomp and shew, which serve only to dazzle the eyes of the senseless multitude, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of simplicity, and contempt for state, and all kind of outward magnificence. His dress was proper, but plain. He could not abide any gold, precious stones, or the least ornament on his sword, or the trappings of his horse, though in great request among the princes who attended him, and those of his court ^o. *Priscus*, who accompanied *Maximinus*, sent by the emperor *Theodosius* in 449. to the court of *Attila*, with the character of ambassador, tells us, that they found him sitting in his tent on a wooden chair ^p. The same writer followed him several days journey beyond the *Danube*, till he reached one of his most magnificent palaces, which was all of wood, and stood in a large village, and in a country where no wood or stones were to be found ^q. *Attila*, soon after his arrival, invited *Maximinus* and *Priscus* to a grand entertainment, at which the guests were all served in silver and gold; but before the king was set a dish of plain meat, of which he eat but very sparingly, and on a trencher. He drank very little, and out of a wooden cup, while the rest were regaled with great variety of liquors in cups of gold, enriched with precious stones. During the banquet, something happened, which made all the company laugh; but *Attila*, as *Priscus* observed, maintained his usual gravity amidst their mirth, without the least smile, or change of countenance ^r.

His wives.

HE had, according to the custom of his nation, many wives ^s, or, as *Jornandes* expresses it, troops of wives ^t, by whom he had almost a numberless issue. His favourite wife was one

ⁱ PRISC. p. 54. ^k Idem. p. 75. ^l Idem. p. 60. ^m SAL-
VIAN. MASSIL. de gubern. lib. v. p. 112. ⁿ JORN. c. 35. p.
661. ^o PRISC. p. 67. ^p Idem. p. 50. ^q Idem,
p. 53. JORN. c. 34. p. 660. ^r PRISC. p. 68. ^s Idem,
p. 55. ^t JORN. c. 49. p. 684.

Crecha or *Recha*, who resided in his capital, and by whom he had his eldest son *Ellac*, with two others. *Priscus*, who carried her some presents, found her sitting on a bed, amidst the women who attended her sitting on the ground, and working^u. The same writer mentions two other wives of *Attila*^w. Among his children are mentioned *Ellac* his eldest son, *Dengizic*, who perished in making war upon the *Romans*, and *Hernac*, or *Hernas*, the youngest of them all^x. *Attila* had an extraordinary esteem and affection for *Ellac*, whom he raised above all his brothers, made him in his life-time king of the *Acatzirians*, and appointed him his successor after his death. But the son did not long outlive the father, being killed in a battle soon after his accession to the crown^y. Next to *Ellac*, *Hernas* was the father's favourite, the soothsayers having foretold, that he was to outlive all his brothers, and maintain the splendor and glory of his family. The first part of this supposed prediction proved true; but, as to the other, *Hernas* was so far from maintaining the glory of his family, that, declining to engage in the war, which his brother *Dengizic* undertook against the empire, he contented himself with some lands given him by the emperor *Marcian* in *Little Scythia*^z (M).

BUT to resume the thread of our history *Attila*, being, by the death of his brother *Bleda*, become sole master of so many nations, all ready to follow his banner, and execute his commands, looked upon the *Roman* emperors with such contempt, that he is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, and unjust

^u PRISC. p. 63. ^w Idem, p. 35. ^x Idem, p. 68 JORN. c. 50. p. 688. ^y Idem ibid. p. 686, 687. ^z PRISC. p. 68 JORN. c. 50. p. 688.

(M) This is all we find in the antient writers concerning the celebrated *Attila*, and his numerous issue. The modern authors add many things, and, among the rest, that, while *Attila* was in *Gaul*, an holy hermit told him, that he was the scourge of God, who had put the sword of justice into his hand, to punish the vices of the Christians; but would snatch it from him as soon as they were reclaimed. They add,

that *Attila*, after the famous defeat he received in *Champaigne*, mindful of the saying of the hermit, added to his other titles that of *flagellant Dei*, or *the scourge of God* (4). But what we read in the modern histories of *Hungary* concerning those early times, is, for the most part, either quite groundless, highly improbable, or evidently fabulous.

(4) Orob. in Att. l. p. 869. Conf. rev. Ugar. p. 15, &c.

the Ro-
man em-
perors.

two Goths, with the character of ambassadors, the one to *Theodosius*, and the other to *Valehtinian*, with this haughty and insulting message; *Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception*^a. What answer they returned, we are no-where told. However, we do not find, that *Attila* openly broke the peace he had concluded with *Theodosius*, as we have related above, till the year 447. It is true, he often threatened him with war, but only in order to draw from him money, corn, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of, the *Romans*, who trembled at the very name of *Attila*, complying, like so many slaves, with all his demands, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The ambassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; infomuch that, when he thought any of his subjects worthy of an extraordinary reward, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of ambassadors to *Theodosius*^b. *Attila* continued thus trampling under foot the majesty of the empire, and insulting the weakness of *Theodosius*, till the year 447. when, no longer satisfied with the annual pension paid him by the emperor, and the rich presents yearly sent him, he declared war against the empire, and overran several provinces, which obliged *Theodosius* to seek peace with him on terms highly opprobrious to the *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere^c.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, that is, in the beginning of the year 449 *Attila* sent one *Edeon* to *Constantinople*, with the character of ambassador, attended by his chief secretary *Orestes* (N). As *Edeon* seemed to be greatly taken with

^a Chron. Alexand. p. 734.
xvi. p. 557.

PRISC. p. 36, 37.

Vol.

(N) *Orestes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Huns* in 430. he lifted himself among the troops of *Attila*, who, discovering him to be a man of parts, made him his secretary. His father, named *Tatula*, bore him like some considerable employment at the court of *Attila*. *Orestes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, sent by *Valenti-*

nian III. on an embassy to *Attila* in 449 and had by her a son, by *Males* called *Romulus Augustus*, but, by all other historians, *Romulus Augustulus*. *Orestes*, leaving the *Huns*, served in the *Roman* armies with great reputation, and was raised to the rank of a patrician, and appointed by the emperor *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when, turning his arms against him with them, he drove him from the throne, and caused his son

with the splendour and magnificence of the court, and desirous to continue among the *Romans*, the eunuch *Chrysaphus*, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him thereupon capable of committing, without remorse, the blackest crimes, proposed to him the assassinating of his prince; which he undertook, tempted by the promises of the eunuch. To this wicked attempt the emperor not only consented, but, in order to the more effectual execution of so scandalous an undertaking, dispatched a solemn embassy to *Attila*, strictly injoining those who attended the ambassadors, especially their interpreter *Vigilius*, a bold and enterprising man, to be assisting to *Edeon* in murdering *Attila*. *Maximinus*, who, in 422. had persuaded the *Persians* to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, was at the head of this embassy; but, as he was a man of an unblemished character, the emperor did not think fit to trust him with the secret.

Theodosius attempts to get Attila murdered.

THE ambassadors no sooner arrived at the court of *Attila*, than *Edeon*, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the traitors with more refined treachery, discovered the whole to his prince; who immediately caused *Vigilius* to be seized, and sent back his secretary *Orestes* to *Constantinople*, with the parcel in which the money had been brought, that was to be paid to *Edeon* after the assassination, charging *Maximinus* and *Chrysaphus*, whether they would or no, to treat the emperor in the severest terms with such a black piece of treachery; and to insist upon his instantly delivering up to him *Chrysaphus*, the author and contriver of the plot. But the emperor, unwilling to sacrifice the eunuch his chief favourite, instead of complying with *Attila's* demand, dispatched the patrician *Anatolius* and *Nomus* to the king of the *Huns*, charging them to do all that lay in their power to appease him. *Anatolius*, at that time *comes domesticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, had negotiated a peace with *Attila* the year before. As for *Nomus*, he was one of *Chrysaphus's* particular friends, and ge-

The plot is discovered.

^d PRISC. p. 39—48.

son *Augustulus*, in whom ended the Western empire, to be prisoner in *Pavia*, and brought to *Odoacer*, who caused him to be claimed emperor in his room (5). put to death at *Placentia* (6). *Orestes* was in the end taken pri-

(5) *Jerr.* c. 45. p. 673. *Sidon.* lib. iii. *epist.* 7. p. 72. *Prisc.* p. 37, & 57. *Onuph.* p. 67. *Ez. 28.* lib. ii. c. 16. p. 33. (6) *Euseb.* lib. vii. c. 1. p. 333. *Priscop.* p. 323.

Attila
spares the
conspira-
tors.

nerous to such a degree, that no one doubted, but, with his rich presents, he would soften *Attila*. It happened accordingly; for *Attila* not only promised to live in peace and amity with *Theodosius*, but relinquished his claim to the countries on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, pardoned *Chrysaphus*, set *Vigilius* at liberty, sent back many *Roman* captives without ransom, and dismissed the embassadors loaded with presents. Thus *Priscus*, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, having attended *Maximinus* to the court of *Attila* (O).

The empe-
ror Mar-
cian re-
fuses to
pay him
the usual
pension.

THE following year 450. *Theodosius* II. died, and was succeeded by *Marcian*; which *Attila* no sooner understood, than he dispatched embassadors to the new emperor, demanding the pension paid him by the deceased prince. *Marcian*, not thinking himself bound by the shameful treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the barbarians, dismissed the embassadors with this answer, *That Theodosius was no more; and, as for himself, he had gold for his friends, and steel for his ene-*

* PRISC. P. 70—72.

(O) The same author writes, that *Constantius*, secretary to *Attila*, being sent embassador to the court of *Constantius*, promised to defend the *Romans*, and do all that lay in his power to divert his master from breaking an war into the empire, provided *Theodosius* procured him some rich presents in marriage. Hereupon the emperor promised him the daughter of *Saturminus*, whom *Eudoxia* had caused to be put to death in 444 after he had been for some years *comes domesticorum*, or captain of the guards. But *Zoe*, commander in chief of all the emperor's forces, without any regard to the word or honour of his prince, took her by force out of the castle, where she was kept, and gave her in marriage to a friend of his, named *Rufus*. Of this *Constantius* complained to *Attila*, and *Attila* to *Maximian*, who

him, that *Constantius* must either have the daughter of *Saturminus*, or another of equal wealth; and that it was a shameful thing in a prince to fail of his word, charging him at the same time to tell his master from him, that he was amazed to find he had thus gone back from his word, and forfeited his honour; that, from his not punishing *Zoe*, he concluded that general to have been countenanced by him in what he had done; but if he was therein mistaken, if *Theodosius* durst not resent such insults from his own subjects, he was ready to teach them the respect, submission and obedience they owed their sovereign. *Theodosius*, piqued with this reproach, caused the estate, not of *Zoe*, whom he was afraid to provoke, but of *Saturminus*, to be confiscated, thinking to cover his weakness with this piece of injustice (P).

mies. *Attila*, provoked at this answer, began to draw together his troops, in order to break into the empire. *Hercupon Marcian*, who had found the affairs of the empire in a most deplorable condition, to gain time, sent a solemn embassy to *Attila*, at the head of which was *Apollonius*, a general of no small renown, perhaps the same person to whom *Theodoret* wrote his seventy-third and three hundred and third letter ^f. But the king of the *Hunns*, understanding he had not brought with him the usual pension, would neither speak to him, nor see him. However, he commanded him, on pain of death, to convey to him the presents, which the emperor had sent him. To this message *Apollonius* answered, “That the king needed
“not demand, with menaces, things which he might have
“when he pleased, either as presents, if he was determined to
“live in amity with the *Romans*, or as spoils, if, forgetful
“of the right of nations, he thought fit to use violence with
“an ambassador.” *Hercupon Attila*, choosing rather to lose the presents, than declare himself a friend to the *Romans*, or offer the least violence to an ambassador, ordered him to quit his dominions, and return home ^g.

HOWEVER, not thinking it advisable, at that juncture, to engage in a war with *Attila*, and, on the other hand, impatient of peace, he resolved to turn his arms against the West- *Attila re-*
ern empire, then governed by *Valentinian III.* a weak and un- *solves to*
warlike prince. *Rera*, uncle to *Attila*, had concluded a peace *make war*
with *Valentinian* a little before his death, that is, about the *upon Va-*
year 433. as we have related above. *Attila*, who succeeded *Valentinian*
him, had no sooner taken possession of the crown, than he *III.*
war, with repeated letters and messages, pressed by *Iusta Grata* *He is stir-*
Honoria, *Valentinian*’s own sister, to break the peace, and *red up by*
invade the Western empire. *Honoria* had been honoured with *Honoria.*
the title of *Augusta*, to divert her from marrying, there being, *Year of*
at that time, no man in the whole empire, whose rank an- *the flood*
swered her high station; for it was thought proper, that she *2799-*
should continue unmarried, as the sisters of *Theodosius II.* had *Of Christ*
done. But celibacy had been their choice: whereas *Honoria* *451.*
had no inclination to lead a single life; but was forced to it, *Of Rome*
and closely watched by *Valentinian*’s orders, or rather by her *1199.*
mother *Placidia*’s ^h. The young princefs therefore, no longer
able to bear this restraint, dispatched privately one of her eu-
nuchs to *Attila*, pressing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a
powerful army, and marry her ⁱ; nay, she sent him, either at

^f THEODORET. ep. 73. p. 942. ^g PRISC. p. 72, 73. ^h JORN.
reg. c. 44. p. 673. CANG. Byzant. fam. p. 67, 73. ⁱ JORN.
ibid. p. 653.

Her incontinence.

He takes and destroys several cities.

this time or afterwards, a ring, as a pledge of her fidelity^k. She was then about sixteen or seventeen, being born before her brother *Valentinian* in 417. or 418. *Attila*, who had then just begun to reign, not caring to engage in this enterprize, *Honorio* suffered herself to be debauched by one of her own domestics, named *Eugenius*. *Placidia* no sooner perceived her with child, than she caused her to be shut up in a private house, and soon after sent her to *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*^l. This happened in 434. three years before *Valentinian* married the daughter of *Theodosius*^m (P). *Honorio* continued pressing *Attila* to make war upon her brother; but he, it seems, not giving ear to her solicitations, prayers, and intreaties, lived in peace with *Valentinian* till the year 451. when, upon his refusing to give him in marriage his sister *Honorio*, as we have related elsewhereⁿ, he entered *Gaul* at the head of a formidable army, giving out, that his design was to make war upon the *Visigoths*; that he was determined to live in friendship with the *Romans*; and that he only wanted to cross *Gaul*, and pass the *Loire* at *Orleans*, in order to fall upon his enemies the *Goths* in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*^o. Being therefore looked upon as a friend by the credulous and unwary *Romans*, several cities opened their gates to him; but his men behaving, in the cities that had received them, more like enemies than friends, the other towns refused to admit them^p. Hereupon *Attila*, pulling off the mask, besieged, took by storm, and plundered, many places in *Gaul*^q. The cities that suffered most on this occasion were, *Tongres*^r (Q), *Treves*, formerly the metropolis

^k PRISC. p. 40. ^l JORN. rer. Goth. p. 653. ^m MARCELL. chron. ⁿ Vol. xvi. p. 566. ^o PROSP. DU CHESNE, tom. ii. p. 521. ^p PROSP. IDAT. p. 28. ^q IDA R. ibid. ^r COINTE annal. eccles. Franc. ad ann. 451. ALLISSIODOR. chron. p. 62.

(P) *Valesius* writes, that *Valentinian* caused *Eugenius* to be put to death, which is highly probable, but, we may venture to say, not affirmed by any of the antients. The same author maintains, that *Honorio* was not sent to *Constantinople*, and, what is surprising, quotes *Jornandes*, who says in express terms she was (8).

(Q) *Gregory of Tours* writes,

that, when it was first heard in *Gaul*, that *Attila*'s design was to pass through that country, the pious bishop of *Tongres*, named *Aravaeus*, or *Arvacus*, went to visit the holy places at *Rome*, where, with fervent prayers, and many tears, he begged Heaven to avert the calamities that threatened his flock, and all *Gaul*. But *St. Peter*, appearing

lis of *Gaul*, which had been four times pillaged before the year 440. and was now laid in ashes by the *Hunns*^s, *Straßbourg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, and most of the towns in that neighbourhood^t. *Attila*, advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in ashes, many other cities, and among the rest *Arras*^u, *Besançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres*^w. The barbarians attacked the town of *Laon*; but were repulsed with great slaughter^x. At *Mentz* they arrived the night preceding the solemnity of *Easter*, which in 451. fell on the eighth of *April*; and, having soon forced the gates, and entered the city sword in hand, they made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, massacred the priests at the altars, and set fire to the place, which soon reduced all the private and public buildings to ashes^y, sparing only the chapel of *St. Stephen*, if *Gregory of Tours* is to be credited, where some reliques of that saint were lodged^z.

ATTILA, thus putting all to fire and sword, arrived at *He lays* length before *Orleans*, which he immediately invested, the inhabitants refusing to admit him into the city. In the mean *Orleans*. time *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, took care to encourage, by frequent messengers, the inhabitants and garison of *Orleans* to make a vigorous defence, assuring them, that, in a short time, he would march to their assistance. He had brought with him but a small number of troops, not doubting but the *Visigoths* would join the *Romans* in opposing the furious torrent, which threatened both nations alike; but, finding the *Visigoths* resolved to wait for the enemy in their country, he used all kinds of arguments, in order to persuade them to change that resolution, sending to them for that purpose *Avitus*, who was raised to the imperial dignity a few years after^a. The

^s Du Chesne, p. 694.

^t BUCH. p. 512.

^u ALCUIN.

apud Bolland. p. 797.

^w ALLIS. chron. p. 67.

^x RUI-

NERT. hist. Vand. persecut. p. 408.

^y IDAT. Du Chesne, tom.

i. p. 694.

^z GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 276.

^a SID. car. vii. p. 341. PROSP. chron.

to him, told him, that the Almighty had, in his justice, immutably decreed, that the *Hunns* should come into *Gaul*, and ravage the whole country; but as for him, he should not live to see the miseries of his distressed flock. With this answer he re-

turned to *Tongres*, and thence repaired to *Maesricht*, where he died soon after (9). The credulity of this excellent writer is the effect of his great piety, which often gets the better of his good sense and understanding.

Actius is
joined by
the Visi-
goths, and
several
other na-
tions.

epitomizer of *Idatius*,^a supposed to have lived in the time of *Charlemagne*^b, tells us, that, on this occasion, the holy bishop of *Orleans*, *St Agnan*, was likewise sent by *Actius* to *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*^c. Be that as it will, *Theodoric* yielded at length to the reasons alleged by the deputies of *Actius*, which the reader will find in *Jornandes*^d, promising to join the *Romans* with all his forces against the common enemy.

This change of measures in the king was highly acceptable both to the nobility and his people, who received the news of it with loud acclamations of joy, occasioned by the eager desire they had to try the strength with the *Huns*^e (R). In the mean time *Actius* assembled what troops he could in *Gaul*, which were reinforced by the powerful succours brought him by *Thaëric*, who commanded them in person, attended by his eldest and second sons, *Theismund* and *Theodorich*^f. Besides the *Visigoths*, the following nations are mentioned among the troops that composed the army of *Actius*, to wit, the *Franks*, under the conduct of their king *Mercuer*, the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Americans*, the *Lisians*, dwelling on the banks of the *Lim Island*^g, the *Reverins*, or *Requarians*, inhabiting the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, the *Irbions*, by *Isidore* called *Briotes* and *Briotes*, and placed by him in *Vindicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria*^h, and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, whom the *Romans* had formerly commanded as their subjects, but were now glad to reckon among their auxiliaries and alliesⁱ. Thus *Actius* assembled an army not much inferior in number, according to *Prosper*, to that of *Attila*^k.

Attila
takes Or-
leans,

While *Actius* was thus busied in assembling his troops, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the wall night and day with an incredible number of warlike

^a CASSIUS, tom. II. p. 640. ^c Idem, p. 645. ^d JORN.
rer Goth. c. 26 p. 673. ^e SID. p. 341. PROSP. chron. JOH. N.
ibid. p. 636. ^f JOH. N. p. 64. ^g VASS. p. 161. ^h Id.
rer Franc. p. 171, & 162, & notit. Gal. p. 259, 260. ⁱ JORN.
ibid. p. 664. GRÆG. TUR. hist. Franc. lib. II. c. 7 p. 277.
^k PROSP. chron.

(R) The epitomizer of *Idatius*, who often adds to his author something of his own, tells us, that *Actius* offered half *Gaul* to *Theodoric*, on condition he joined him against the *Huns*,

and that, having by this means engaged him to side with the *Romans*, he made the same offer to *Attila*, provided he made war upon *Theodoric* (1). But this seems to us altogether incredible.

(1) *Cassius* tom. II. p. 45.

engines, till at length he became master of the place. *Valisus* is of opinion, that the holy bishop *Agnan* caused the gates to be opened, lest the city should be taken by assault, and plundered¹. And *Gregory of Tours* seems to insinuate, that it was not taken by storm; for he writes, that the enemy entered the place, when the walls were shaken with the battering-rams, and ready to fall^m, no breach being then made, according to that writer. On the other hand, the word *irruptio*, used by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, and signifying a violent breaking or rushing in, imports, that the town was taken by stormⁿ. Be that as it will, the *Huns* were scarce entered, when *Aetius* but is and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, fell unexpectedly *driven out* upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged *with* them to retire with much precipitation out of the town. Many *great* of them threw themselves into the *Loire*, and perished there^o; *slaughter* a plain proof, that they had passed that river, and invested the *by Aetius* town on the south side; which has been denied by some modern writers. *Theophanes* mentions this defeat of *Attila* near the *Loire* and the city of *Orleans* *and Theodoric*. As for the epitomizer of *Idatius*, he evidently confounds this encounter with the great battle of *Chalons*^p. For this success, *Aetius* is by *Apollinaris Sidonius* styled the deliverer of the *Loire*^r. He is supposed to have gained it on the fourteenth of *June*, that day being marked in an ancient martyrology of *Orleans* as a day of general thanksgiving, for the happy deliverance of the city out of the hands of its enemies^s. *Attila*, being obliged to abandon *Orleans*, retired, with his army, towards the *Rhine*; and, having passed *Troies*, he halted in the plains of *Chalons* (S), choosing that place as most

¹ VALES. rer. Franc. lib. vi. p. 160. ^m Vide DU CHESNE, p. 476. ⁿ SID. lib. viii. ep. 11. p. 246. ^o DU CHESNE ubi supra. ^p THEOPH. p. 90. ^q CANIS tom. ii. p. 615. ^r SID. lib. vii. ep. 12. p. 199. ^s Vide FRANC. LE MAIRE, antiq. d'Orleans, p. 178.

(S) This memorable battle was fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, say some, in the plains of *Catalaunum*, or *Chalons*, say others (2); but, to reconcile them, we are only to suppose the same plain to have been known by these two different names; a very natural supposition, and founded on the authority of *Jornandes*,

who tells us in express terms, that the *Catalaunice* were also called the *Mauriac* fields; *Convenitur in campos Catalaunicos*, says he, *qui & Mauriaci nominantur* (3). However, *Valesius* distinguishes these two plains; and, to reconcile the authors, supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, not decisive, in the plains

(2) Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 276. Canis. antiqua hist. tom. ii. p. 625. (3) Jorn. rir. Gub. c. 46. p. 664.

most advantageous for his *Huns*, who were all horse, to engage in; for he was well apprised, that *Actius*, who followed him

of *Mauriac*, that is, near *Meri* on the *Seine*, in the diocese of *Troies*, and the other, which proved decisive, in the neighbourhood of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons* (4). But those who speak of the battle fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, suppose it to have been decisive, and to have put an end to the war, in the same manner as those do who describe the battle of *Chalons*. As for the name of *Mauriac*, *Valsius* supposes *Meri* upon the *Seine*, in the diocese of *Troies*, to have been antiently so called; and quotes *Fridigaire* in favour of this supposition (5). But *Blundel* takes the small village of *Heiz*, *le Mauu* on the river *Delir*, in the diocese of *Chalons*, to be the antient *Mauriac*. *Papinius Masson* places the *Mauriac* fields about three leagues from *Chalon*, near a place called *Notre Dame de l'Épine*, or *Our Lady of the Thorn* (6). He is therein followed by *Cointius* (7), and by *Sanfon*, in his maps of the dioceses of *Chalons* and *Rheims*. As for those who will have this battle to have been fought beyond *Orleans* at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*, in a district held at that time, as they suppose, by the *Catalaunians* or *Catalans* of *Spain*, though they agree perhaps therein with *Olaus*, a modern writer, of no authority in himself, they disagree with *Gregory* of *Tours*, and all those who write, that *Actius* de-

livered *Orleans*, namely, with *Apollinaris Sidonius*, whom we may call an unquestionable eye-witness. That author tells us, in express terms, that *Attila* took *Orleans* by storm; but was driven out by *Actius*, before he had time to plunder it, and obliged to return back, directing his march towards the *Rhine*. He did not therefore, according to that writer, penetrate so far into *Gaul* as *Auvergne* or *Languedoc*; and consequently the battle could not be fought at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or near *Toulouse* in *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Thorismund*, upon the death of his father, who was killed in the *Catalaunic* fields, entered *Toulouse* vested with royal majesty; *Thorismundus ergo patre mortuo in campis Catalaunicis, ubi & pugnauerat, regia maiestate subvectus Tolosam ingreditur* (8). From these words some conclude the battle to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*. But *Jornandes* does not say, that *Thorismund* made his entry into *Toulouse* the same day his father was killed, or the day following; nay, he confines it to no certain time, but evidently supposes it not to have happened immediately after the battle; for he tells us, that, after the battle, *Actius* advised *Thorismund* to return home, *ut ad sedes proprias remearet*. The battle therefore was not fought in the territories of the *Goths*, but at a consider-

(4) *l'Él. notit. Gall.* p. 224.
105.

(7) *Coint. tom. 1.* p. 75.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(6) *Du Chesne, p.*

(8) *Jorn. c. 41.* p. 670.

him close, would come up with him before he could repass the Rhine.

THE Roman general, being informed by his scouts, that *Attila* was waiting for him in those vast plains, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to advance, and put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who served under *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who followed *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand men were left dead upon the spot. We are told, that *Attila*, desirous to know beforehand the issue of the approaching battle, consulted his aruspices, who, after having narrowly examined the entrails of the beasts offered in sacrifice, and, according to their custom, scraped their bones, returned the following answer: "That the event would not prove favourable to him; but, on the enemy's side, their chief man would fall in the engagement." This answer greatly encouraged *Attila*, who did not in the least doubt, but by the chief man was meant *Aetius*, whose death he was glad to purchase at any rate, since he looked upon that great commander as the only person in the whole empire capable of defeating his vast designs. He therefore resolved to

A bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidæ.

^c JORN. c. 41. p. 671. ^u Idem, c. 37. p. 665. BUCH. Belg. p. 515. VAL. p. 162.

able distance from *Toulouse*. The young prince, following the advice of *Aetius*, returned to *Gaul*; *rediit ad Gallias*, says *Jornandes*, who, by *Gaul*, could only mean Celtic *Gaul*, called also *Gallia Lugdunensis*; so that *Thorismund*, in marching to the field of battle, had crossed Celtic, and entered *Belgic Gaul*, to the latter of which belongs the diocese of *Chalons*. Hence *Scaliger* thinks those writers, who will have *Attila* to have been defeated near *Toulouse*, to be guilty of a mistake altogether childish, how able soever they may be in other respects. The plains of *Chalons*, where the two armies engaged,

were, according to *Jornandes* (9), one hundred leagues in length, and seventy in breadth; but that author allows only fifteen hundred paces to each league. His allowing that extent to the plains of *Chalons*, gives us room to believe, that he comprised, under that name, all the champaign country, whence the province was afterwards called *Champagne*, a name by which it was well known so early as the sixth century (1). On the same plain of *Chalons* was fought, in 273. a great battle between the emperor *Aurelian* and the usurper *Tetricus*.

(9) *Jorn.* c. 41. p. 664.

(1) *Du Chesne*, p. 105.

give battle; but not to engage till the day was far spent, that night coming on, might prevent the Romans from pursuing the victory ^w. He placed himself in the centre, with the flower of his army around him, as if his chief care had been, says *Jornandes* ^x, to preserve himself, and not to conquer. In the wings were posted the *Ostrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and the other nations, that followed his banner ^y. On the other hand, *Actius* placed the Romans, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing; the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric*, and his son *Thorismund*, in the right; and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban* (1), and probably the *Franks*, and other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. Thus were those spacious plains quite covered with infinite numbers of combatants, the flower of innumerable nations, ready, says *Jornandes*, to destroy each other, without any private pique or quarrel, but merely in compliance with the ambition of one man, which, in them, supplied the room of the most mortal hatred, and irreconcilable enmity. "What pity," continues our historian, "that by the passion and folly of one man should perish, in a few hours, what nature has produced in many years!"

BETWEEN the two armies was an eminence of an easy ascent, which both parties strove to seize; but *Actius* and *Thorismund*, having possessed themselves of it the first, repulsed with difficulty the *Huns*, who attempted to dislodge them.

^w JORN. c. 37. p. 665.
p. 667.

Idem, p. 666.

^y Idem;

^z Idem, p. 664.

(1) *Valisirs* takes *Sargilan* to be the same person with *Sombida*, chief of the *Alans*, on whom *Actius* bestowed, about the year 440. as *Tyso Prosper* informs us, some lands that lay uncultivated in the *Valentinois* (2). Others will have him to be the successor of *Eacastic*, chief of another body of *Alans*, whom *Actius* placed on the banks of the *Loire* in 447. at a small distance from *Armerica*, in order to awe the *Amoricians*, and put a stop to their incursions (3). *Sangiban* was in *Orleans*, when *Attila* en-

tered *Gaul*, having obtained leave to reside there; but, as the barbarians drew near that city, he was ordered to quit it, upon a report, that he designed to deliver it up to them (4). All these *Alans* had entered *Gaul* in 406. In the battle, *Actius*, distrusting *Sangiban*, placed him in the centre, that, being surrounded by the *Romans* and *Visigoths*, he might have no opportunity, says *Jornandes* (5), of putting in execution the design of which he was suspected.

(2) *Val rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 272.*

(3) *Euch. Belg. p. 512.*

(4) *Jorn.*

rr. Goth. c. 37. p. 665. Val rer. Franc. p. 272.

(5) *Jorn. c. 36. p. 664.*

This advantage, gained by the *Remans* in the very beginning of the engagement, raised their courage, and greatly damped the ardour of the enemy; which *Attila* observing, strove to reanimate his men by a speech, which the reader will find in *Jornandes*^a, who made it for him. The battle began about four in the afternoon, and is, by all writers, reckoned one of the most bloody and obstinate engagements mentioned in history. A small brook, that crossed the plain, swelled, says *Jornandes*^b, to a torrent, by the great quantity of blood that was shed. *Aetius* pressed the *Hunns* on his side; and *Thorismund* never ceased harassing them from the eminence he had seized. The *Goths*, leaving the *Alans* behind, charged the enemy with no less vigour than the *Romans* had done. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, flew from rank to rank, encouraging his men; but, falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own men: others write, that he was killed with a dart by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who fought under *Attila*, and was descended from the *Amali*, that is, from the royal family of the *Goths*^c. The *Goths*, though no longer animated by the presence of their king, pressed the *Hunns* so warmly, that *Attila*, no longer able to withstand them, retired in the end, with those who surrounded him, to his camp, which he barricaded with all the carts and waggons of his army. It being night before the battle was ended, *Thorismund*, coming down from his eminence to rejoin his own people, found himself entangled among the carts and waggons of the enemy, who fell upon him with great fury. On this occasion he received a wound on the head, and was thrown from his horse; but, other *Goths* flying to his assistance, he was rescued from the danger, and brought back to his camp. As for *Aetius*, he continued the engagement, till night coming on, the enemy withdrew to their camp, when he likewise retired, not daring to pursue them, as not knowing whether the *Goths* were conquerors, or conquered. The new day discovered a dreadful sight, those vast plains almost quite covered with dead bodies. But *Attila*, when they expected, would renew the engagement at break of day, kept close in his camp, and was resolved, as the *Romans* were afterwards informed, to burn himself alive, if they had forced it, rather than suffer himself to be taken prisoner. He caused a great noise to be made in his camp, and the trumpets every-where to sound, as if he were upon the point of sallying out, and falling upon the *Romans*; but did not, however, stir from his in-

The battle of Chalons.

Year of the flood 2799.

Of Christ

451.

Of Rome

1199.

Theodo-

ric king of

the Visi-

goths,

killed.

^a JORN. c. 39. p. 367, 368.

^b Idem, c. 40. p. 655.

^c Idem ibid. & c. 50. p. 688.

trenchments: hence the *Romans* concluded, that he was conquered, and that his loss was great. However, not thinking it advisable to attack him in his camp, as he had but a small quantity of provisions, they resolved to keep him closely blocked up^d.

In the mean time the *Goths*, missing their king, sought him on all sides, and at last found him among the dead. His body was carried, in the sight of the *Huns*, with the greatest solemnity, and all possible marks of honour, from the field of battle to the camp, where the last duties were paid him, in the midst of which his son *Thorismund* was proclaimed king, and, in that quality, he ended the ceremony^e. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action, in which near three hundred thousand men were killed, according to *Idatius*, on both sides, and two hundred and fifty-two thousand, according to the *Amsterdam* edition of *Jornandes* in 1655. including those who fell the night before the battle in the encounter between the *Franks* and the *Gepidæ*. Both armies suffered extremely; and the *Romans* challenged the victory for no other reason, but because *Attila* kept in his camp the next day, and withdrew afterwards to his own country, without daring to venture a second engagement^f (U).

The number of the slain.

Aetius persuades Thorismund to return

THORISMUND, greatly affected with the death of his father, resolved to revenge it on the *Huns*, and, at the head of his *Goths*, attacked them in their camp; but, having first consulted *Aetius*, whose known wisdom, and long experience, gave great weight to his counsels, that general advised him to return home without delay, and take possession of his father's dominions, lest his brothers, seizing on the deceased king's treasure, should raise disturbances in his absence, and give rise to a civil war. This advice *Aetius* gave with a political view,

^d JORN. p. 670. chron. BUCH. Belg. p. 515.

^e Idem, c. 41. p. 672.

^f PROSP.

(U) *Cassiodorus*, and *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, own, that, in this action, *Aetius* had the chief command, but ascribe the victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths* (6). *Victor Tunnensis* extols the courage of the *Goths*, without so much as mentioning *Aetius*; and *Gregory* of

Tours will have the success of that day to be owing to the prayers of *St. Agnan* bishop of *Orleans* (7). As to the account of this battle, given by the continuator of *Idatius* (8), *Valesius* looks upon it as altogether fabulous.

(6) *Cassiod. chron. & lib. iii. epist. 1. p. 40.*
(8) *Curis. tem. ii. p. 645.*

(7) *Du Chesne, p. 277.*

fearing,

fearing, that, if the *Hunns* were utterly extirpated, the *Goths*, *come with* no longer awed by so formidable a power, might prove a no *his* less troublesome enemy to the empire, than those barbarians. However, *Thorismund*, not suspecting in the least the zeal and sincerity of *Aetius*, readily embraced his advice, and returned home ⁵. Thus, giving way to groundless suspicions, we often let slip the most favourable opportunities, being wholly taken up in guarding against imaginary evils (W). *Thorismund* was *and like-* no sooner gone, than *Aetius*, by the same artifice, persuaded *Merouée* king of the *Franks*, whose brother aspired to the *Merouée* crown, to withdraw his troops, and return home. Thus he *with his* got for himself the spoils that were left in the field of battle ^h. *Franks*.

WHEN *Attila* was first told, that the *Visigoths* were retired, he imagined it to be only a feint, in order to surprise him; and therefore kept for some time close in his camp: but, being afterwards informed of the truth, he resumed his courage, says *Jornandes* ⁱ, and began to hope for victory. However, he made no attempt; but retired quietly to the *Rhine*, with a *Attila* small number of troops, says *Gregory of Tours* ^h: and truly *quits* his army must have been greatly weakened, since he did not *Gaul*. offer to attack *Aetius*, even after the departure of the *Goths* and *Franks* (X). Such was the issue of *Attila's* expedition into *Gaul*.

⁵ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 41. p. 671 DU CHESNE, tom. i. p. 177.

^h DU CHESNE, p. 277. ⁱ JORN. c. 41. p. 671, 672. [^] DU CHESNE, p. 277.

(W) The continuator of *Idatius* tells us, that *Aetius*, going in the night to the enemy's camp, assured *Attila*, that the *Roman* army had been reinforced with a very considerable number of *Visigoths*, in order to oblige him to retire with more haste, and even to purchase with money a safe retreat. By a like artifice he persuaded *Thorismund*, according to the same writer, to retire, and pay him a considerable sum. He adds, that *Thorismund*, finding afterwards he had been imposed upon by *Aetius*, sent to challenge the pro-

mise he had made him, which was to yield to him half *Gaul*, if he drove out *Attila*; but *Aetius*, in lieu of the promised dominions, only sent him a golden dish, weighing five hundred pounds, and enriched with precious stones (9). But to such accounts we can give no credit, upon the bare testimony of a writer, whose authority is of no great weight with us.

(X) *Valesius* concludes from hence, that the army he led into *Gaul*, did not consist, as *Jornandes* seems to insinuate (1), of five hundred thousand men (2). *Jor-*

(9) *Cunif.* p. 645, 646. *Franc.* p. 165.

(1) *Jorn. c.* 36 p. 665.

(2) *V.l.* rer.

Gaul, so much spoken of by the writers of those times. The ravages he committed there were, no doubt, very great; but posterity has not a little increased them, charging *Attila* and his *Huns* with all the devastations, that were afterwards committed by the *Franks*, the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations¹. It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were rebuilt or repopled; nay, so great was the consternation of the inhabitants, that *Lupus*, the famous bishop of *Troies*, returning to his see, after he had attended *Attila* to the banks of the *Rhine*, found the city quite abandoned, though *Attila*, out of regard to him, had spared it; insomuch that he was obliged to retire to a mountain named *Latissè*, about fifteen leagues from *Troies*; where he endeavoured to persuade his people, who had taken refuge there, to return to their ancient habitations: but, not being able to remove their fears, after he had continued two years among them, he left them, and retired to *Macon*^m. *Actius* pursued *Attila* as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack him, thinking it, as most authors conjecture, impolitic to weaken him too much, lest he should no longer be in a condition to awe the *Franks* and *Goths*, and divert them from raising disturbances in the empire.

ATTILA, rather enraged than disheartened at the disappointment he had met with, and the loss he had sustained, in *Gaul*, resolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to find more booty, and less opposition, there being no *Goths*, *Franks*,

¹ Vide NIC. SERAP. res. Mogunt. lib. i. c. 7. p. 27.

^m STR-

RIUS, p. 347.

Andes perhaps only meant, that his troops amounted to that number, and not that he marched them all into *Gaul*. He had, no doubt, left a considerable number of his forces in the countries he had conquered, to awe the people, and garrison his forts and strong holds. Besides, it is certain, that this very year 451. a body of *Huns* broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged that province; but were in the end driven out by *Aradaburus*, who was thereupon appointed by *Murican*

emperor of the East, commander in chief of all his forces (3). The anonymous author of the *Altiſſoloverſian* chronology tells us, that *Actius*, after the engagement, returned to *Italy*, leaving *Attila* to commit what ravages he pleased in *Gaul* (4). This seems highly improbable, the more as that writer supposes the city of *Mentz* to have been destroyed on this occasion; whereas all other authors speak of the ruin of that city as happening before the siege of *Orleans*.

(3) *Caes. l. tom. iv. p. 76.*

(4) *Altiſſ. chronol. p. 60.*

Alans, or *Burgundians*, there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution, having reinforced his army with powerful supplies sent him out of *Scythia*, he left *Pannonia*; and, finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the year 451. as *Jornandes* and *Idatius* seem to insinuateⁿ, or, what is more probable, in the beginning of the following year 452. But, of the success that attended his arms there, we have spoken in a former volume^o. Upon the peace that was concluded between him and *Valentine*, of which we have given an account elsewhere^p, he retired out of *Italy*, and repassed the *Danube*.

Attila invades Italy.
Year of the flood 2800.
Of Christ 452.
Of Rome 1200.

As *Attila* was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he began to threaten the Eastern empire with an invasion, if *Marcian* did not send him, without delay, the tribute, which his predecessor *Theodosius* the younger had agreed to pay him yearly^q. But this was only a feint, says *Jornandes*, to conceal his real design, which was to return into *Gaul*, and there make war upon the *Visigoths*. Pursuant to this design, having left *Pannonia*, and crossed *Rhatia*, he followed the course of the *Rhone*, entered the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and there fell unexpectedly upon the *Alans*, who had been allowed by *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, to settle in the *Valentinois*. But *Thorismund* king of the *Visigoths*, whose dominions were parted from those of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well apprised, that *Attila*, in reducing the *Alans*, had no other view but to open himself a way into his territories, joined his neighbours with all his forces, and, meeting *Attila*, gave him a total overthrow; which obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country^r (Y). We find no fur-

He returns into Gaul;

where he is defeated by the Visigoths.

ⁿ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672.
569.

^p Vol. xvi. p. 569, 570.

^o Vol. xvi. p. 568,

^q PRISC. p. 40. JORN.

c. 43. p. 674.

^r Idem, p. 674, 675.

(Y) *Jornandes* and *Sigibert* are the only writers who mention this second irruption of the *Huns* into *Gaul*; and *Valesius*, not without reason, questions the truth of what they write (5). Perhaps *Thorismund* made war upon the *Alans*, who, finding themselves attacked by so powerful an enemy, called in a body of *Huns* to their assistance; but

were defeated, together with their allies, by the king of the *Visigoths*; for *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that *Thorismund* subdued the *Alans* (6). As for *Jornandes*, we have shewn, in several places of our history, that he was far from being well acquainted with the affairs of the *Visigoths*.

(5) Val. rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 171. p. 272.

(6) Greg. Tur. rer. Franc. lib. ii. c. 7.

ther mention of *Attila* in the ancient historians till the time of his death, which happened, according to *Idatius*, immediately after he was returned from *Italy*¹. Count *Marcellinus* places it in 454. but *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Victor Tuninensis*, in 453. or 452. *Jornandes* gives us the following account of his death, which he copied from *Priscus*: *Attila*, not satisfied with the many wives he had already, married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named *Ildio*. On the day of the nuptials, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, the king, transported with joy, drank to excess, contrary to his custom; and, being overcome with sleep, retired with his bride, and slept with his face upwards. In that posture, he was seized with an *hæmorrhagia*, or flux of blood, to which he was subject. As the blood had not a free course through the usual passages, it fell into his throat, and stifled him². The next day, his officers, not seeing him appear, began to apprehend, that some misfortune had happened to him. Having therefore long waited for him in vain, they called him with great noise; and, not hearing him stir, nor answer, they at length forced the doors of his apartment, when they found him dead, without any marks of violence, and his bride sitting by him bathed in tears, and covering her face with her veil. At this sight, they cut part of their hair, according to the custom of their nation, and tore their faces, to bewail so great a warrior, not with tears, like women, but, like men, with blood³. To this account *Priscus* adds a very remarkable circumstance, which he will not allow us to call into question; to wit, that the very night *Attila* died, the emperor *Marian* being very uneasy and restless in reflecting on the menaces and great power of that warlike prince, his bow was shewn him broken in many pieces; which was revealing to him the death of an enemy, whom he so much dreaded, and, at the same time, informing him, that the vast empire he had founded in the north would be soon divided, and, as it were, broken in pieces (Z).

¹ IDAT. p. 29.
ibid.

² JORN. c. 49. p. 683, 684.

³ Idem

(Z) Count *Marcellinus* writes, man (7). But *Cassiodorus* (8) that the tyrant of *Europe* underwent the fate of *Holophernes*, being killed, as he was, by a woman (7). and *Theophanes* (9) agree in their account of his death with *Jornandes*.

(7) *Mar., chron.*
p. 92, 93.

(8) *Cassiodor. chron.*

(9) *Theoph. chronograph.*

THUS,

Thus, he was justly punished, says *Jornandes* *, with a dishonourable and ignominious death, for the cruel and unnatural murder of his brother, and the streams of blood, which his unbounded ambition had prompted him to shed. His body was conveyed, with great solemnity, from the place where he died, to the fields, and there laid under a silken tent; which some horsemen, often riding round, sung, in a doleful strain, the noble achievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was succeeded by a joyful one, a great banquet on the deceased prince's tomb, which lasted till the night was far spent, when his body was secretly interred, being inclosed in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron. The latter was to signify, that he had subdued many nations with his sword; and the two former, that he had obliged the *Roman* emperors to share their treasures with him. In the same grave with him were buried the arms, and rich spoils, which he had taken in war from other princes, and great commanders. In the end, all those were put to death, who had been employed about his grave, lest their avarice should, some time or other, prompt them to plunder it *. This is all we find in the antients concerning *Attila* the renowned king of the *Huns* (A).

ATTILA had by his last will, as we read in *Jornandes* †, appointed *Ellac*, his eldest son, to succeed him, and to rule over his other children, as well as over the many nations he had conquered. *Ellac* was, it seems, a man of great boldness, intrepidity, and experience in war, and consequently capable of maintaining, and even extending, the conquests of his father; but as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly insisted upon an equal division of their father's domi-

He is succeeded by *Ellac*.
Year of the flood
2801.
Of Christ
453.
Of Rome
1201.

* *JORN. c. 35. p. 661.*
ibid. p. 686.

† *Idem ibid. p. 684.*

‡ *Idem*

(A) We might have added many things from the chronicles of *Hungary*, from *Cathmachus*, and *Olaus*, who have written the life of that prince, and filled whole books with his exploits; but as their accounts are not vouched by the antients, and their authority is of no weight in itself, we have not thought any thing they relate worthy of notice. With *Attila* ended the empire, which he had, with so

much blood and treasure, founded in the north; for, a civil war being kindled upon his death among his numerous issue, the several nations he had subdued laid hold of that opportunity to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. Thus the *Huns* ceased to be the terror of both empires, and, for several ages, performed nothing which historians have thought worthy of mentioning.

Civil
wars be-
tween him
and his
brothers.

nions, a bloody war was kindled, which involved in the utmost confusion not only the northern provinces, but both *Pannonias*, and the other countries on the *Danube*, where the *Romans* had allowed them to settle. But while they all strove to be sovereigns, they all lost the sovereignty for which they strove; for *Ardaric* king of the *Gepidæ*, hearing that they proposed to divide among them by lot the nations which their father had conquered, and not able to bear, that powerful kings, and warlike people, should be thus treated like the meanest slaves, openly declared, that he would not obey the sons of *Attila*, but rescue himself and his people from the yoke they so shamefully groaned under.

Ellac and
his army
cut off by
the *Gepi-
dæ*.

His example was followed by several other nations that hastened to join him. *Ellac*, leaving for the present his brothers, marched against him, at the head of all his forces. Hereupon a battle ensued on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, in which the *Hunns* were utterly routed, and thirty thousand of them killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, who is said on that occasion to have performed wonders, and to have behaved like a true son of the great *Attila*². The *Hunns* were so disheartened with this overthrow, and the general revolt of the nations they had conquered, that, being pressed by the *Gepidæ*, they retired to the country which they had taken from the *Goths* in 376. towards the *Euxine* sea, and the mouths of the *Danube*; and the *Gepidæ* remained masters of all antient *Dacia*, lying north of that river, which the *Hunns* had possessed ever since their first irruption into *Europe*. The *Gepidæ* begged the friendship of the *Romans*, and a small annual pension to support them; which was readily granted, and continued to be paid even in the time of the emperor *Justinian*³. Several other nations, thus delivered from the yoke of the *Hunns*, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, to settle in the *Roman* territories. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, settled in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mæsia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemendians*, lands were granted in *Illyrium*, near a place called the *Castle of Mars*. To the *Ostrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish* in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at present *Vienna* in *Austria*. Even *Erna*, *Attila*'s youngest son, and with him several *Hunns*, submitted to the *Romans*, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongst the

² JORN. c. 35. p. 686.

³ Idem ibid. & p. 687.

Sarmatians in Illyricum ^b. The other sons of *Attila*, uniting their forces, attempted to drive the *Goths* out of *Pannonia*, and recover that province; but *Valemir* king of the *Goths*, *They are* meeting them with only an handful of men, says *Jornandes*, *utterly* put them to flight, and pursued them with such slaughter, that *routed by* few of them escaped ^c. About eight years after, while the *Goths* were engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dinzio*, one of *Attila's* sons, and stiled by *Jornandes* king of the *Hunns*, having assembled what forces he could, entered the territories of the *Goths*, putting all to fire and sword, and laid siege to *Bassiana*, thought to be the present city of *Pesega*, the metropolis of a country bearing the same name, and lying between the *Save* and the *Draw* ^d. This the *Goths* no sooner understood, than, leaving the *Satagæ*, they marched against the *Hunns*, and drove them out with such slaughter, that they never after offered to molest them ^e.

THE *Hunns*, thus weakened by their intestine wars, and the great losses they had sustained in the two above-mentioned irruptions, continued quiet till the year 466. when, passing the *Danube* in the depth of winter on the ice, they broke into *Dacia*, under the conduct of one *Hormilac*, and committed dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and sword. But *Anthemius*, who was afterwards emperor, marching against *and by the* them with another general, whom our author does not name, *Romans*. gained several advantages over them, and at last defeated them in a pitched battle, during which the other general went over to the enemy; but his men, probably the cavalry (for *Anthemius* was general of the foot), not following him, *Anthemius*, without betraying the least fear or surprize, continued the engagement, and in the end gained a complete victory. However, he suffered the *Hunns* to retire unmolested, upon their putting to death the general who had gone over to them ^f. The *Hunns* were no sooner returned to their own country, than the children of *Attila* sent deputies to *Leo*, then emperor of the East, to propose a peace, and beg he would appoint a market to be held on the *Danube*, to which the *Hunns* might freely resort, and trade with the *Romans*. To this *Leo* would by no means consent; which *Dengizic*, one of the sons of *Attila*, by *Jornandes* ^g called *Dinzio*, and by others *Dinziric* ^h, resented to such a degree, that he was for continuing the war. But his brother *Hernac*, who, as we said above, had been allowed by the emperor *Marcian* to settle in *Lesser Scythia*, and was then

^b JORN. c. 35. p. 688. ^c Idem, c. 52, 53. p. 690. ^d BAUD. p. 106. ^e JORN. p. 691. ^f SID. p. 110. & car. ii. p. 296—298. ^g JORN. c. 55. p. 691. ^h Chron. Alexandr.

engaged in other wars, declared he would by no means enter into this¹.

They break
into Da-
cia.

Year of
the flood
2814.
Of Christ
466.
Of Rome
1214.

Dengizic,
one of At-
tila's sons,
killed.

DENGIZIC, however, persisting in his first resolution, drew together a considerable army, and encamped on the banks of the *Danube*. *Arnagastus*, who, at that time, guarded the banks of that river on the side of *Thrace*, sent immediately an officer to the *Hunns*, to inquire upon what provocation they had taken arms. *Dengizic* answered, That he had taken arms with a design to make war upon *Leo*, unless he granted to him and his men lands and money. To this *Arnagastus* replied, by the emperor's orders, That *Leo* would readily grant both to such as were willing to submit to him, and serve him in his wars. But *Dengizic*, not satisfied with this answer, began hostilities, and continued the war, of which we know no particulars, till he was killed by *Arnagastus*, styled, on that occasion, general of *Thrace*^k. His head was sent to *Constantinople* in 468. or 469. and carried into the city with great pomp, while the people were beholding the sports of the circus, which they left for a sight to them far more agreeable. It was borne through the chief streets of the city on the point of a spear, and left for some days exposed to public view^l.

THE *Hunns*, disheartened with the losses they sustained in this war, and the death of their leaders, continued, it seems, quiet for the space of near sixty years, without molesting either the *Romans*, or their neighbours; for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526. the first of the emperor *Justinian's* reign, when two of their kings, *Styrax* and *Glonex*, stirred up by *Cabades* king of *Persia*, then at war with the *Romans*, broke into the empire at the head of two powerful armies; but *Boarex*, the widow of *Balach* king of the *Sabinite Hunns*, a woman of a warlike genius, and manly temper, espousing the cause of the *Romans* against the *Persians*, led to the assistance of the emperor an army one hundred thousand strong; and, meeting the two kings, gave them battle, cut most of their men in pieces, took *Styrax* himself prisoner, and sent him in chains to *Constantinople*^m (B).

THE same year *Gordas* king of the *Hunns* dwelling near the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, came in person to *Constantinople*, to

Boarex
queen of
the
Hunns
fights for
the Ro-
mans

Year of
the flood
2874.
Of Christ
526.
Of Rome
1274.

¹ PRISC p. 44. JORN p. 688. ^k PRISC. *ibid.* CHRON. ALEX. p. 744. ^l MARC chron. CHRON. ALEX. *ibid.* ^m THEOPH. p. 19. Auctor. miscel. lib. xvi. p. 461.

(B) It is a great pity, that neither *Theopbanes*, nor the author of the *miscellaneous history*, have named this brave *Amaxon*, this warlike heroine, who deserved so well of the empire.

C. XXVIII. The History of the Hunns.

court the friendship of *Justinian*, and conclude an alliance with that prince; which he did accordingly. As he had an opportunity, during his stay at *Constantinople*, of seeing the ceremonies of the Christian religion, he was so taken with them, that he desired to be instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith; and, in the end, with great solemnity, received the sacrament of baptism in the presence of the emperor, who was his sponsor. Upon his departure, *Justinian* loaded him with rich presents, committing to him the defence of the borders of the empire on that side, especially of the city of *Bosporus*. *Gordas*, returning home, ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demolished, throughout his dominions; which enraged the superstitious populace to such a degree, that, revolting from their prince, they seized him, put him to death, and raised his brother, named *Mugaris*, to the throne in his room. *Mugaris* was no sooner proclaimed king, than he marched, with all his forces, against the city of *Bosporus*, and, having surprised it, put all the *Romans* he found there to the sword. The emperor, being acquainted with what had happened, and greatly grieved for the death of his friend and ally, dispatched one *John*, who had been consul, at the head of a numerous army of *Scythians*, to recover the place, and take vengeance of the rebels; but, at his approach, they abandoned the city, and fled with such precipitation, that the *Roman* general could never come up with them ^a (C).

BUT the irruption, which happened in 539. the thirteenth year of the emperor *Justinian's* reign, is attested by *Procopius*. The Hunns, according to that writer, passing the *Danube* that year in great multitudes, laid waste *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* sea to the very suburbs of *Constantinople*; nay, having crossed the *Hellspont*, they extended their ravages to *Asia*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties; and thence crossing again into the *Chersonesus*, they returned home, loaded with an immense booty. In this irruption they took thirty-two castles in *Illyricum*, destroyed *Cassandria*, and carried with them unmolested an hundred and twenty thousand captives ^o. Being thus become anew formidable to the empire, *Justinian*, to keep them quiet, allowed

^a THEOPH. p. 269. Miscell. ibid. p. 407. Perf. l. 4.

^o PROCOF. bell.

(C) We should more readily give credit to these remarkable events, were they vouched either by *Procopius* or *Agathias*; but

the silence of these two writers makes us question the truth of what others relate.

them in
Thrace.

them some lands in *Thrace*, and agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies. These were the *Cuturgurian Huns*. As for the *Uturgurians*, who had joined them in this irruption, they retired, with their booty, to their own country bordering on the *Euxine* sea; but, finding that too narrow for them, they drove out the *Goths*, by *Procopius* called *Detraxita*, who had settled in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and possessed themselves of their country. As they were at a great distance from the empire, they turned their arms against their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, endeavouring to enlarge their bounds on that side, without giving any further molestation to the *Romans*. But the *Cuturgurians*, notwithstanding the pension paid them yearly by the emperor, made several inroads into the neighbouring provinces, behaving like declared enemies, says *Procopius*, while they pretended to be friends and allies. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the *Uturgurians*, complaining to them of their countrymen, and offering to pay to them the pension which he allowed the *Cuturgurians*, provided they put a stop to the ravages of the latter, and engaged to make war upon them as often as they broke into the empire. The *Uturgurians*, encouraged with this offer, passing the *Tanais*, beyond which many of them dwelt, hastened with long marches into the *Roman* territories, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Cuturgurians* while busied in plundering the provinces lying on the *Danube*, defeated them with great slaughter, obliged them to quit their booty, and drove them quite out of the empire.

Justinian
stirs up the
*Uturgu-
rian a-
gainst the
Cuturgu-
rian
Huns.*

The *Cu-
turgurian
Huns* break a-
new into
Thrace,
but are put
to flight by
*Belisa-
rius*;

Year of
558.
1306.

HOWEVER, a few years after, that is, in 558. the *Cuturgurian Huns*, taking advantage of the frost, passed the *Danube*, and, after having laid waste great part of *Mysia* and *Thrace*, divided their numerous forces into two bodies, one of them taking their route towards *Greece*, and the other marching for the *Thracian Chersonesus*. The latter, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named *Zamerga*, having passed the long wall, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of *Constantinople*, and laid waste the whole country round it. But *Belisarius*, tho' weakened with old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with an handful of men, fell upon them unawares, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city of *Rome* from the dangers that threatened them; but that brave commander being disgraced upon his return to *Constantinople*, as

we have related elsewhere †, the barbarians, who were hastening back to their own country, no sooner heard, that he was no more to be employed against them, than they returned before the royal city, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. But one *Germanus*, a youth of great expectation, putting himself at the head of the imperial troops, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The victory had proved complete, had not young *Germanus*, by exposing his person more than a prudent general would have done, received a dangerous wound, which prevented him from pursuing the fugitives. Soon after, that party, which had taken their route towards *Greece*, finding the streights of *Thermopylae* guarded by the natives, returned to *Thrace*, and there joined *Zamerga*, who, being thus reinforced, threatened to renew his ravages, and to put to death all the prisoners he had taken, unless a sufficient sum was sent forthwith to redeem them. *Justinian*, not caring to provoke the barbarians, and, at the same time, pitying the condition of the unhappy captives, sent a considerable sum to *Zamerga*; who no sooner received it, than he set the prisoners at liberty, and, putting a stop to all hostilities and depredations, returned beyond the *Danube*.

In the mean time the emperor privately dispatched ambassadors to *Sandilichus*, king of the *Uturgurian Huns*, to whom he paid an annual pension, acquainting him with the late inroads of the *Cuturgurians*, to whom, he said, he had paid the sum that was due to him, and was resolved to do so for the future, unless he shewed himself, by a speedy revenge, worthy of his friendship. Upon this message, *Sandilichus*, highly incensed against the *Cuturgurians*, broke into their territories at the head of a powerful army, and, falling upon *Zamerga* as he was returning from *Thrace*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged him to quit the rich booty with which his army was loaded. This gave rise to a bloody war between the two nations, which lasted many years, says *Agathias* †, from whom we have borrowed this whole account, and ended at last in the ruin of both; for, being greatly weakened by their civil wars, they became a prey, says that writer, to other nations, insomuch that they lost their very name, and were blended with the nations they served. But the utter destruction of that people, continues our historian, happened afterwards, as shall be related by us, according to the order of time. With these words he closes the fifth book of his history, the last of

and by
Germanus.

The emperor stirs up the Uturgurian Huns against them.

† Vol. xvi. p. 626.

† AGATH. lib. v. p. 155.

Year of
the flood
2908.
Of Christ
560.
Of Rome
1308.

They are
defeated by
Sigebert
king of the
Franks.

The
Hunns
masters of
Dacia,
Moesia,
and both
Pannonias

those that have reached us; so that, for a further account of the affairs of the Hunns, we must have recourse to more modern writers. Among these, *Venantius Fortunatus* tells us, that in 560. a great body of Hunns, probably driven out of their own country by the neighbouring nations, took their route through Germany, with a design to pass the Rhine, as Attila had formerly done, and settle in Gaul. In that country then returned the four sons of Clotharius, to wit, Cherebert at Paris; Childeric at Soissons; Guntram at Orleans; and Sigebert at Metz. The latter was no sooner informed of the motion of the Hunns, than, passing the Rhine at the head of a powerful army, he resolved to meet them in Thuringia, which then belonged to him, and there give them battle. Accordingly the two armies met, and engaged on the banks of the Elbe with incredible fury. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end Sigebert, who was a warlike prince, gained a complete victory over the barbarians, of whom he killed many thousands, and obliged the rest to return through by-ways into Pannonia.

No further mention is made of the Hunns by any credible historian, till the reign of Charles the Great, in whose time they were masters of Dacia, now Transylvania and Valachia; of Upper Mæsia, now Servia; and of the two Pannonias, to wit, the Upper, containing the present provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and the greater part of Austria, and the Lower, comprising Bosnia, Slavonia, and that part of Hungary that lies beyond the Danube. In the year 776. while Charles was in Saxony, two princes of the Hunns, Gaganus and Jugunus, sent embassadors to him, desiring his friendship and alliance. Charles received them with extraordinary marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. However, they entered, not long after, into an alliance with Tassilo duke of Bavaria, who, revolting from Charles, raised great disturbances in Germany. This Charles wisely dissembled, till he had utterly reduced Bavaria, when a misunderstanding arising between him and them about the borders of their respective territories, he resolved to lay hold of that opportunity to be revenged on them for their sending underhand succours to Tassilo. Accordingly he ordered levies to be made throughout his dominions, and, having, by that means, assembled a very numerous army, he divided it into two bodies, whereof one he committed to the conduct of count Theodoric, and Magni, his chamberlain, with orders to break into Dacia, while he himself, with the other, entered Pannonia by the way of Bavaria. The two armies laid waste the territories of the

Huns far and near, burnt their villages, and took several of their strong-holds, to which they had fled, not being able to keep the field against so powerful an enemy. Thus he continued ravaging the country, putting all to fire and sword, for the space of eight years, till that warlike nation was intirely subdued, and almost utterly extirpated. In one of these expeditions, *Henry* duke of *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, took the royal palace of the *Hunns*, called *Rhing*, in which he found an immense booty, great part whereof was, by *Charles's* orders, sent to *Rome*, as a present to that see, or, as they term it, to *St. Peter*. The intire reduction of the *Hunns* happened, according to the best chronologers, in the year of the Christian æra 794.

They are intirely reduced by Charles the Great. Year of the flood 3142. Of Christ 794. Of Rome 1542.

SOME authors write, that, by this long war, the whole race of the antient *Hunns* was cut off; and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the present *Hungarians* owe their origin (D). And this is all we

† *AIMONIUS*, lib. iv. c. 86.

(D) Of this opinion was the celebrated *Aeneas Sylvius*, raised afterwards to the see of *Rome*. But the *Hungarian* writers maintain their nation to be descended from the antient *Hunns*, who, they say, were subdued, but not utterly extirpated, by the *Franks*. To confirm this, *Bonfinius* tells us, that, in his time, a nation was, by some merchants, discovered on the banks of the *Tanais*, speaking the same language with that of the present *Hungarians*; and that *Matthias*, then king of *Hungary*, being assured by persons of credit, whom he himself had sent into those parts, that the report of the merchants was true, dispatched ambassadors to the chiefs of that nation, intreating them to send a numerous colony into *Hungary*, at that time but thinly inhabited, by reason of the long war, in which great numbers of the natives had perished. The prince's request, says our author, has not yet been, but will be, we hope, one time or other, complied with (1). Others write, that, upon the death of *Attila*, the *Hunns* were quite driven out of *Pannonia*, and never returned till the year 744. when, under the conduct of one *Hungar*, a word signifying in their language *courageous* or *valiant*, they entered *Pannonia* anew, and settled in the antient seats of their forefathers, after having driven out those, who, coming from the neighbouring countries, had seized them, and held them for some ages. From *Hungar* they were called *Hungarians*, and the country no longer *Pannonia*, but *Hungary*. Thus *Ranzanus* (2); but what he writes evidently contradicts all the antient historians, who, as

(1) *Bonfin. ver. Ungar. dec. i. lib. iii. p. 39.*

(2) *P. Ranzan. c. 6. p. 218.*

we have been able to gather from the antients concerning the origin, migrations, government, manners, and wars, of the *Huns*. As for the modern writers of the history of *Hungary*, their accounts of those antient times are, for the most part, evidently fabulous, quite groundless, or altogether improbable. We have therefore all along confined ourselves to the antient and original writers, who lived in or near the times in which the things they relate were transacted, not thinking any thing related by the moderns, and not vouched by them, worthy of a place in our history.

we have seen in the course of this history, speak frequently of the irruptions of the *Huns*, of their passing the *Danube*, and laying waste the *Roman* provinces, long after the death of *Attila* and his children. Besides, the inhabitants of *Pannonia* are, by the writers of those times, constantly stiled *Huns*, and no mention is

made of any other nation dwelling in that country. As for the name of *Hungari*, most writers will have it to be compounded of *Hunni* and *Avars*, two names of one and the same nation (3). But, on this subject, nothing can be offered, but what is founded on mere conjecture.

(3) *Vide Vals. rer. F. anc. lib. ix. p. 153.*

S E C T. II.

The ancient State and History of the Goths, till the Settling of the Visigoths in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy.

THE Goths, a warlike nation, and, above all others, famous in the Roman history, came originally, according to *Jornandes*^a, out of *Scandinavia*, a country rightly stiled *country of* by him *officina ventium*, and *vagina nationum*, on account of the Goths. the incredible multitudes of people, that, issuing from thence in swarms, over-ran and stocked with inhabitants other as well distant as neighbouring countries. *Scandinavia*, comprising the present *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finnmark*, was, by the antients, thought to be an island^b; but is now well known to be a peninsula. It is by *Pliny* called *Scandinavia*^c, or, as *Vossius*^d, and after him *Gronovius*, will have it, *Scandinavia*; by *Xenophon Lampiscenus*, *Baltia*^e; by *Timeus*, *Basilea*; and by *Pytheas*, sometimes *Basilea*, and sometimes *Abalus*^f. The writers of the middle ages stile it *Scanza*, *Scanzia*, *Scantia*, and *Scandia*; which names, as well as that of *Scandinavia*, some derive from the German or Gothic word *Scanzen*, signifying *castles*; for the first inhabitants, say they, turned the high and steep rocks, with which the country abounds, into castles; and hence came the word *Scandinavia*, that is, *a country filled with castles* g. Others will have the names *Scandinavia*, *Scanzia*, &c. to come from the word *Seekanten*, importing the *sea-coast* or *shore*^h. As for the Greek word *Baltia*, it signifies *a breaking in of the sea*. What we call the *Baltic*, was known to *Tacitus* by the name of the *Suevian* sea; and to *Mela* and *Pliny* by that of the *Codan* gulf. The bay into which the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, empties itself, is called by *Ptolemy* the *Venedic* bay, no doubt from the neighbouring *Venedi*, the antient inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Poland*. In antient times the *Vistula* was the boundary on the east between *Germany* and *Sarmatia*.

In *Scandinavia* *Tacitus* places two different nations, the *Nations Suiones*, and the *Sittones*, of whom the former inhabited the present *Sweden*, and the latter *Norway*; for they were sepa there by

^a JORN. rer. Get. p. 83. ^b PLIN. lib. iv. c. 13. ^c Idem ibid. ^d Voss. in c. 3. lib. vi. POMF. MFL. ^e PLIN. ibid. ^f Idem, lib. xxvii. c. 11. ^g GROT. in præfat. ad script. Goth. p. 13, & seq. ^h PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. lib. i. c. 4 p. 34.

Tacitus
and Pto-
lemy.

Scandina-
via first
peopled by
the Goths,
and like-
wise the
islands in
the Baltic,
&c.

rated, according to *Tacitus*, by mount *Scen*, now *Stagen*, which mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, parts *Norway* from *Sweden*. The *Suiones* were divided, according to *Ptolemy*, into the following tribes, to wit, the *Chedini*, *Phatomi*, *Phirasi*, *Dauciones*, *Hilleuiones*, *Scritofnain* or *Scritobani*, mentioned also by *Procopius* ¹, and the *Gutæ*. But these were either *Gothic* nations, or had settled in the country after the *Goths* were masters of it, it being certain, that, long before *Tacitus*'s time, *Scandinavia* was inhabited by the *Goths*, tho' not yet known to the *Romans* by that name; say, the learned *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, and most of the northern writers, maintain with arguments which have not yet been confuted, that the *Cimbrians*, *Getes*, and *Goths*, were one and the same nation; that *Scandinavia* was first peopled by them; and that from thence they sent colonies into the islands in the *Baltic*, the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, yet destitute of inhabitants. The islands were called by them with one common name *Wetallabedh*, signifying, in the *Gothic* language, land surrounded on all sides with water; but the *Romans*, after they became acquainted with the *Goths* under the name of *Cimbrians*, called them the *Cimbrian* islands; which appellation they gave likewise to the *Chersonesus*, now *Futland* ². The time when the *Goths* first settled in *Scandinavia*, and the time when they first peopled with their colonies the islands, the *Chersonesus*, and the neighbouring places, are equally uncertain, though the *Gothic* annals suppose the latter to have happened under the conduct of king *Eric*, whom they make cotemporary with *Saruch*, the great grandfather of *Abraham*. But it is not at all probable, as *Sheringham* well observes, that *Scandinavia*, a country of no small extent, should, in the time of *Saruch*, who died soon after the confusion of languages, abound with people, so as to send colonies into other countries ¹. Of this migration of the *Getes* or *Goths* from *Scandinavia* into the above-mentioned places, under the conduct of king *Eric*, mention is made in all the ancient *Gothic* chronicles, and it is moreover vouched by the *Danish*, as well as the *Swedish* writers, who agree all in this, tho' they disagree, as it generally happens between neighbouring and rival nations, in most other points. The *Danes* ingenuously confess (and confess it they must, unless they give the lie to their own chronicles), that their country was first peopled by the *Goths* of *Scandinavia*; that to them they owe their ori-

¹ PROCOPIUS rer. Goth. lib. xi. c. 15. ² Vide GROTIUS proleg. in hist. Goth. & SHERINGHAM de Ang. gent. orig. c. 7. p. 143.
¹ Idem ibid. p. 146, 147.

gus, and that *Dan*, the son of *Humulus*, king of the *Goths*, from whom their country was called *Dania*, and they *Dani*, was the founder of their kingdom ^m. This is agreeable to what we read in *Jornandes* and *Freculphus*, who tell us, that the *Danes* were the descendents of the *Ostrogoths* dwelling in *Scanzia* ⁿ. The peopling of the islands in the *Baltic* sea, of the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places on the continent, is called, by the northern writers, the first migration of the *Goths* or *Get* ^s.

THE second migration is related by *Jornandes*, and supposed to have happened several ages after the first, when the above-mentioned countries being overstocked with people, *Berig*, at that time king of the *Goths*, went out with a fleet in quest of new settlements; and, landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the antient inhabitants, and divided their lands among his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, whose country bordered on that of the *Ulmerugians*, overcame them, but instead of forcing them, as he had done the *Ulmerugians*, from their antient seats, he only obliged them, probably because they were of *Gothic* extraction, to share their possessions with the new-comers ^o. *They send a colony into Germany:*

THE *Goths* who had settled in *Pomerania*, and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, being greatly increased, insomuch that the country could no longer maintain them, they went out in great numbers under *Filimer*, surnamed *the Great*, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*; and, taking their route eastward, entered *Soythia*, advanced to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and, driving out the *Cimmerians*, settled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake. Thence, in process of time, they sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, and lastly, into the counties bordering on the *Euxine* sea, forcing every-where the antient inhabitants to abandon their native seats. Thus *Jornandes* ^p, and *Ablavius*, a celebrated writer among the *Goths*, who flourished long before him. In the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake, they had *Filimer* for their king, a warlike prince; in *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and *Dacia*, *Xamolxis*, a great philosopher; and in the countries on the *Euxine* sea, princes of the illustrious families of the *Balthi* and the *Amali*, the *Visigoths* being subject to the former, and the *Ostrogoths* to the latter ^q. In all these countries they were one and the same people, though subject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus, in *Cimmeria*, *Sarmatia*, *Scythia*, *and into Scythia, Thrace, Mæsia, &c.*

^m Vide *SHERINGH* *ibid.* p. 145, 146.

ⁿ *ib.* ii. c. 26.

^o *JORN.* *rer. Get.* lib. iv.

^p *FRECULPH.* tom.

^q *Idem* *ibid.*

^r 4, & 5.

^s *Idem* *ibid.*

they

they were called *Cimmerians*, *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*, in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, and *Mæsians*; and in the neighbourhood of the *Ister* and the *Pontus*, *Istrians* and *Pontius*.

Ostro
goths and
Visigoths.

As for the appellations of *Westgoths*, softened by the *Latins* into that of *Visigoths*, and *Ostrogoths*, they were distinguished by these names, as *Grotius* shews from *Jornandes*, before they left *Scandinavia*, being called *Westgoths* and *Ostrogoths*, or *Western* and *Eastern Goths*, from their situation there to the east and west, the former inhabiting that part of *Scandinavia* which borders on *Denmark*, and the latter the more eastern parts, lying on the *Baltic* ^r. What *Jornandes* writes of the various migrations and settlements of the *Goths*, is intirely agreeable to what we read in the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors concerning the various migrations and settlements of

The Goths
and Getes
one and the
same na-
tion.

the *Getes* ^s. And truly that the *Goths* and *Getes* were one and the same people, is supposed by all the writers who flourished in or near the times in which both empires were over-run by them. These authors, without all doubt well acquainted with their origin, call them sometimes *Goths*, sometimes *Getes*, and sometimes *Scythians*; nay, several writers, namely *Orosius* ^t, who flourished in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when the *Goths* broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, *St. Jerom* ^u, *St. Austin* ^w, *Synefius* ^x, *Photius* ^y, *Capitolinus* ^z, *Vopiscus* ^a, *Spartian* ^b, tell us in express terms, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same nation; and that they had been long known to the *Romans*, and likewise to the *Greeks*, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their breaking into the empire (A).

THE

^r GROT. in proleg. &c. ^s Vide SHERINGH. c. 8. p. 156, 157. ^t OROS. lib vii c. 4. p. 29. ^u HIER. de fide, lib. ii. c. 4. & tradit. Hebr. in Gen. ^w AUG. de civit. Dei, lib. xx. c. 10. ^x SYNFS. orat. de regno. ^y PHOT. in epit. Philostor. ^z CAPITOL. in Maximo. ^a VOPISC. in Prob. ^b SPART. in Carac.

(A) That this opinion was not, as some modern authors have been pleased to call it, a vulgar error, may be plainly proved; for, in the first place, it is evident from all the antients, that the *Getes* inhabited that part of *Scythia*, which is by *Ptolemy* called *Asiatic Sarmatia*, and comprises the *Taurica Cheronesus*, with the countries lying between the *Tanais*, the *Mæotic* lake, and the *Euxine* sea. On the other hand, it is no less evident from all the writers who speak of the *Goths*, that, from those very countries, they broke into the empire, Since therefore the

The *Goths*, being in process of time greatly increased in *Scythia*, resolved to seek new settlements; and accordingly, taking

the *Goths* dwelt in the countries where all the antients place the *Gotes*, we cannot help concluding from thence, that they were one and the same people, tho' known by different names. *Ptolemy*, who lived in the time of the emperor *Antoninus*, mentions no *Goths* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, or *Pannonia*; and nevertheless, scarce was half a century passed, when the *Goths*, coming in swarms from those very countries, over-ran great part of the empire. These *Goths* therefore, if we will not allow them to have dropt all on a sudden from the clouds, must have been the very people who are by *Ptolemy* called *Getes*, *Pontici*, *Istrians*, *Trapezites*, *Gelonians*, and *Sauromatæ*, and were soon after known to the *Romans* by the common name of *Goths*. Were all those nations utterly destroyed, and their seats seized, by the *Goths*? Of this general slaughter no mention is made by any historian, and we cannot persuade ourselves, that, if it happened, the writers of those times, who speak of the *Goths*, would have passed over in silence such a memorable event. *Cluverius*, who will have the *Getes* and *Goths* to be two different nations, believes, or at least would make us believe, that they dwelt together in the same countries. But is it at all probable, that two nations, obeying different princes, should live peaceably together in the same coun-

try, in the same cities, and within the same walls? How came the *Gotes* to be so early known to the *Romans*, and the *Goths*, living among them, utterly unknown till their breaking into the empire? It seems to us a paradox, that the *Romans*, who were constantly at war with those nations, and had both colonies and garrisons among them, should be well acquainted with the *Getes*, and utterly unacquainted with the *Goths*, a warlike and numerous nation, inhabiting the same countries. Besides, *Mela* tells us in express terms, that *Thrace*, the banks of the *Tanais*, *Sarmatia*, and the countries lying east of the *Mæotic* lake, were inhabited by one and the same people, tho' known by different names (1); and *Strabo*, that the *Istrians*, *Dacians*, *Mæsians*, and *Thracians*, spoke the same language, and consequently were the same people (2). To these we may add *Procopius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, of whom the former writes, that there were several nations of the *Goths*, some being called by the antients *Sauromatæ*, others *Melancleni*, and some *Getes*, but that these nations differed only in name (3); and the latter, speaking of the *Goths*, says, that they inhabited *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and *Dacia*, and were sprung from the fierce nations that dwelt before in those countries, that is, from the *Getes* (4). That the *Getes* and *Goths* were

(1) *Mel. de sit. orb. lib. ii. c. 2.*

(2) *Strab. lib. i. c. 20.*

(3) *Procop.*

Vandal lib. 1.

(4) *Ammian. lib. xxvii.*

The migration of the Goths taking their route eastward, and traveling through several countries, they returned at length into Germany. Their leader, in this migration, was the celebrated Woden, called also Vunder Woden, Oden, Othen, Godan, and Guadan. Of this Woden many strange and wonderful things are related in the *Sueo-Gothic* chronicles. He was king of the *Asgardians*, whom the northern writers will have to be the same people with the *Aspurgians*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. They were called *Aspurgians* from the city of *Aspurgia*, placed by *Strabo* near the *Bosporus Cimmerius*; and in the same place stood, according to the northern writers, the city of *Asgardia*: and truly that these were but two different names of one and the same city, is highly probable, the word *gard* signifying, in the

* STRAB. lib. xi.

one people, and not two different nations living in the same country, as *Cluverius* would have it, may be further confirmed by the great conformity of their laws, manners, and institutions; for, if we compare the accounts which the antients give us of the manners of the *Getes*, we shall find them intirely agreeable to those of the more modern writers describing the customs and manners of the *Goths* (5). Their language was likewise the same, the *Gothic* being spoken by the *Getes* and *Massagetes* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Pontus*, &c. as *Grotius* (6), and after him *Sheringham* (7), have shewn; nay, *Busbequius* assures us, that, in his time, the *Gothic* language was still spoken, though with some variation in the dialect, by the *Tartars* of *Precep* (8); and *Josaphat Barbarus*, a nobleman of *Venice*, who lived among them, that they not only speak the antient *Gothic*

language, but call themselves *Goths*, and their country *Gothia* (9). *Scaliger* adds, that the Christian *Tartars* of *Precep* still have the Scripture written with the same characters that were invented by *Wulphilas* the first bishop of the *Goths*; and that they read it in the very language they spoke in the time of *Ovid* (1). This is agreeable to what we read in *Lucian* and *Procopius*, of whom the former tells us, that the language of the *Alans*, who were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation, was common to all the *Scythians*; and the latter, that the *Sauromatae* and the *Melanclæni*, by most writers called *Getes*, were *Gothic* nations, and spoke the language of the *Goths* (2). Of the antient language of the *Getes* only the names of a few kings have reached us, and these *Boxhornius* shews to be all *Gothic* (3).

(5) *Vide Sheringb. c. 10. p. 197.*

(6) *Grot. in præfat. ad Procop. c. 11. p. 198.*

(7) *Busbeg. epist. 9. p. 244, 245.*

(8) *Grot. in præfat. ad Procop.*

(9) *Scalig. isagog. lib. iii. p. 138.*

(1) *Scalig. isagog. lib. iii. p. 138.*

(2) *Procop. bist. Pand. lib. i.*

(3) *Boxborn. bist. univers. ad ann. 201.*

Gothic language, the same thing as *purges* in the *Greek*, to wit, a *fortress* or *castle*. *Aspurgia* was the metropolis of a province which *Strabo* calls *Asia*; and *Woden*, and his followers, are stiled by the antient Gothic writers *Asæ*, *Asiani*, and *Asiotæ*. The kings of *Aspurgia* were masters of all that part of *Scythia* that lay west of mount *Imaus*, and was by the *Latins* called *Scythia intra Imaum*, or *Scythia within mount Imaus*. In this large tract of ground are placed by *Ptolemy* three different nations, the *Aufones*, the *Syebi*, and the *Iotæ*; but they are all blended by *Strabo* under the common name of *Aspurgians*.

Of this *Aspurgia* or *Asgardia*, *Woden* was king, who, *Woden* committing the government of the kingdom to his two bro- king of
thers, *Ve* and *Velir*, went out, with incredible multitudes of *Asgardia*.
his people, in quest of new settlements, foreseeing by his mag-
ic, say some antient chronicles, in which art he excelled all
men, that he and his posterity should reign for many ages in
the northern parts of the world. He first entered *Riisland*; He reduces
and having, with great success and expedition, obliged the in- Roxala-
habitants to submit, he appointed his son *Bo* to reign over nia,
them. *Riisland*, called by the *Latins* *Roxalania* and *Russia*,
extended from the mouth of the *Vistula* to the *Palus Mæotis*,
the banks of the *Tanais*, and the *Riphæan* mountains, and
comprised *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and great part of *Muscovy*. From
Riisland he went by sea into the north parts of *Germany*, and,
landing in *Saxony*, he reduced that country, and divided it Saxony,
amongst his children, appointing *Vegdegg* king of *East-Saxony*,
Begdegg of *Westphalia*, and *Sigg* of *Franconia*. *Johannes*
Martinus, *Wittekindus*, *Cranzius*, and all the *Saxon* writers,
assure us, that, time out of mind, a tradition has universally
obtained among the *Saxons*, that their ancestors came first by
sea into those countries. From *Saxony*, *Woden* passed into
Reidogothland, now *Jutland*, which he likewise subdued, and and Jut-
gave to his son *Skiold*, from whom descended the kings of Den- land.
mark, thence called *Skioldungar*, that is, the posterity of *Skiold*.
Leaving *Jutland*, after he had settled his son there, he advanced
into *Swithiod*, now *Sweden*, where he was kindly received by
Gylfus or *Gylvo*, king of the country, and, being allowed to Settles in
settle there, with his followers, he built the city of *Sigtunum*, Sweden.
where he reigned to his death, and became so famous, that his
name reached all countries, and he was, by the northern na-
tions, ranked among the gods, and worshiped with divine
honours. He is supposed to have brought with him out of
Asia the *Runic* characters, and to have taught the northern na-
tions the art of poetry; whence he is stiled the father of the
Scaldi or *Scaldri*, who were their poets, and described in verse

the exploits of the great men of their nation, as the bards did those of the *Gauls* and *Britons* (B).

THAT the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Woden*, came out of *Scythia* into the north parts of *Germany*, is a received opinion among the northern writers, and confirmed by an immemorial tradition, by all the antient chronicles of those countries, and by a great many monuments and inscriptions in *Runic* characters, some of which are still to be seen in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the neighbouring islands: and truly that there were such migrations, can hardly be questioned, since we find the same names common to the inhabitants of *Scandia*, and *Asiatic Scythia*, and likewise the same language, as *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, have shewn^d; nay, the antient language of the *Goths* is spoken at this very day by the *Tartars* of *Præcop*, as we have observed above: so that, upon the whole, we may conclude the *Scandian Goths* and the *Asiatic Stythians* to have had one and the same original. As to *Woden*, there was, without all doubt, a famous hero of this name, who became wonderfully revered by all the northern nations; but we will

Woden.

^d SHERINGH ubi supra, c. 11. p. 198.

(B) They were called *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, according to *Loccenius* (4), from the sound *skal*, often heard in their verses and poems. The dialect in which they wrote was called *Asamal*, that is, the *Asiatic* dialect, because brought by *Woden* out of *Asia*. As for the *Runic* letters, the *Goths* used them in all their spells and incantments, to which they were greatly addicted; whence, after embracing the Christian religion, out of a blind and indiscreet zeal, they destroyed several antient monuments, and burnt a great number of books, because written with those characters. At length, in the year 1001. the *Runic* characters were quite laid aside in *Sweden*, and the *Roman* letters taken in

their room, the *Swedes* being persuaded thereunto by the pope, and by *Sigfrid*, a *British* bishop (5). In *Spain* they were forbidden in 1136. by *Alphonso* king of *Castile* and *Navar*, and condemned by the council of *Toledo* in 1115 (6). They were called *Runic* letters, according to some, from the *Gothic* word *Ryn* or *Ren*, signifying a furrow; according to others, from *Ryne*, signifying art, especially that of magic (7). One *Fimbul*, *Fimbultyr*, or *Fimbu'bular*, is supposed to have invented these characters (8). *Wulfphilas*, the first bishop of the *Goths*, invented other characters, which he made use of in translating the Scripture into the *Gothic* tongue.

(4) *Loccen. antiq. Sueogoth.* c. 15.

lit. Run. c. 28.

ringb. c. 13. p. 286. & c. 3. p. 172.

(5) *Idem ibid.* c. 14.

(7) *Idem ibid.* c. 1.

(8) *Worm. ibid.* c. 20, & *Sheringham*.

(6) *Worming*

(8) *Worm. ibid.* c. 20, & *Sheringham*.

not take upon us to vouch the strange things that are related of him in the *Suegothic* and *Sacogothic* chronicles. Some writers suppose the migration of the *Scythian Goths* into the north parts of *Germany*, under the conduct of *Woden*, to have happened about twenty-four years before the birth of Christ; for at that time, say they, *Pompey* laid waste *Syria*, and great part of *Asia*; and it is not improbable, that the *Scythians*, flying from him, went out in quest of new settlements. But *Skjold*, who was by his father *Woden* appointed king of *Reidogothland*, or *Jutland*, as we have related above, lived, according to the *Danish* chronology, about a thousand years before *Pompey*; so that, according to this account, *Woden* must have been more antient than *Homer* (C).

THE descendents of the *Scythians*, or *Asiatic Goths*, who, under the conduct of *Woden*, settled in the north parts of *Germany*, were first known to the *Romans* by the name of *Cimbrians*, derived, according to the opinion, which seems to us from the best grounded, from the *Gothic* word *Kimber*, signifying *Asiatic valiant*. The *Cimbrians* held antiently the islands in the *Baltic* sea, the *Chersonesus*, and the neighbouring countries, and by degrees extended their conquests along the *German* ocean to both the mouths of the *Rhine*. The inland countries in that tract were likewise inhabited by them; but, in the different countries where they dwelt, they were distinguished by different names, some of them being called *Saxons*, others *Suevians*, some *Angles*, *Silambrians*, *Jutes*, &c. but, by the *Romans*, they were all blended under the common name of *Cimbrians*, till the *Saxons*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the north part of the *Chersonesus*, became known to them by their conquests; and then the name of *Cimbrians* was quite laid aside, and that of *Saxons* used by the *Latin* writers in its room, which they gave likewise to the nations the *Saxons* had subdued, calling *Saxony* that part of *Germany* which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Saxons*.

(C) On the other hand, how can this be reconciled with the genealogies of our *Saxon* kings, the founders of the heptarchy, who all derived their pedigree from *Woden*? *Hengist*, the first that came into *Britain*, did not arrive in this island till the year 449. of the Christian æra; and nevertheless he is said to have been the *abnepos* or great-grand-child of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the founder of the kingdom of the

West-Saxons, the tenth by descent from him. To reconcile these seeming contradictions, some authors are of opinion, and their opinion does not at all seem to us improbable, that several persons or great men bore the name of *Woden*, and what was done by all, was ascribed to one, in the same manner as it happened among the *Greeks*, with respect to *Hercules*.

Elbe, and had been reduced by them. Thus far of the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the neighbouring islands and continent, thence into *Germany*, from *Germany* into *Asia*, and from *Asia* back again into *Germany* (D).

As

(D) These migrations the northern writers endeavour to make out against *Verflegan* and *Cluverius*, who will have *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, not to have been inhabited, till *Germany* so abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove into those countries which they had not chosen to settle in at first, on account of the greater cold, and barrenness of the soil. To confute this opinion, which derives the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, the above-mentioned writers, especially *Grotius*, who outlines all the rest, prove *Scythia* to have been peopled before any other of the northern countries had inhabitants. The ancients indeed went farther; for they supposed, as appears from the epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius* (9), that all the other parts of the world continued quite destitute of inhabitants, till *Scythia*, no longer able to support such multitudes, sent out numerous colonies to people them. To maintain this, would perhaps be overshooting the mark; but that *Scythia* was peopled before any of the northern countries, is highly probable, since, of all the northern countries, it lay the nearest to *Babylon*, and the only way to them by land was thro' *Scythia*. Several eminent writers, and among the rest *Luther*, *Grotius*, *Beccanus*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, are of opinion, that the

ark, on the subsiding of the waters, rested on the *Imaan* mountains in *Scythia*, others say on the *Gordian* mountain, at a small distance from *Scythia*, and consequently that *Scythia* must have been peopled when the other northern countries still continued uninhabited. Now, as the way was much shorter from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*, than into *Germany*, and lay in a direct line, it is more natural to suppose, that those who were seeking places to settle in, went strait into *Scandinavia*, than by much longer and round-about ways through *Sarmatia* into *Germany*; nay, as *Sarmatia* and *Scandinavia* were near *Scythia*, and the ways leading to them not obstructed, it would not be absurd to suppose them to have been overstocked with people, while not only *Germany*, but all the other countries of *Europe*, were quite destitute of inhabitants, as being separated from *Asia* by the *Mediterranean* sea, the *Bosphorus Cimmericus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, unsurmountable obstructions, till the art of navigation was found out, which happened many ages after the confusion of languages. Then, and not till then, the inhabitants of *Scandinavia* passed into the neighbouring islands and places lying over-against them on the continent, till that period uninhabited. From thence, in process of time, they sent colonies

(9) *Joslin*, lib. ii.

As for the manners of the *Goths*, they were famous for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, even before they embraced
The cas-
toms, laws
the and man-

into Germany, who, driving out the antient inhabitants, settled in their country, as we have related above. To prove the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the islands in the *Baltic* sea, the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places⁽¹⁾ in Germany, several antient monuments and inscriptions in *Runic* characters on stones and rocks, are alleged by the northern writers, namely by *Zeilerus* (1), *Bureus* (2), *Suaningius* (3), and *Wormius* (4), in whose times many of them were still extant, mentioning their leaving *Scandinavia*, and their settling in the places we have spoken of above, with the names of some of their leaders. Besides these antient monuments and inscriptions, the northern writers endeavour to make it appear by other arguments, that the *Goths* came originally out of *Scandinavia* into Germany, and not out of Germany into *Scandinavia*, as *Verstegan* would have it. Their arguments are, 1. That the *Scandian Goths* were not subject to the *Germans*; but, on the contrary, the first inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, to the *Scandian Goths*; which proves them to have been a colony. 2. It is hardly credible, say they, that the *Germans* should choose to settle in *Norway* and *Sweden*, when they might have settled in a far more friend-

ly climate, and fruitful soil, by only crossing the *Rhine* on one side, or the *Danube* on the other. They add, that no mention is made in history of any colonies sent out of Germany into *Scandinavia*; whereas we read of many coming out of *Scandinavia* to settle in Germany. Among these are reckoned by *Freculphus* (5) the *Franks*, by *Grotius* the *Vandals* and *Lombards* (6), and by *Laxius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* (7) the *Marcomans*. 3. Polygamy was not allowed among the *Germans*, as appears from *Tacitus* (8); whereas those among the *Goths*, who had but four or five wives, were thought to live in a state of celibacy. It is therefore far more probable, that the *Goths* should increase so as to people other countries with their colonies, than the *Germans*; and accordingly all the antients speak of the *Goths* issuing in swarms out of *Scandinavia*; which is therefore styled by *Jornandes*, as we have observed above, *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*. We may further add, that all the other *Gothic* nations owned themselves descended from those of *Scandinavia*, as we find attested by *Ablavius*, an antient *Gothic* writer, by *Roderichus Toletanus*, and by *Jornandes*. These are the arguments urged by the northern writers against *Verstegan* and *Cluvierius*, whose opinion, deriving

(1) *Zeil. in descript. Sueciae.* (2) *Bur. in orb. Arctici descript.* (3) *Suan. in chronol. Danica, ad ann. mund. 2264.* (4) *Worm. in Gothlandicus, lib. v.*
 (5) *Freculp. lib. ii. c. 17.* (6) *Grot. in proleg. in Procop.* (7) *Vide Goldast. Allg. antiq. tom. ii. part. i.* (8) *Tacit. de morib. German.*

ners of the Goths, the Christian religion; nay, from their being eminently good, they were called by the neighbouring nations *Goths*, that name being, according to *Grotius*, and most other writers, derived from the German word *goten*, signifying good*. They encouraged, says *Dio*, the study of philosophy, above all other barbarous or foreign nations, and often chose their kings from among their philosophers. Polygamy was not only allowed, but countenanced among them, every one being valued and respected, according to the number of his wives†. By so many wives they had an incredible number of children, of whom they kept but one at home, sending out the rest, when come to mens estate, in quest of new settlements‡; and hence those swarms of people, that over-ran so many countries. With them adultery was a capital crime, and irremissibly punished with death^b. This severity, and likewise polygamy, prevailed among them, when they were known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* only by the name of *Getes*, as appears from the poet *Menander*, who was himself a *Gete*¹, and from *Horace*^k, who bestows great encomiums on the virtue and chastity of their women. As for their laws, they do not fall much short of those of the antient *Romans*, as will appear when we come to speak of the *Alaric* code, and the laws of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*.

THEIR government was monarchical; for, as we have observed above out of *Jornandes*, in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, they had *Filimer* for king; in *Dacia*, *Mæsia*, and *Thrace*, *Xamolxes*; and, in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Euxine* sea, princes sprung from the illustrious families of the *Amali* and the *Balbi*. Of the latter *Jornandes* gives us the following series, to wit, *Gaptus*, *Hulmul*, *Auges*, *Amalus*, *Isarna*, *Ostrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Alaric*, *Auric*, *Giberic*, *Hermanaric*. To these princes were subject both the *Visigoths*

Series of
their
kings.

* GROT. in proleg. ad Procop.

† ADAM. BREMENS. in Sueo-goth.

‡ Idem ibid. & WALSINGHAM. in hypodig. Neustr.

^k ADAM. BREMENS. ibid.

¹ M NAND. apud Strab. lib. vii.

^b HORAT. lib. iii. od. 24.

the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, seemed so absurd to *Grotius*, that he could scarce forbear reviling those who maintained it, especially *Cluverius*, whom he taxes with introducing new opinions, in defiance to the most au-

thentic writers, and supporting, without the least regard to truth, what he thought would be best relished by his countrymen (9). Thus far of the origin of the *Goths* from the best antient as well as modern writers.

(9) Grot. in proleg. ad Procop.

and

and *Ostrogoths*. The former inhabited the country lying between the *Borysthenes* and the *Tanais*, and were afterwards allowed by the *Roman* emperors to settle in *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. The latter dwelt between the *Danube* and the *Borysthenes*; and, in the reign of *Honorius*, after having overrun *Italy*, settled in *Gaul*, as we shall relate hereafter. Upon the death of *Hermanaric*, the *Visigoths* were driven out of their native country by the *Hunns*, and were admitted, by the emperor *Valens*, within the *Roman* dominions. *Theodosius* allowed them lands in *Thrace*; whence, in the reign of *Honorius*, they broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*; who took and plundered *Rome*. *Alaric* was succeeded by *Ataulphus*, who founded the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*; and *Ataulphus* by the following princes of the family of the *Balthi*, to wit, *Sigeric*, or *Rigeric*, *Wallia*, *Theodoric*, *Thorismund*, *Theodoric II.* *Theodoric III.* *Euric*, *Alaric*, *Gesaleich*, *Amalaric*, *Theudis*, *Theudiselus*, *Athanagild*, *Linva*, *Leunigild*, *Ermenigild*, *Ricared*, *Linva II.* *Witteric*, *Gundemar*, *Sisebutus*, *Reccared*, *Suinthila*, *Rechimir*, *Sisenand*, *Chintila*, *Tulga*, *Chindasvintbus*, *Reccesvintbus*, *Wamba*, *Ernigius*, *Egica*, *Witiza*, and *Roderic*. Most of these princes were not only masters of *Narbonne* and *Aquitain*, but likewise of *Spain*, which they held till they were driven out of both, and their nation almost utterly extirpated, by the *Arabs*, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place.

THE *Visigoths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Ostrogoths*, as we have related above, the *Ostrogoths* continued, after their departure, in the same seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the house of the *Amali*. These were *Winithar*, *Hunnimund*, *Thorismund*, *Wandalar*, nephew to *Hermanaric* by his brother, and the three sons of *Wandalar*, to wit, *Walamir*, *Theodimir*, and *Widimir*, who were all subject to *Attila*; but, upon that prince's death, they were allowed, by the *Romans*, to settle in *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*. *Theodimir* was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, who, having overcome *Odoacer*, made himself master of *Italy*, and was acknowledged king of that country. His successors in that kingdom were, *Athalaric*, *Theodotus*, *Vitiges*, *Ildebald*, *Eraric*, *Totila*, and *Totila*, the last king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*¹. As to the religion of the *Visigoths*, it seems to have been the same with that of the inhabitants of *Scandinavia* and *Saxony*, of which we have spoken above^m, and shall speak more at large in the history of the

¹ Vide *JORN.* c. 30. *AGATH.* lib. i. & *GROT.* proleg. in hist. Goth.

^m See before, p. 177.

Northern kingdoms. *Apollinaris Sidonius* describes their dress thus: They are shod, says he, with high shoes made of hair, and reaching up to their ankles; their knees, thighs, and legs, are without any covering; their garments of various colours, scarce reaching to the knee; their sleeves only cover the tops of their arms; they wear green cassocks, with a red border; their belts hang on their shoulders; their ears are covered with twisted locks; they use hooked lances, and missile hatchets^a.

As to the antient history of the *Goths*, *Jornandes*, supposing them to be one and the same people with the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmatians*, and *Sauromata*, ascribes to them all the exploits, that are said by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers to have been performed by those nations, especially by the *Scythians*. But of that warlike nation, and their migrations into *Europe*, under the names of *Cimmerians*, *Celtes*, *Gauls*, &c. we have spoken elsewhere; and therefore shall confine ourselves here to the history of the *Goths*, from the time they became generally known by that appellation. The first *Roman* writer, that mentions the *Goths*, is *Spartian*, who, in the life of *Caracalla*, tells us, that he overcame in some encounters the *Getes*, who, says he, were the same people with the *Goths*^b. The same author writes elsewhere^c, that *Maximin*, afterwards emperor, upon the death of *Caracalla*, quitted the service, and, returning into *Thrace*, kept up from thence a friendly correspondence with the *Goths*. His father, named *Micea*, or *Micca*, was by nation a *Goth*, and his mother *Ababa*, or *Abala*, an *Alan*^d. Hence *Vorburgus* concludes the *Goths* to have been masters of the countries bordering on *Thrace* before *Maximin* was born, that is, before the year 177^e. *Caracalla* was the

Caracalla
first Ro-
man empe-
ror that
quarrels
with the
Goths.

Year of
the flood
2563.
Of Christ
215.

Of Rome
963.

~~~~~

<sup>a</sup> *APOLL. SIDON.* lib. i. ep. 7. p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> *SPART.* in *Caracal.*

p. 89. <sup>c</sup> *Idem*, in *Maximin.* p. 139.

<sup>d</sup> *JORN. rer. Goth.*

c. 15. p. 631.

<sup>e</sup> *VORBURG. hist. Rom. Germanic.* p. 419.

<sup>f</sup> *SPART.* ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> *ONUPH.* p. 252. *CUSP.* p. 371. *DIO,*

lib. lxxiii. lxxix p. 838. 910.

<sup>h</sup> *GROT. rer. Goth.* p. 19. 41.

them quiet, and prevent them from disturbing the peace of the *The Goths* empire. Thus *Petrus* the patrician, who adds, that the *Carpi*, receive an dwelling in *Sarmatia* towards the present *Poland*, demanded annual the same sums, that were paid yearly to the *Goths*; but their pension request was rejected by *Menophilus*, whom that writer styles from the duke of *Mæsia*, that is, general of the troops quartered in *Romans* that province <sup>w</sup>.

**THE Goths**, notwithstanding the large sums sent them yearly by the *Roman* emperors, hearing of the death of the emperor *Maximin*, who was of *Gothic* extraction, as we have hinted above, and had been murdered by his own soldiers, resolved to revenge it; and accordingly, breaking into *Mæsia*, *They rav-* laid waste that province, and utterly destroyed the city of *Istria*, or *Istropolis*, on the most southern mouth of the *Danube* <sup>vages</sup> *Maesia*. *Balbinus*, who, with *Maximus*, had succeeded *Maximinus*, resolved to march against them; but was, in the mean time, murdered, with his colleague, by the mutinous soldiery: so that the *Goths*, loaded with booty, retired beyond the *Danube* unmolested <sup>Year of the flood</sup> *Maesia*. Not long after, they made themselves masters of *Thrace*; but were driven from thence beyond the *Danube* by the emperor *Gordian*, about the year 242. the fifth of that prince's reign <sup>2586.</sup> But *Gordian* dying, and *Philip*, who succeeded him, refusing to pay them their annual pension, they passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages in that province, as well as in *Mæsia*. *Philip* dispatched against them the senator *Decius*, who was afterwards emperor: but he, not thinking it advisable to engage them, returned to *Rome*, after having discharged with disgrace the troops, that had suffered them to pass the *Danube*. These went over in a body to the enemy, commanded at that time by their king *Ostrogotha*, the grandson of *Amalus*, who received them kindly; and, being thus reinforced, laid siege to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Mæsia*. But, not being able to reduce it, he abandoned the undertaking for a large sum sent him by the inhabitants, who were glad thus to compound with him, and redeem themselves from the calamities attending long sieges. *Ostrogotha* was scarce returned to his own country, when *Fasfida* king of the *Gepidæ*, elated with the success that had attended his arms against the *Burgundians*, whom he had almost utterly destroyed, sent him the following haughty message; to wit, *That, the Gepidæ being streightened for want of room, he must either allow them lands, or prepare for war.* *Ostro-*

<sup>w</sup> PET. PATRIC. legat. excerpt. p. 24.      <sup>x</sup> CAPITOL. in vit. Maximin. p. 171. BAUDR. p. 392.      <sup>y</sup> CAPITOL. ibid.      <sup>z</sup> Gord. vit. p. 162. ONUPH. p. 259.

He over-  
comes the  
Gepidæ.

gottha answered, *That he should be sorry to engage in a war with the Gepidæ his kinsmen* (for they were a Gothic nation); but *was determined to part with no lands.* Hereupon both nations took the field, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Gepidæ* were defeated with great slaughter; but *Ostrogotha*, contenting himself with the victory, suffered the *Gepidæ* to retire, and live in their own country unmolested <sup>a</sup>.

Cniva,  
first de-  
feated by  
the Ro-  
mans,  
gains  
great ad-  
vantages  
over them.

OSTROGOTHA was succeeded by *Cniva*, who, breaking into *Mæsia*, was defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by *Decius*, the eldest son of the emperor of that name, whom in the end he overcame, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into the neighbouring provinces. Having now no enemy to oppose him, he made himself master of *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand souls, says *Ammianus* <sup>b</sup>, to the sword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waste great part of *Macedon* <sup>c</sup>. Hereupon the emperor *Decius*, setting out from *Rome*, hastened into *Pannonia*; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he overcame the *Goths* in several engagements, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions <sup>d</sup>. But they returned soon after with a numerous army, headed by their king *Cniva*; which obliged *Decius* to take the field a second time, when he was attended at first with the same good success, as he had been in their former irruption; for he reduced them to such straits, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. But the emperor, who had sent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat, thinking he had it now in his power to rid the empire of so troublesome an enemy, instead of hearkening to their proposals, marched with all his forces against them. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at stake, received him with great intrepidity, and, fighting like men in despair, gained a complete victory. In the battle fell first *Decius*, the emperor's eldest son, and then the emperor himself; upon whose death the *Goths* made a dreadful havock of the disheartened army <sup>e</sup>. We only touch upon these events here, having related them at large elsewhere <sup>f</sup>. *Decius* being killed, *Gallus* was by the soldiery proclaimed emperor in his room; but he, instead of revenging the death of the late emperor, and the overthrow of the army,

Defeats  
and kills  
the empe-  
ror De-  
cius, and  
his son.

<sup>a</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. p. 433—436.

p. 446. <sup>c</sup> JORN. ibid. c. 18. p. 636, 637.

p. 644. <sup>e</sup> JORN. ibid. c. 18. p. 637.

VICT. in Dec. ZOS. lib. i. p. 644.

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi.

<sup>d</sup> ZOS. lib. i.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. xv. p. 435—417.

concluded a peace with the *Goths*, suffering them to retire unmolested with all their booty, and the prisoners they had taken at *Philippopolis*, and elsewhere; nay, he engaged to pay them yearly a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country <sup>g</sup>. However, three years after, that is, in 253. they entered the *Roman* territories in an hostile manner, probably because their pension was not paid them. But *Æmilianus*, who commanded the troops in *Pannonia*, marching against them, <sup>h</sup> put them to flight, and drove them quite out of the empire, though his soldiers, at first, betrayed great unwillingness to engage so formidable an enemy <sup>i</sup> (E). In 256. the *Goths*, with the *Carpi*, the *Barani*, and the *Burgundians*, all nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a new inroad into the empire, laying waste, according to *Zosimus* <sup>j</sup>, all *Illyricum*, and *Italy* itself, without meeting with the least opposition. But this we can hardly believe, since no other writer takes notice of any ravages committed by them in *Italy*. They continued all this year in *Illyricum*, laying the country waste far and wide: but the following year *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, being sent to succeed *Ulpian Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, drove them out of those provinces, took a great number of them prisoners, and, pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Thrace* loaded with booty <sup>k</sup>.

AFTER this, they continued quiet till the year 262. the ninth of the emperor *Gallienus*, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, and from thence over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Thessalonica*; but, not being able to reduce it, they attempted to enter *Achaia*, when *Macrianus*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*, arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon them unexpectedly, and obliged them to save themselves by flight into their own country <sup>l</sup>. At the same time, another party of the *Goths*, having crossed the *Hellepont* under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, plundered several cities, and even the famous temple of *Diana*.

<sup>g</sup> JORN. c. 19. p. 638. ZOS. lib. i. p. 644. ZONAR. p. 232.  
<sup>h</sup> ZOS. p. 645. <sup>i</sup> Idem, p. 646, 647. <sup>k</sup> Aurel. vit. p. 213.  
<sup>j</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 177. ZONAR. p. 233. SYNCHELL. p. 381.

(E) This *Zonaras* relates in a manner, which we do not well comprehend; for he supposes the *Goths*, who were overcome and put to flight by *Æmilianus*, to have lived in friendship and amity with the *Romans* (1).

(1) *Zonar. p. 232.*



and plunder the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

at *Ephesus* <sup>m</sup> (F). On their return, they laid in ashes the poor remains of ancient *Troy*; and, having repassed the *Hellepont*, they made an attempt upon *Anquialum* in *Thrace*: but, having spent some days in vain before that place, they abandoned the enterprize, and, after having ravaged *Thrace*, returned home, carrying with them an immense booty <sup>n</sup>. The following year 263. they made a new irruption into *Asia*; but were soon driven out by the *Roman* troops quartered there <sup>o</sup>. Two years

after, that is, in 265. they made themselves masters of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, extending from that river to the *Carpathian* mountains, which had been reduced by *Trajan* to a *Roman* province, and joined to *Moesia* by a bridge, the most magnificent and wonderful of all that emperor's works <sup>p</sup>.

ENCOURAGED with this success, the following year, having built an incredible number of vessels, they embarked on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Asia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themselves masters of *Nicomedia*, plundered the *Greek* cities in those countries, and laid waste the provinces of *Phrygia* and *Troas* <sup>q</sup>. In *Bithynia* they met with some opposition; for we are told, that a battle was fought there; and, from what happened afterwards, it appears, that the *Goths* carried the day: for, on one side, the *Romans*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Gallienus*, were for setting up another emperor; and, on the other, the *Goths*, pursuing their ravages, advanced as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, laying waste, without restraint, the countries through which they passed <sup>r</sup> (G).

They over-  
ran Asia  
Minor,  
Lydia,  
Pontus,  
&c.  
Year of  
the flood  
2614.  
Of Christ  
266  
Of Rome  
1014.

IN

<sup>m</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619.

<sup>n</sup> JORN. ibid. <sup>o</sup> Gallien vit. p. 178. <sup>p</sup> AUR. VICT. EV-

TROP. OROS. lib. vii. c. 12. p. 214. Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 126.

<sup>q</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 179. <sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.

(F) *Jornandes* tells us, that, in this irruption, they destroyed the city of *Chalcedon*, which, though afterwards rebuilt, says he, by one *Cornelius Avitus*, and enriched by the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, yet, for the space of three hundred years and upwards, shewed the dreadful marks of its former ruin (2).

(G) *Entropius*, and after him *St. Jerom* (3), and *Orosius* (4), mention the ravages committed by the *Goths* in *Pontus* and *Asia*; and *Philostorgius* names several cities ruined by them in *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* (5). We learn from *St. Basil*, that *Dionysius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 259. and died in 270.

(2) *Jorn rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619.*  
c. 22. p. 214.

(3) *Hier. ebron.*  
(5) *Philostorg lib. ii. c. 5. p. 270, 271.*

(4) *Oros. lib. vii.*

IN the mean time, the brave *Odenatus*, of whom we have spoken at large in a former volume<sup>a</sup>, pitying the miserable condition to which *Asia* was reduced by the *Goths*, hastened to the relief of that province. But the *Goths*, unwilling to *but retire* engage so renowned a commander, re-embarked at *Heraclea*, at the *ap-* and, by the *Euxine* sea, returned home with an immense *proach of* booty, and an incredible number of captives<sup>b</sup>. Many of them, *Odenatus*, however, were drowned, being attacked on their return by the *Roman* fleet<sup>c</sup>. The following year, they embarked anew on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at the mouth of the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Mæsia*; but were defeated by the *They re-* troops and generals who guarded *Byzantium*. However, they *ceive se-* advanced as far as *Illyricum*; but, being informed there, that *veral* the *Heruli* had received a dreadful overthrow in *Greece*, they *over-* began to retire, when *Marcian* and *Claudius*, whom *Gallienus* *throws.* had sent against them, pursuing them close, cut great numbers of them in pieces<sup>d</sup>; nay, *Claudius* was for cutting off their retreat, as might have been easily done, and putting them all to the sword; but *Marcian* thought it more adviseable to suffer them to retire<sup>e</sup>.

To be revenged on *Claudius*, they no sooner heard, that he was raised to the empire, than, stirring up all the northern nations against him, they assembled on the banks of the *Tyras*, now the *Niester*, and there built, say *Zosimus*<sup>f</sup>, six thousand ships; but *Pollio*, who makes the most of this war, writes, that their vessels amounted only to two thousand<sup>g</sup>; and he is therein followed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>h</sup>. Having em- *They in-* ployed the whole year 268. in making the necessary prepara- *vade the* tions, they embarked, to the number of three hundred and *empire* twenty thousand fighting men, and, landing in *Lesser Scythia*, *with a* laid siege, at the same time, to the city of *Tomi* in that pro- *formidable* vince, and to *Marcianopolis* in *Mæsia*; but being, in several *fleet and* attacks, repulsed at both places, they re-embarked on the *Euxine* *army.*

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xv. p. 430—432.<sup>b</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 180. SYNCCELL.

p. 381.

<sup>c</sup> SYNCCELL. p. 382.<sup>d</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 181. Claud.

vit. p. 208. Zos. p. 652.

<sup>e</sup> Claud. vit. ibid.<sup>f</sup> Zos.

p. 652.

<sup>g</sup> Claud. vit. p. 204.<sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi.

p. 445.

wrote a consolatory letter to the church of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, sending at the same time considerable sums to redeem the Christian captives (6), among whom

were many holy ecclesiastics, who could not be ransomed, says *Philostorgius* (7), because they were defined by Heaven to convert their conquerors.

(6) *Basil. ep.* ccxx. p. 233.(7) *Philostorg.* p. 471.

2617. Fear of the flood, and entered the freights of the *Bosphorus*, where, by the rapidity of the current, and the great number of their ships running foul of each other, they suffered a great loss both of men and vessels; and besides, they met with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants of *Byzantium*<sup>b</sup>. Making therefore what haste they could out of the freights, they attacked the city of *Cyzicus* on the *Propontis*; but, not being able to reduce it, they abandoned the enterprize, and, entering the *Egean* sea, they refitted their shattered vessels at mount *Athos* in *Macedon*, and then laid siege to *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*, two cities in the same province. But, when they were upon the point of making themselves masters of both, news were brought them, that *Claudius* approached at the head of a powerful army<sup>c</sup>. That prince, upon the first news of their breaking into the empire, had dispatched his brother *Quintillus* against them; but, under him, committed the chief command of the army to *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, whom he had, on that occasion, appointed general of all the troops in *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, and the other frontier provinces; but, when he was informed of the number of the enemy's forces, he resolved to head the army in person<sup>d</sup> (H)

269.  
Of Christ  
Of Rome  
1017.

HOWEVER, he could not set out so soon as he wished, it being no easy matter, as the empire had been quite exhausted by his predecessor *Galienus*, to make the necessary preparations for an expedition of such importance, and to draw together an army fit to be commanded by him<sup>e</sup>. The *Goths* therefore, abandoning the siege of *Thessalonica*, upon the first report of his approach, advanced into the country lying on the river *Axius*, plundered *Pelagonia*, and committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of *Doberus* in *Paonia*, where they were vigorously attacked by the *Dalmatian* horse, who signalized themselves on this occasion, and killed near three thousand of the enemy<sup>f</sup>. The rest took their route to *Upper Mæsia*, and were met by *Claudius* in the neighbourhood of *Naissus*, whom

<sup>b</sup> Claud vit p 205. Zos. lib i p 652. <sup>c</sup> Zos p 653.  
AMMIAN lib. xxxi p. 445 <sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 214. <sup>e</sup> Claud. vit.  
p 204 <sup>f</sup> Zos lib i p 653.

(H) *Zonaras* writes, that while they were deliberating at *Rome*, whether the emperor should march against the *Goths*, or against *Tetricus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, and was then besieging *Autun*, *Claudius* told them, that the war with *Tetricus* was his, but that with the *Goths* was the war of the *Roman* people, whose interest he preferred to his own (8).

(8) *Zonar.* p. 239.

they

they immediately engaged\*. The victory continued long doubtful, nay, the *Romans* at first gave ground; but, returning through certain narrow passes to the charge, they fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight, and utterly routed<sup>b</sup>. Such of them as had the good luck to make their escape, returned towards *Macedon*, covering their rear with their wag-gons; but they found no fence against the famine that raged amongst them, and daily carried off great numbers of men and horses. The *Roman* cavalry, attacking them in front, cut off many thousands of them, and, by guarding the passes of *Macedon*, obliged them to shut themselves up on mount *Hæmus*, where they passed the winter in the greatest hardships imaginable<sup>i</sup>.

As for their fleet, one part of it, separating from the rest, ravaged *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, and took a great many prisoners in the open country, says *Zosimus*<sup>k</sup>, not being able to reduce one single city. However, *Zonaras* tells, that they made themselves masters of *Athens*; and that, having laid together in one heap all the books they found there, with a design to set fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that unvaluable treasure, had not one among them, more discerning than the rest, told his companions, that, while the *Greeks* amused themselves with those books, they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome<sup>l</sup>. The same author adds, that *Gleodemus*, a native of *Athens*, having assembled some troops and vessels, attacked them by sea, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight into other countries<sup>m</sup>. From *Athens* they sailed to the islands of *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*; but no-where performed any thing worth mentioning; nay, they lost great numbers of their men by the plague, that raged among them. They returned therefore to winter in *Macedon*, where the contagious distemper completed their ruin<sup>n</sup>. Those who had taken refuge on mount *Hæmus*, as we have related above, were, before the end of winter, reduced by the plague and famine to a very small number; so that *Claudius* might have saved himself the trouble of attacking them.

\* Zos. lib. i. p. 653. Claud. vit. p. 205. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. Zos. p. 654. & Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 447, 448. <sup>i</sup> Zos. ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205. SYNCELL p. 384. <sup>k</sup> Zos p. 653. <sup>l</sup> Zonaras p. 239. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 445. Claud. vit. p. 206. Zos. lib. i. p. 654.

They de-  
feat the  
Romans;

but in the  
end their  
land-  
forces sub-  
mit, and  
are made  
prisoners.

HOWEVER, that prince, bent upon their utter destruction, marched against them early in the spring, and, having shut them up on all sides, in different skirmishes, put several thousands of them to the sword. Nevertheless the infantry having one day attacked them without the cavalry, which was employed elsewhere, the *Romans*, after having behaved some time with great gallantry, turned their backs, and fled. On this occasion, the loss on the side of the *Romans* was very considerable, and had been much greater, had not the cavalry come seasonably to their relief. *Pollio* perhaps speaks of this encounter, where he owns the *Romans* to have lost in an attack near two thousand men <sup>p</sup>. But these were, as that writer tells us, *Roman* soldiers, who, after having put the enemy to flight, were busied in plundering their baggage; and *Claudius*, according to him, was not yet arrived in the camp: whereas *Zosimus* writes, that the infantry attacked the enemy by the emperor's orders; but he may therein be mistaken. However that be, the *Romans*, not in the least disheartened with this loss, continued harassing the *Goths* without intermission, and strengthening them daily more and more. As the plague, at the same time, made a dreadful havock among them, they were in the end obliged to submit, and beg quarter; which was granted them. Some of them were incorporated among the *Roman* troops; to others lands were given to cultivate; and a small number of them found means to make their escape <sup>q</sup>. We have inserted elsewhere two letters relating to this war, written by the emperor himself, the one to the senate, while he was upon the point of engaging the enemy; the other, after the battle, to *Junius Brecchus*, governor of *Illyricum* <sup>r</sup>. As the army was composed of divers northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, servants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were several kings, and women of distinction. The emperor caused some of their waggons to be burnt, and gave the rest, with a great number of slaves, to the public <sup>s</sup>. For this victory, *Claudius* took the surname of *Gothicus* <sup>t</sup>, in the second year of his reign, that is, before the twenty-fourth of March of the year 270. but soon after died at *Sirmium* of the plague, which had contributed so much to his victory over the *Goths*.

<sup>p</sup> Zos. lib. i. p. 654. <sup>q</sup> Claud. vit. p. 206. <sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 204. 206. <sup>s</sup> Vol. xv. p. 447, 448. <sup>t</sup> Claud. vit. p. 205. SYNCCELL. p. 384. ZONAR. p. 239. PAN. ix. p. 191. DEXTER. legat. p. 13. <sup>u</sup> GOLTZ. p. 113.

He was succeeded by his brother *Quintillus*; during whose short reign the *Goths*, who had made their escape from mount *Hæmus*, plundered the city of *Anquialum* in *Thrace*, and made an attempt upon *Nicopolis* in *Lower Mæsia*; but were driven out of that province by the *Roman* troops quartered there <sup>u</sup>. *Ammianus* speaks of their taking both *Anquialum* and *Nicopolis* <sup>w</sup>; but this must have happened in some other irruption. The same year 270. the *Goths*, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained, broke anew into the empire, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province; which *Aurelian*, who had been just raised to the empire, no sooner understood, than he left *Rome*, and, putting himself at the head of the army, marched against them. As the enemy did not retire at his approach, a battle ensued, which lasted, till night coming on parted the two armies, without the least advantage on either side. However, the *Goths*, not caring to renew the combat, repassed the *Danube* in the dead of the night, and sent embassadors the next morning to sue for peace <sup>x</sup>; which was readily granted them, the *Alemans* being at that time in arms, and ready to invade *Italy*; which they did accordingly, as we have related elsewhere <sup>y</sup>. But this peace was not of long duration; for, two years after, that is, in 272. *Aurelian*, on his march into the East against the celebrated *Zenobia*, found them ravaging *Thrace*, and drove them out of that province; nay, he even passed the *Danube*, and, having engaged *Cannabau* <sup>z</sup>, a *Gothic* prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men <sup>a</sup>. It was, perhaps, on this occasion, that the emperor took a chariot drawn by four stags, which he afterwards made use of in his triumphal entry into *Rome*; for he is said to have taken it from a *Gothic* prince <sup>a</sup>. Among the prisoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. The emperor, in a letter to *Gallonius Avitus* governor of *Thrace*, mentions some *Gothic* women of distinction, whom he had sent to *Perinthus* to be kept there, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank <sup>b</sup>. Among these was a woman of the blood royal, named *Hunila*, whom the emperor gave in marriage to *Benofus*, one of his generals, who, in the reign of *Probus*, usurped the sovereignty, as we have related elsewhere <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Claud. vit. p. 206.<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 445.<sup>x</sup> Zos. lib. i. p. 654, 655.<sup>y</sup> Vol. xv. p. 450.<sup>z</sup> Aur.

vit. p. 216.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 220.<sup>b</sup> Benof vit. p. 247.<sup>c</sup> Vol. xv. p. 477, 478, (G).

They settle  
in Dacia.

Year of  
the flood

2622.

Of Christ

274.

Of Rome

1022.



They con-  
clude a  
peace with  
Probus.

They are  
defeated  
by Dio-  
clesian.

Year after  
Christ

289.

Two years after, the *Goths* settled in *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, abandoned by *Aurelian*, who was well apprised, that he could not maintain it, without an immense charge, in the midst of so many barbarous nations<sup>d</sup>. The following year 275. they entered, in separate and numerous bodies, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian*, who died some months before, to serve as auxiliaries against the *Persians*; but *Tacitus*, who had succeeded that prince, not thinking it adviseable to trust them, endeavoured, by fair means, and even by offering them considerable sums, to induce them to return home. His offers were accepted by some; but others refusing to retire upon any terms, the emperor, and his brother *Florianus*, fell upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest quite out of the empire<sup>e</sup>. Of this victory mention is made on one of *Tacitus's* medals<sup>f</sup>; and from an antient inscription may be gathered, that he took the surname of *Gothicus* g.

In 278. the second of the reign of *Probus*, they broke into *Thrace*, and advanced as far as *Illyricum*, laying waste the country with fire and sword; but they no sooner heard, that the emperor was marching against them, and had already entered *Rhætia*, than they withdrew, leaving their booty behind them. From *Rhætia* the emperor pursued his march into *Illyricum*, and thence into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, either suing for peace, says *Vopiscus*<sup>h</sup>, or submitting to his power. No further mention is made of the *Goths* till the year 289. the fifth of *Dioclesian's* reign, who is said to have gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, that is, the *Goths*<sup>i</sup>; nay, *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off, and the province of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which they had seized, reunited to the empire<sup>k</sup>. For this victory *Dioclesian* assumed the surname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptions<sup>l</sup> (I).

FROM

<sup>d</sup> Aur. vit. p. 222.

Prob. vit. p. 228.

192.

<sup>h</sup> Prob. vit p. 239.

<sup>k</sup> Paneg. viii. p. 105. 107

BIRAG. p. 426.

<sup>e</sup> ZONAR. p. 240. Zos. lib. i. p. 662.

<sup>f</sup> BIRAG. p. 410.

<sup>g</sup> GRUTER. p.

<sup>i</sup> Paneg. xi. p. 132, 133.

<sup>l</sup> NORIS. de Dioclef. c. 4. p. 23.

(I) But that the advantages greatly exaggerated by *Eumenes*, he gained over the *Goths* were is manifest from another panegyrist,

FROM the year 289. the fifth of *Dioclesian's* reign, to the year 321. the fifteenth of *Constantine's*, the *Goths* gave no disturbance to the empire, being engaged, as we have observed above, in wars with the neighbouring nations. But all we *They over-* know of these wars is, that they not only overcame the *Bur-* come the *gundians*, but likewise the *Vandals*, with their king *Visumar*, *Burgun-* a prince of great renown, and descended from the *Asdingi*, the *dians and* most illustrious family of that nation. The *Vandals* were, it *Vandals*; seems, quite driven out; for we are told, that they begged and obtained *Pannonia* of the emperor *Constantine*<sup>m</sup>. The *Goths* were no sooner disengaged from other wars, than they broke into the empire; but they were overcome by *Constantine* in several battles fought at *Campana* in *Pannonia*, and at *Marga* and *Bononia* in *Upper Mæsia*<sup>n</sup>. *Zosimus* speaks of a city besieged by *Raufsmodes* king of the *Sarmatians*, and relieved by *Constantine*; who, having defeated the enemy, and put them *but are* to flight, pursued them cross the *Danube*, and forced them to *overcome* a second battle, in which great numbers of them were slain, *by Con-* and among the rest the king himself. Such as escaped the ge- *stantine.* neral slaughter, submitted to *Constantine*, who returned from this expedition with an incredible number of captives<sup>o</sup>. Notwithstanding this defeat, the following year, the *Goths* broke anew into the empire, while the emperor was busied in making a port at *Thessalonica*; and, over-running *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, ravaged both provinces, and took a great many prison-

<sup>m</sup> JORN. rer. Vandal. lib. i.  
TAT. C. 23.      <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Zos. lib. ii. p. 680. OP-

erit (9), who, in a speech he pronounced two years after in the presence of the emperor, takes notice of the victories lately gained by the *Goths* over the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom they had overcome, and were then bent upon utterly extirpating the whole nation; which it would be no easy matter for them to effectuate, the *Burgundians* being powerfully supported by the *Alans* and *Thervingians*. He adds, that another *Gothic* nation, assisted by the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*. The *Goths* therefore were still a powerful nation, and had not been, as *Eumenes* boasts, utterly extirpated by *Dioclesian*; nay, the panegyrist, whom we have quoted above, ascribes their not disturbing the peace of the empire to their being engaged in wars with other barbarous nations, and not to any awe they stood in of *Dioclesian*.

(9) *Memart. panegy.* xi. p. 136, 137.



ers<sup>v</sup> (K). *Constantine* marched against the *Goths* with incredible expedition, and, falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly resenting, a war was kindled between him and *Constantine*, of which we have spoken at large elsewhere<sup>1</sup> (L).

THE *Goths*, thus overcome, sued for peace; which was granted them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken<sup>1</sup>: nay, *Constantine* entered, it seems, into an alliance with them; for they assisted him against *Licinius* with a body of forty thousand men, who were distinguished by the name of *fœderati*, or allies<sup>2</sup>. These are, without all doubt, the *Goths*, who, as we read in an anonymous writer published by *Valesius*<sup>3</sup>, fought at the battle of *Chalcedon*, under the conduct of one of their princes named *Aliguæa*. Notwithstanding the peace and alliance they made with *Constantine*, they began, about eight years after, that is, in 332. to make new inroads into the empire. *Zosimus* writes, that the *Taisala*, a Gothic nation, having broken into the *Roman* territories with five hundred horse, *Constantine*, who was then in *Mæssa*, suffered them to lay waste the country to the very gates of his camp; and that, instead of putting his troops in battle-array to oppose them, he betook himself to a precipitate flight, after having lost great part of his army<sup>4</sup>. *Zosimus* is the only author who relates this event, altogether incredible. *Socrates*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. p. 474.  
MIAN. Anonym. p. 474.  
Goth. c. 21. p. 640.  
Zos. lib. ii. p. 687.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xv. p. 580—584. AM-  
<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>4</sup> JORN. rer.  
Anonym. AMMIAN. per Val. sub-

(K) It was on occasion of this irruption, that *Constantine* enacted the two laws, dated the twenty-eighth of April 323. whereof the one commands those to be burnt alive, who shall lend the least assistance to the barbarians, or receive any part of their booty; the other forbids the tribunes of the cohorts, and the other subalterns, to suffer the soldier to be absent from the camp and their colours, on pain

of death, in time of war; and of banishment, and confiscation of their estates, in time of peace (1).

(L) Some writers are of opinion, that the victory gained at this time over the *Goths* gave rise to the Gothic sports, which began, according to *Bucherius's* kalendar, on the fourth, and ended on the ninth, of February.

(1) Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. 1, leg. 5. p. 272.

## C. XXVIII. *The History of the Goths.*

279.

tells us, that the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* over-ran some provinces; but were overcome and driven out by *Constantine*<sup>w</sup>.

THE same year, a war breaking out between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourse to *Constantine*; who, glad of the opportunity that offered to humble that fierce nation, fell upon them while they were busied in plundering the territories of the *Sarmatians*, and gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; which obliged *Araric* their king to sue for peace, and deliver hostages to the emperor, among whom was his own son <sup>x</sup>.

but receive a dreadful overthrow.  
Year of the flood  
2680.  
Of Christ  
332.  
Of Rome  
1080.

THIS victory is ascribed by some to *Constantine Cæsar*; and the emperor *Julian* tells us, that one of *Constantine's* sons awed the *Goths* with his victories <sup>y</sup>. But *Eutropius* <sup>z</sup> and *Eusebius* <sup>a</sup> tell us in express terms, that the *Goths* were overcome by *Constantine* in a great battle; nay, *Eusebius* writes, that *Constantine*, scorning to pay tribute to the barbarians, as other emperors had done, marched against them, while they were engaged in a war with the *Sarmatians*, and, having subdued the whole nation, obliged, partly by dint of arms, partly by treaties, the innumerable tribes, into which they were divided, to obey his commands <sup>b</sup>. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the victory he gained over them was so evidently miraculous, that, the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the GOD adored by *Constantine*, great numbers of them embraced the Christian religion, which had been first preached among them about the year 270 <sup>c</sup> (M). *Jornandes* takes no notice of the victory

<sup>w</sup> SOCRAT. lib. i. c. 11. p. 48.

<sup>x</sup> ANONYM. AMMIAN.

p. 376.

<sup>y</sup> JUL. orat. i. p. 16.

<sup>z</sup> EUTROP. p. 538.

<sup>a</sup> EUSEB. vit. Constant. lib. iv. p. 529.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. lib.

i. c. 8. p. 409.

<sup>c</sup> SOZ. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 411. SOCRAT. lib. i.

c. 34. p. 48.

(M) The *Goths*, says *Sozomen* made use of the very ravages (2), and the other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of they committed under *Gallienus*, and his successors, to convert the *Danube*, had embraced the them to the true faith; for, having Christian religion long before crossed over from *Thrace* into *Asia*, and there taken an incredible number of captives,

victory gained over the *Goths* by *Constantine*; but only tells us,

and, among the rest, several holy ecclesiastics, who, by only invoking the name of *Jesus*, cured their sick, and delivered such among them as were possessed with the devil, they began to hearken to their doctrine; and observing, on the other hand, that their lives were quite blameless, many of them resolved to follow the example that was set them by such wonderful men, and to acknowledge the God whom they adored. Accordingly they took them for their teachers, hearkened with respect to their instructions, received the sacrament of baptism, built churches, and there celebrated, like other Christians, the holy mysteries of our religion. Having embraced our faith, they divested themselves of their former fierceness, and led thenceforth more regular lives. Thus *Sozomen*: and what he writes is confirmed by *Philostorgius*, who, speaking of the ravages they committed in *Asia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, under *Valerian* and *Gallus*, in 260 tells us, that they carried back with them, among the many other captives, the ancestors of *Wulfhila*, who, about the latter end of the fourth century, was revered by them as their prophet (3). This gives some light to what we read in *St. Basil*, to wit, that from *Cappadocia* were brought to the *Goths* the first seeds of the Christian religion (4). *St. Cyril* of

*Jerusalem* in 347. names the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* among the nations that had bishops, priests, deacons, monks, virgins, and even martyrs (5); for the whole nation did not at once embrace the Christian religion; nay, after it was preached among them, they had some pagan kings, who persecuted the Christians (6). *Sozomen* writes, that the barbarians, who inhabited *Gaul*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, down to the ocean, embraced the Christian religion by the same means, and at the same time, as those who dwelt on the *Danube* (7). However, we find no footsteps of Christianity among the *Franks*, whom *Sozomen* seems chiefly to hint at, till the reign of *Clotvis*, which commenced about the year 508. *Eutyches*, who began, according to *St. Basil* (8), the conversion of the *Goths*, and the other illustrious captives, fulfilled in a literal sense what we read in the prophet *Isaiah*: *And the people shall take them, and bring them to this place, and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors* (9). To them may be likewise applied the words of *Isaiah*, *In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation* (1).

(3) *Philost.* lib. ii. c. 5. p. 470, 471.

(5) *Cyrl.* *Hierosol. car.* xvi. p. 36.

(lib. ii. c. 6. p. 450.)

(6) *Idem.* *ver.* 6.

(8) *Basil.* *ibid.*

(4) *Basil. epist.* cccxxxviii. p. 330.

(6) *Idem.* *car.* x. p. 92.

(9) *Isa.* c. iv. *ver.* 2.

(7) *Spx.*

(1) *Thit.*

that

that they supplied his army with a body of forty thousand men, which was kept always complete <sup>d</sup> (N).

THE Goths not only continued quiet, but served the Romans with great fidelity, during the remaining part of *Constantine's* reign, and in the reigns of *Constans*, *Julian*, *Jovian*, and *Valentinian I*.<sup>e</sup> But, in 364. the first of *Valens*, they broke into *Thrace*, and laid waste that province<sup>f</sup>. The emperor, who was yet scarce seated on his throne, instead of employing his troops against them, sent them a considerable sum; which they no sooner received, than they forbore all hostilities, and returned home<sup>g</sup>. The following year 365. while the emperor was in *Bithynia*, news were brought him, that the Goths were ready to break anew into *Thrace*. Hereupon *Valens* dispatched a body of troops to reinforce those, that, under the command of count *Julian*, were posted on the banks of the *Danube*; which prevented their crossing that river<sup>h</sup>. In the mean time *Procopius* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor, the Goths, espousing his cause, sent a bod. of three thousand men to his assistance; but *Procopius* being defeated, taken, and put to death, before their arrival, they continued in the territories of the empire, committing great ravages in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*. *Valens* dispatched a strong detachment against them, who, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners<sup>i</sup>. *Hermanaric* was then king of the Goths, of those at least, who by *Ammianus* are stiled *Greuthongi*, and by *Jernandes*, *Ostrogoths*; but the above-mentioned body

<sup>d</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. <sup>e</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 309. <sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxvi. p. 315. <sup>g</sup> THEM. orat. viii. p. 119. <sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. p. 322. <sup>i</sup> ZOS. lib. iv. p. 740. AMMIAN. lib. xxvi. p. 315. EUNAP. excerpt. p. 18.

(N) *Eutropius* writes, that *Constantine*, having granted a peace to the Goths, left among them a great opinion of his humanity and good-nature (2); and *Eusebius*, that he even preferred to great dignities and employments the most illustrious among them (3). In the time of *Themistius* was still to be seen at *Constantinople*, behind the hall where the senate used to assemble, a statue which *Constantine* had caused to be erected in honour of the father of *Athanasius* king of the Goths; but this was done, says our author, to soften and gain over that barbarian (4).

(2) *Eutrop.* p. 538. (3) *Euseb. ext. Constant. lib. iv. c. 7. p. 53 c.*  
(4) *Themist. orat. xv. p. 191.*

of troops had been sent to the assistance of *Procopius* by *Athanasius*, whom *Ammianus* calls sometimes one of the most powerful men among the *Goths*<sup>k</sup>, and sometimes the judge of the *Thervingian Goths*<sup>l</sup>, that is, according to *Jordanes*, of the *Visigoths*<sup>m</sup>. He was a man of great courage, and yet his courage, says *Themistius*<sup>n</sup>, fell short of his penetration, eloquence, and address. He no sooner received the news of the captivity of his men, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, requiring they might be set at liberty, since they had been sent by a friend and ally of the *Romans* to the assistance of a *Roman* emperor. At the same time the letters were produced, which he had received from *Procopius*. On the other hand, *Valens* sent *Victor*, general of the horse, to complain of *Athanasius*, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The *Goths* answered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinsman of *Constantine*; and that it was not their business to examine, whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and therefore, if they were deceived therein, the emperor ought to excuse them<sup>o</sup>.

which  
gives rise  
to a war  
with Va-  
lens;

BUT *Valens* could not be prevailed upon to set the captive *Goths* at liberty, being bent, as he was then engaged in no other wars, upon humbling that powerful nation<sup>p</sup>. With this view, great preparations were made throughout the empire; which occasioned no small consternation among the people, who, as they had a mighty opinion of the valour of the *Goths*, dreaded the issue of this war<sup>q</sup>. At the same time, in the dismantling of *Chalcedon*, certain verses were found engraved on a stone, which doubled their fears; for they seemed antient, and foretold a dreadful inundation of barbarians in *Thrace*<sup>r</sup>. The emperor himself seems to have been under no small apprehension of this war; for *Theodoret* tells us, that, before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render Heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptism<sup>s</sup>. The *Goths*, on the other hand, finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces, with a design to attack him the first; which *Valens* no sooner understood, than he ordered his troops to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and soon after came in person

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 440.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, lib. xxvii. p. 341.

<sup>m</sup> JORDAN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643.

<sup>n</sup> THEMIST. p. 136.

<sup>o</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxvii. p. 349. EUNAP. p. 18. ZOS. p. 748.

<sup>p</sup> ZOS. p. 740. EUNAP. ibid. AMMIAN. p. 338.

<sup>q</sup> AMMIAN.

lib. xxvi. p. 320. JORN. c. 9. p. 642, 643.

<sup>r</sup> EUNAP.

excerpt. p. 18, 19.

<sup>s</sup> THEODOR. lib. iv. c. 11. p. 674.

to head them. Upon his arrival, he sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and encamped, with the rest of the army, in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia* <sup>1</sup>. *Ammianus* <sup>u</sup> and *Zosimus* <sup>w</sup> *who enters their country, and lays it waste.* tell us, that, early in the spring, he left *Marcianopolis*; and, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, he ravaged the enemy's country far and near, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having retired at his approach to the neighbouring mountains. In the beginning of the autumn, he led back his army to the *Roman* dominions <sup>z</sup>, and passed the winter at *Marcianopolis*; whence, as soon as the season was fit for action, he marched to the banks of the *Danube*, with a design to cross that river, and pursue the ravages he had begun the year before; but the *Danube* continuing swelled beyond measure the whole summer, he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place till the latter end of autumn, when he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and there took up his winter-quarters <sup>y</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2715.  
Of Christ  
367.  
Of Rome  
1115.

THE following year 369. the emperor marched into *Lesser Scythia*, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Noviodunum*, advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. The *Goths*, not daring <sup>1</sup> to keep the field, lay concealed in the woods and morasses, <sup>2</sup> hence they frequently sallied out upon the *Romans*. Against them the emperor employed not the soldiers, but the servants of the army, and those who attended the baggage, promising them a certain sum for each head they should bring. Hereupon, avarice supplying the place of courage, they resolutely entered the woods and marshes, and, hunting the *Goths* like wild beasts, put great numbers of them to the sword in their very asylums; which struck them with such terror, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace <sup>z</sup>. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Ammianus* writes, that *Valens*, having attacked and overcome in several encounters the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation of the *Goths*, dwelling at a considerable distance from the *Danube*, at last gave a total overthrow to *Athana-ric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him <sup>z</sup>.

*He defeats  
Athana-  
ric.*

AFTER this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But in the mean time the *Goths* earnestly sung, by repeated

<sup>1</sup> EUNAP. c. 5. p. 86. PHILOSTOR. lib. ix. c. 8. p. 125.

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. p. 340.

<sup>w</sup> Zos. p. 741.

<sup>z</sup> Idem

ibid.

<sup>y</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxvii. p. 341.

<sup>z</sup> Zos. lib.

iv, p. 741.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. p. 341.

The Goths  
sue for  
peace, and  
obtain it.

Year of  
the flood

2717.

Of Christ

369.

Of Rome

1117.



Herman-  
naric, a  
great con-  
queror.

embassies, for peace, he was at last prevailed upon, by the senate of *Constantinople*, to hearken to their proposals <sup>b</sup>. What induced the senate to become mediators in behalf of a nation by them so much dreaded, and now reduced to the utmost distress, we are no-where told. *Valens*, after returning a favourable answer to the ambassadors, approached the *Danube*, and appointed *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After some conferences, a peace was concluded, highly honourable for the *Romans*; for, in virtue of this treaty, the *Goths* were not, for the future, to pass the *Danube*, or set foot on the *Roman* territories, on any account whatsoever, barring that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on the *Danube*; whereas they had been formerly allowed to carry it on with what cities of the empire they pleased. They were not to expect or claim the pensions which had been paid them annually by other emperors; but *Valens* consented to continue *Athalaric's* pension to him. This peace was ratified and signed by *Valens* and *Athalaric*, who met for that purpose in boats in the middle of the *Danube*, the latter absolutely refusing to pass that river, by reason his father had obliged him, as he pretended, solemnly to swear never to tread on *Roman* ground <sup>c</sup>. *Valens*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ordered the forts on the *Danube* to be repaired, and some new ones to be built; and then, leaving strong garisons in them, as if he distrusted the barbarians, he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and from thence to *Constantinople* <sup>d</sup>.

At this time *Hermanaric* was king of the *Goths*, as we have hinted above. He was descended from the noble family of the *Amali*, and had signalized himself in several wars; insomuch that he was compared to *Alexander the Great*. *Jornandes* names the many northern nations he subdued; but he might as well have spared himself that trouble, most of them being utterly unknown <sup>e</sup>. Among the rest he mentions the *Heruli*, dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*; the *Venedi* on the *German* ocean; and the *Æstii* on the borders of the present *Prussia* and *Poland*; nay, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes* <sup>f</sup>, assures us, that *Hermanaric* was obeyed by all the nations both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. However, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the *Hunns*, who, passing the *Palus*

<sup>b</sup> THEMIST. orat. x. p. 133.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 135. AM-

MIAN p. 341, 342.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. THEMIST. p. 133.

Zos p. 742.

<sup>e</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643.

ibid.

*Mætiis* in 376. over-ran his country, he chose rather to lay violent hands on himself, than to behold the calamities that threatened his people <sup>g</sup>. He was succeeded by *Vithimir*, who, attempting to make head against the *Hunns*, was killed in a battle. His son *Vitheric*, driven out by the *Hunns*, retired, with his people, to the present *Podolia*, lying between the *Nieper* and the *Danube*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, alarmed at this sudden irruption of the *Hunns*, encamped, with all the forces he could assemble, on the banks of the *Danastus* or *Niefter*, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage of that river, parting the country of the *Thervingi* from that of the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*. But the *The Goths Hunns*, falling upon him when least expected, obliged him to *driven out* abandon his country, and take refuge in the present *Moldavia*; *by the* where he fortified himself with a wall from the *Pruth* to the *Hunns*. *Danube* <sup>h</sup>.

A GENERAL consternation being now spread among the *Goths*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock, which the *Hunns* made of their nation, either submitted to them, or fled for refuge to the *Roman* dominions. Two hundred thousand of them were admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, upon their promising to live peaceably there, and to *Admitted by Valens* serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies: but, being justly *into* provoked at the cruel treatment they met with from the *Roman* *Thrace*. officers, who were to supply them with provisions, they had scarce entered *Thrace*, when they began to mutiny, and plunder the country. This gave rise to a long and bloody war between them and the *Romans* <sup>i</sup>. At length they submitted to *Theodosius* I. in the year 382. and were allowed by him to *Having submitted* settle in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*; which two provinces were almost *to Theodosius* quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late destructive war <sup>k</sup>. The emperor *they receive lands* exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation; which *in Thrace*. proved the source of many evils: but, as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty, of the *Roman* *Year of the flood* officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults as they had reason to apprehend, *2730.* *Of Christ* *382.* *Of Rome* *1130.*

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 439. <sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 440. <sup>i</sup> Vol. xvi. p. 347. <sup>k</sup> THEMIST. orat. xvi. p. 199.



Athana-  
ric takes  
refuge

when dispersed among the *Roman* troops (O). What chiefly induced the *Goths* to lay down their arms, and submit to *Theodosius*, was, if *Orosius* is to be credited, that prince's generous behaviour to *Athanasius*; who being, by a faction at home, driven out of the country, which he had kept, in spite of the *Hunns*, beyond the *Danube*, came to *Constantinople*, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground. The emperor went out to meet him, received him with great

(O) *Zosimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodosius*, and his want of foresight, in suffering them to continue united, not only in the army, but in the countries that were allotted them (5); and *Synefius* thinks it was highly impolitic to suffer them to settle upon any terms within the *Roman* dominions; for, speaking to *Arcadius*, The *Goths*, says he, after having been punished by the arms of *Theodosius* for the evils they had brought upon the empire, were forced, with their wives and children, to implore the clemency of that prince, who, as he was naturally generous and merciful, suffered himself to be overcome by the prayers of those whom he had overcome by his arms. He granted them all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens, and distributed lands among them; which was encouraging all the other barbarians to demand, and even to exact, the same favour; and hence flowed the many evils, under which the empire has long groaned (6). Thus *Synefius*. But *Themistius*, who lived in those very times, in a speech, which he pronounced

before the emperor himself, told him, that he had learnt by experience, how dangerous a thing it was to reduce the *Goths* to despair (7). And truly, as the *Hunns* had seized on their country, the emperor must either have allowed them settlements within the *Roman* dominions, or cut them all off; which it was highly dangerous for him to attempt, the *Goths* not being yet weakened to such a degree, as not to be able to make a stand, and even endanger the empire. Besides, people were wanting to inhabit and cultivate *Thrace*, where the lands had long lain fallow and uncultivated. Hence *Zosimus* himself, tho' no great friend to *Theodosius*, owns, that, partly by his victories, and partly by his treaties, he put a stop to the evils that had almost overwhelmed the empire; that, under him, trade began to revive, and likewise agriculture, the husbandman cultivating his lands, and attending his flocks, without the least apprehension of seeing himself bereft, by the barbarians, of the fruits of his labour (8).

(5) *Zos.* p. 758.  
xv. p. 211.

(6) *Synef. ad reg. ad Arcad.*  
(8) *Zos.* p. 759.

(7) *Themist. orat.*

## C. XXVIII. *The History of the Goths.*

marks of friendship, and attended him into the city, which he *with* entered on the eleventh of *January* 381<sup>1</sup>. but died soon after, *Theodosius*, to wit, on the twenty-fifth of the same month (P). The emperor caused him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that side<sup>m</sup>; nay, the *Goths*, who had, for several years, maintained a war with the *Romans* in the very heart of the empire, were so taken with the generosity and good-nature of *Theodosius*, that they renounced all further thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire. Thus *Orosius*<sup>n</sup>, and likewise *Idatius*, and count *Marcellinus*<sup>o</sup>. Soon after the submission of the *Goths*, a foldier of that nation having committed some disorder at *Constantinople*, the populace fell upon him, and, having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. The emperor, fearing the *Goths* might, upon this provocation, fly to arms, and renew the war, resented his death to such a degree, that he deprived the people of the bread, which, by his orders, was daily distributed among

<sup>1</sup> Zos. p. 759. AMMIAN p. 214. SOCRAT. p. 267. THE-  
MIST. ORAT. xv. p. 190, 191. MARCEL' IDAT. chron. <sup>m</sup> AM-  
MIAN. p. 342. Zos. p. 759 ORUS. lib vii. c. 34. p. 220.  
<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> IDAT. MARCELL. chron.

(P) *Prosser* writes, that *Athanasius* was killed (9). But he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Ammianus*, who lived in those times, and count *Marcellinus*, tell us, in express terms, that he died a natural death (1); and *Zosimus*, with all the other writers, only that he died, which must be understood of a natural death; for, had it been violent, they would have expressed themselves in a different manner: *Zosimus* especially, a declared enemy to *Theodosius*, would not

have let slip this opportunity of upbraiding that prince with treachery and perfidiousness, had he only suspected him to have been any-way accessory to the death of *Athanasius*, who had put himself under his protection. The manner he speaks of this death plainly shews, that no one entertained the least suspicion of any violence. Hence *De Pontac* thinks we ought to read in St *Prosser*, *occidit*, instead of *occiditur*.

(9) *Prosser*. p. 765.

(1) *Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 342.*

them. The emperor, however, was appeased after a few hours, and the order he had given revoked <sup>P</sup>.

The Ostro-  
goths  
break into  
the empire;

but are de-  
feated by  
Theodo-  
sius.

THE Goths, who were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*, were, for the most part, *Thervingians*, or *Visigoths*. As for the *Greuthungians*, or *Ostrogoths*, they continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who, as we have hinted above, suffered them to be governed by their own kings. However, great numbers of them, not able to brook that subjection, in the year 386. broke into the empire under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king <sup>Q</sup>. Their design was to settle, as their countrymen the *Visigoths* had done, in some of the *Roman* provinces; but *Theodosius*, fearing the empire might be thus over-run by the barbarians, marched against them in person, with his son *Arcadius*, gave them a total overthrow, and returned, with an incredible number of captives, to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph on the twelfth of October of the year 386 <sup>R</sup> (Q). This, according to *Zosimus*, is all the share *Theodosius*

<sup>P</sup> LIBAN. orat. xiv. xv. p. 394. 410.  
Honor. iv p. 55.

<sup>Q</sup> CLAUD. conf.

Idar. p. 61.

(Q) This victory is likewise mentioned by count *Marcellinus*; who tells us, that *Theodosius* delivered *Thrace* from the barbarians, who had invaded that province, and that he afterwards returned, with his son, in triumph to *Constantinople* (2) *Claudian* too speaks of a victory gained in the fourth consulship of *Honorius*, that is, in the present year 386 over the *Greuthungians*, and their king *Odotheus* (3). This is, without all doubt, the victory, which *Zosimus* describes in two places; but, to rob *Theodosius* of the glory that was due to him, he would

make us believe, that it was entirely owing to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot (4). According to that writer's account, *Odotheus* having assembled an incredible number of barbarians, among whom were several nations never before heard of, *Promotus* fell upon them, as they were attempting to pass the *Danube*, and, having utterly defeated them, invited *Theodosius*, who was encamped at a small distance, to come and see the great number of prisoners, and the immense booty, he had taken (5).

(2) Arc. chron. p. 6.  
h. c. iv. p. 759, & 760—764.

(3) Claud. conf. Honor. iv. p. 55.  
(5) Idem, p. 759.

(4) Zof.

had in that victory; but all other authors suppose the emperor to have commanded his troops in person; nay, *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle<sup>1</sup>. The far greater part of this numerous army being either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in the *Danube*, the emperor ordered *Majoranus*, who commanded under him, to cross the *Danube*, and lay waste the enemy's country; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the least opposition<sup>2</sup>. *Theodosius* ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty, and even made them rich presents, in order to entice them into his service, says *Zosimus*<sup>3</sup>, and employ them against *Maximus*, of whom we have spoken at large elsewhere<sup>4</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2734.  
Of Christ  
386.  
Of Rome  
1134.

THE *Goths* continued quiet from this time to the year 395. The *Goths* the first of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when they were stirred up by the famous *Rufinus* to invade the empire. *Rufinus* governed with an absolute sway in the East under *Arcadius*; and *Stilicho*, with the same arbitrary sway, ruled in the West under *Honorius*; but, as the latter pretended to have been appointed by *Theodosius* guardian to both his children, he was preparing to march into the East, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. *Rufinus* therefore, to prevent this storm, resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion. With this view, he privately stirred up the *Huns*, who advanced as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, as we have related above. At the same time, he encouraged the celebrated *Alaric* to put himself at the head of his countrymen the *Visigoths*, and to break into *Greece*. *Alaric* was descended from the family of the *Balthi*, the most illustrious of the *Gothic* nation, after that of the *Amali*. He passed the *Danube* in 376. with his countrymen driven out of their own country by the *Huns*, and served with great reputation in the war between the *Romans* and *Goths*, which lasted from that time to the year 382. when they all submitted to *Theodosius*, and were allowed to settle in *Thrace*, upon condition of their serving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodosius* in his expedition against the usurper *Eugenus*; on which occasion *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen. As he desired had preferred him to no higher rank, he was highly dissatisfied, and

Year of  
the flood  
2713.  
Of Christ  
395.  
Of Rome  
1143.

<sup>1</sup> CLAUD. conf. Honor iv p 55  
p 310.      <sup>2</sup> Zos. p 764.  
421.

<sup>3</sup> SIDON. car. v.  
Vol xvi. p 419—

even threatened to revolt. *Rufinus* therefore, finding him thus disposed, encouraged him by his emissaries, and even by privately conveying to him considerable sums, to assemble as many barbarians as he could, and with them lay waste the *Roman* provinces, assuring him, that he might penetrate as far as *Greece*, without the least opposition <sup>2</sup>.

Dreadful  
ravages  
committed  
by them,  
under the  
conduct of  
Alaric.

*ALARIC*, thus animated, assembled a numerous army, consisting chiefly of his countrymen, among whom served a body of *Hunns*, who that winter had passed the *Danube* on the ice; and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province, as he did afterwards *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. When he drew near the famous streights of *Thermopylae*, *Gerontius*, one of *Rufinus's* creatures, who guarded them, withdrew, pursuant to the orders he had received from his patron, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, rising the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after, *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus's* creatures, never offering to oppose them <sup>1</sup>. Thus was the whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* sea, laid waste, and the city of *Constantinople* itself, in a manner, besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing, with great boldness, to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery <sup>2</sup>.

Stilicho  
marches  
against  
them;

News of these ravages were no sooner brought to *Stilicho*, than he resolved to march to the relief of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped it would afford him an opportunity of ruining his rival *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul*, where he then was, he set forward with all the Western troops, and those likewise of the East, that had been left in the West after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He passed, with incredible expedition, the *Julian Alps*, crossed *Dalmatia*, and, entering *Thessaly*, was but a small distance from the enemy's army, when an officer arrived in

<sup>1</sup> *CLAUD.* in *Ruf* lib. ii. p. 21. *JORNAN.* rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. *SOCRAT.* lib. vii. c. 10. p. 346. *Zos.* p. 783. *MAR.* ad ann. 395. <sup>2</sup> *CLAUD.* ubi supra. *Zos.* ibid. *PHILOSTORG.* p. 254. *OROS* lib. vii. p. 221. <sup>3</sup> *CLAUD.* ibid. p. 21, 22.

the camp, with a peremptory order from *Arcadius* to send him forthwith the *Oriental* troops, and return with the rest into the West. This order *Rufinus* had procured, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head. However, *Stilicho*, not daring to disobey it, sent back the troops belonging to the Eastern empire, under the conduct of one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, and returned with the rest to *Italy*, leaving the *Goths* to pursue their ravages without controul <sup>a</sup> (R). Thus the *Goths* continued in *Greece*, and the other *Roman* provinces, all the year 395. and part of 396. destroying all with fire and sword, and sending into their own country an incredible number of captives; with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces.

As *Arcadius*, to whom these provinces belonged, seemed intirely to neglect them, *Stilicho*, pitying the condition to which they were reduced, set out anew with the Western troops to relieve them. He embarked on the *Adriatic* sea, and, landing in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the barbarians in

*but is ordered by Arcadius to return to the West.*

*returns to the relief of Greece;*

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 781. CLAUD. in Ruf. lib. ii p. 24. Soz. lib. viii. p. 754.

(R) *Zosimus* writes, that they spared the city of *Athens*, defended, says he, by *Minerva* and *Achilles*, whose power *Alaric* dreaded; and therefore entered the city as a friend, and would not suffer his men to commit any ravages in *Attica*. But *St. Jerom*, who wrote at that very time, tells us, that the *Athenians*, and all the other *Greeks*, submitted to the barbarians (6). *Claudian* names the *Athenians* among those who were carried into captivity (7); and *Eunapius* ascribes to the ravages committed by *Alaric* the intire suppression of the ceremonies, religion, and sacrifices of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, which had continued at

*Athens* till that time (8). Thus the remains of idolatry, which the Christian princes had never been able to abolish with their laws, were at length utterly extirpated by *Alaric* and his *Goths*. During these ravages, several philosophers, over zealous for the worship of their gods, were either put to the sword by the *Goths*, or died of grief in seeing their mysteries despised, their gods trod under-foot, and their altars pulled down. Among the former were *Proterus*, *Hilarius*, and *Priscus*, a celebrated magician, who had been one of the emperor *Julian's* chief favourites (9).

(6) *Hier. ep. iii. p. 26.* (7) *Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 24.* (8) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 74, 75.* (9) *Idem, v. 6. p. 93, 94.*

several encounters, and obliged the rest to take refuge on a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a small distance from *Pisa*. But, after he had shut them up on all sides, and even turned the course of a river, that supplied them with water, he suffered them, by his misconduct, says *Zosimus*, to escape, to withdraw out of *Peloponnesus* unmolested, and to ravage *Epirus* in their retreat <sup>b</sup>. After this, he returned to *Italy*, suffering his soldiers to destroy and carry off whatever had escaped the avarice and fury of the *Goths* <sup>c</sup> (S). The poet *Claudian* tells us, that *Stilicho* would have put *Alaric* and all his men to the sword, as he had already killed great numbers of them on the mountains of *Arcadia*, had not *Arcadius* taken them under his protection, and ordered *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops out of *Greece*, a province belonging to the Eastern empire <sup>d</sup>. *Arcadius* had, without all doubt, been induced to conclude a peace with the barbarians by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had succeeded *Rufinus*, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities. He was no less jealous of *Stilicho's* great power than his predecessor had been; and therefore, to rob him of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians, he persuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and order *Stilicho*, to whom he must otherwise have been highly indebted, to leave the barbarians, and return with his forces into the West. Soon after, *Alaric* was appointed, no doubt in virtue of this treaty, commander of the troops in *East Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, and the other provinces he had laid waste <sup>e</sup>. *Claudian* complains, and indeed with a great deal of reason, that the barbarian, who, in defiance to the most sacred ties, had turned his arms against the empire, should be preferred and enriched, and the person, to whom the empire owed its safety, stripped of all his honours, and reduced to poverty <sup>f</sup>; for *Stilicho*, though he immediately

*Alaric*  
*preferred*  
*by Arca-*  
*dus;*

<sup>b</sup> *Zos.* p. 784, 785.  
in *Eutrop.* lib. ii. p. 113.

<sup>c</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*  
*Idem* *ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> *CLAUD.*  
<sup>f</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

(S) *Orosius* thinks that *Stilicho's* design was to deliver *Greece*, without destroying the barbarians, whom he might, some time or other, have oc-

casion to employ; and therefore he often overcame them, often shut them up on all sides, but always suffered them in the end to escape (1).

(1) *Oros.* lib. vii. c. 37. p. 221.

retired with his troops out of *Greece*, pursuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate of *Constantinople*, and the lands he had in the East to be seized and confiscated <sup>2</sup>. It was, without all doubt, after *Alaric* had been raised to this dignity, and not during the war, that, coming to *Athens* with a small attendance, he was received by the inhabitants, as we read in *Zosimus* <sup>3</sup>, with all possible marks of honour.

ABOUT three years after, new disturbances were raised in the East by two *Goths*, subjects of the empire, and in the *Roman* service, to wit, *Gainas* and *Tribigild*. But, of the disturbances they raised, we have given a full account in a former volume <sup>1</sup>.

DURING the above-mentioned disturbances raised by the *Goths* in the East, the Western provinces were alarmed with a sudden irruption of the same barbarians, under the conduct of *Alaric*. *Arcadius*, as we have related above, entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces quartered in *East Illyrium*. The *Goths*, who were subject to the empire, created him, according to *Jornandes* <sup>4</sup>, about the same time their chief and general, with the title of king of the *Ves*. He was, in this very year 400. when he first broke into *Italy*, general of the *Illyrian* troops; whence some have thought he made that irruption by order of *Arcadius*, and as his general, for *Arcadius* never well agreed with his brother *Honorius*. But it is not at all probable, that *Arcadius* should choose to make war upon his brother, while most of his force were employed against *Tribigild* and *Gainas*. What *Jornandes* writes seems to us far more probable, to wit, that the *Goths*, despising both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and discontented because they had not sent them the usual presents, resolved to make war on the empire, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces, and with this view it was, that they chose *Alaric* for their chief, and even gave him the title of king <sup>5</sup>. However that be, it is certain, that, in the year 400 the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, entered *Italy*, and committed there dreadful ravages, laying the country waste far and near, and carrying off with them an incredible number of captives, as we

<sup>2</sup> CLAUD in Eutrop lib. ii. p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Zos. p. 784.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xvi. p. 478—480.

<sup>4</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29.

p. 650 & reg. c. 43 p. 653.

<sup>5</sup> JORN. 1er. Goth. p. 651.



Year of the flood 2748. Of Christ 400. Of Rome 1148. have related elsewhere<sup>m</sup>. Two years after, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew, and ravaged, without controul, the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, there being then no army in *Italy* to oppose him. The emperor *Honorius*, who then resided at *Milan*, not thinking himself safe there, retired to *Ravenna*; which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence.

IN the mean time *Stilicho*, having assembled what forces he could, marched against the enemy, whom he found encamped at *Pollentia* on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*. There the two armies engaged; but, as to the issue of the battle, there is a great disagreement among authors, as we have observed in a former volume<sup>n</sup>. The wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, fell into the hands of the *Romans*; which he no sooner understood, than he sent deputies to *Stilicho* to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, and the captives sent back, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this agreement, he repassed the *Po*; but, having plundered the country in his retreat, *Stilicho* detached a strong body of barbarians against him, by whom he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains, where they kept him blocked up, till, most of his men forsaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he privately withdrew in the night-time, and returned through by-ways into *Thrace*<sup>o</sup>. Three years after, *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* with an army of two hundred thousand *Goths*, and other barbarians dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths*; but this numerous army was defeated and cut in pieces, and *Radagaisus* himself taken prisoner, by *Stilicho*, with the assistance of a body of *Huns* and *Goths*, who served the *Romans* as auxiliaries, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus* P. Of this invasion we have given a particular and distinct account in a former volume, to which we refer the reader<sup>q</sup>.

but is  
driven out  
by Stili-  
cho.

THIS storm was scarce blown over, when another was raised by *Stilicho*, who, in order to kindle a war between *Arta* and *Honorius*, persuaded the latter, that not only *West-Illyrium*, but the whole province, belonged to the Western empire; nay, he even prevailed upon the weak prince to appoint *Alaric* general of all the *Roman* troops in *West-Illyricum*,

<sup>m</sup> Vol. xvi. p. 489.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 490.

<sup>o</sup> OROS.

lib vii c. 37. p. 221. CLAUD. p. 160, 161. & consul. Honor. vi p. 178—183. JORN. ILL. Goth. c. 30. p. 653.

<sup>p</sup> Zos.

p. 803. OROS. ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Vol. xvi. p. 494, & seq.

in order to recover, with them and his own *Goths*, that part of the province, which he pretended to be unjustly withheld from him by his brother *Arcadius*. *Stilicho*, in thus setting the two brothers at variance, had nothing less in view than the raising of himself to the empire; for, while the *Goths* invaded the Eastern empire, his countrymen the *Vandals*, and their allies, were to break into the Western provinces, and there second his treacherous and wicked design<sup>1</sup>. At the same time that he acquainted *Alaric* with his promotion, he caused a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received, than, leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, he entered *Epirus*, then belonging to the Eastern empire, and there waited for orders from *Stilicho* to begin hostilities. But, while that general was upon the point of setting out from *Ravenna* to join him with the *Roman* forces, he was stopped by letters from *Arcadius*, acquainting him with the revolt of *Constantine* in *Britain*, and, by a false report, with the death of *Alaric*<sup>2</sup>. Hereupon *Alaric*, after having long continued inactive in *Epirus*, left at length that country, and, bending his march towards *Italy*, arrived at *Amnua*, now *Lanbach*, between *Upper Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Thence he continued his route, and, passing the river *Aquila*, and the streights *advancers* of the mountains that bound *Pannonia* on that side, where an handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered *Noricum*<sup>3</sup>. From thence he dispatched a messenger to *Arcadius*, demanding a sum of money for the time he had spent in *Epirus*, and the trouble of marching his troops into *Noricum*. Upon this demand the senate being assembled (for *Honorius* was then at *Rome*), *Stilicho* pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him<sup>4</sup>: but, the emperor putting off from time to time *He besiges* the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy*, and, marching *Rome*; strait to *Rome*, laid siege to that metropolis, and, in a short time, reduced it to such streights, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged *which is* to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which *Alaric* no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his *reduced* army into *Ettruria*<sup>5</sup>. *with an immense sum.*

<sup>1</sup> Zos. lib. v. p. 802. Soz. p. 792, 793. Phot. c. 80. p. 180.<sup>2</sup> Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 802, 803.<sup>3</sup> Soz. Zos. ibid.

PHILOSTORG. lib. xii. c. 2. p. 532. RUTH. lib. ii. p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Zos. p. 805, 806.<sup>5</sup> Soz. p. 808. Zos. p. 817. So-

CRAT. p. 88. Univerf. hist. vol. xvi. p. 503, 504.

Year of the flood 2756.  
Of Christ 408.  
Of Rome 1156.

BUT, soon after, he returned anew before *Rome*, the emperor shewing great backwardness to execute the articles of the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the *Romans*, after a few days siege, opened their gates to *Alaric*, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. But *Honorius* having, in the mean time, declared, that he was ready to comply with the terms proposed by the *Goths*, *Alaric* deposed *Attalus*, and, leaving *Rome*, approached *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, in order to put the last hard to the treaty of accommodation; but, the emperor refusing to comply with the terms proposed to him, *Alaric* departed, in a great rage, from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and, returning before *Rome*, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis, as we have related at large elsewhere\*. From *Rome* *Alaric* marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of *Lucania*, *Samnum*, *Aquila*, and *Calabria*, he approached the stright of *Sicily*, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into *Africa*; but he was seized, in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days.

Alaric takes and plunders Rome.

Year of the flood 2758.  
Of Christ 410.  
Of Rome 1158.

Ataulphus, his successor, invades Gaul.

THE *Goths* chose *Ataulphus*, whose sister the deceased prince had married, for his room; for to *Alaric*, as we have observed above, the *Goths* had given the title of king of the *Visigoths*. *Ataulphus*, leaving *Italy* after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into *Gaul*, and there reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*†. Soon after, he married with great solemnity *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, who had been taken, with many other captives, at *Rome*, and treated, both by *Alaric* and him, with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After this marriage, *Ataulphus* seemed very desirous of concluding a peace with *Honorius*, and turning his arms against the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into *Gaul*; but all the measures that were taken by him, and his wife *Placidia*, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by *Constantius*, and his party, who bore a

\* Vol. xvi. p. 513.

† Oros. lib. ii. c. 19. p. 164.

Socr. lib. vii. c. 10. p. 347. Puffendorf. lib. xii. c. 3. p. 534.

great sway at court, the war was renewed, and *Ataulphus* in the end obliged to retire with his *Goths* into *Spain*, where he was soon after murdered, in the manner we have related in a former volume <sup>c</sup>. Before his death, he charged his brother, not named by any historian, to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and live in friendship with them; but the *Goths*, instead of his brother, chose for their king *Sigeric*, or *Sergeric*, brother to *Sargus*, whom *Ataulphus* had put to death. *Sigeric* was no sooner proclaimed king of the *Visigoths*, than, to revenge the death of his brother, he caused the six children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered <sup>a</sup>. He seemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*, and desirous of being employed by them in driving out the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, who had entered *Spain* in 409. and, in the space of two years, reduced almost the whole country, and divided it among them; but he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, perhaps on account of his cruelty to the children of his predecessor *Ataulphus* <sup>b</sup>.

In his room was chosen *Vallia*, after he had caused all those to be assassinated, who stood in competition with him for the crown <sup>c</sup>. As the chief provinces of *Spain* were already possessed by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, he resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the reduction of that country, which still continued subject to the *Romans*; but, the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked, and a great number of *Goths* on board of it drowned, he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, upon the following terms; to wit, that *Placidia*, whom the emperor had promised to *Constantius*, should be sent back; that the *Goths* should make war upon the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, restoring to the *Romans* the places and territories they should recover out of their hands; that, on the other hand, the *Romans* should reward the *Goths* with lands within the empire, and send them forthwith six hundred thousand measures of corn. Pursuant to this agreement, the promised corn was immediately sent to the *Goths*, who were then in the utmost distress; and they so soon received it, that *Vallia* sent back *Placidia* to her brother, and began to make the ne-

*Being driven out of Gaul, he retires to Spain, where he is murdered.*  
 Year of the flood 2763.  
 Of Christ 415.  
 Of Rome 1163.  
*Sigeric, his successor, murdered.*

<sup>a</sup> Vol xvi p 516<sup>a</sup> JORN. p. 655. PHOT. p. 188.

OROS p 224. SOL. lib ix. c 9. p 811.

<sup>b</sup> OROS. PHOT.

ibid.

<sup>c</sup> OROS. p. 224.

cessary preparations for the intended war with the barbarians in Spain <sup>d</sup> (T).

His successful war with the Silingians and Alans in Spain.

He is allowed to settle in Aquitain. Year of the flood 2766. Of Christ 418. Of Rome 1166.

AN alliance being thus concluded between the Romans and the Goths in Catalonia, in 416. Vallia, without loss of time, fell first on the Vandals called Silingians, who had settled in Bætica, or Andalusia; and having, in several successful encounters, cut off great numbers of them, he obliged the rest to abandon their country, and take refuge among the Alans in Celtiberia, now the kingdom of Arragon. Against these he marched next, and made such a dreadful havock of that nation, that, their king Ata being killed, the few who remained, instead of choosing him a successor, fled for protection to Gonderic king of the Vandals, who had settled in Galicia, and submitted to him <sup>e</sup>. To reward these eminent services of Vallia and his Goths, Honorius bestowed on them Aquitania Secunda, comprising the present archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from Toulouse to the sea; to which was added, soon after, Novempopulania, or Aquitania Tertia, that is, the provinces of Auch and Gascony <sup>f</sup>. Vallia, on the other hand, yielded to the Romans, not only the country he had taken from the Vandals and Alans, but likewise Catalonia, which the Goths had held ever since their entering Spain, under the conduct of Ataulphus their second king. Vallia fixed his residence at Toulouse, which by that means became, and continued to be, for the space of eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of the Visigoths. Vallia died soon after he had brought his Goths

<sup>d</sup> OROS. p. 224. PHILOSTORG. lib. xii. c. 4. p. 534. <sup>e</sup> IDAT. chron. SID. car. ii. p. 300. <sup>f</sup> VALES. lib. iii. p. 115.

(T) Jornandes writes, that Constantius advanced at the head of a powerful army to the frontiers of Spain, with a design to make war upon Vallia, in case he refused to send him Placidia, who had been promised to him in marriage; that Vallia came to meet him, on the Pyrenean mountain, with an army no-ways inferior to his; and that the above-mentioned peace and alliance were there concluded (2). But Jornandes is so little acquainted with the history of those times, even that of his own nation, that we cannot give intire credit to any thing he writes.

(2) Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 32. p. 6, 6.

back into *Gaul*, that is, in the year 418. according to the chronicle of *Idatius* <sup>g</sup>, having reigned only three years <sup>h</sup>. He left behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom she had the famous *Ricimer*, of whom we have made frequent mention in a former volume <sup>i</sup>.

*VALLIA* was succeeded by *Theodoric*, who, breaking the alliance which his predecessor had concluded with the *Romans*, <sup>doric</sup> made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to them, and even laid siege to *Arles*; but, at the approach of *Aetius*, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Toulouse* <sup>k</sup>. He made peace soon after with the *Romans*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that after the siege of *Arles*, which the *Goths* had attempted in vain to reduce, several *Gauls* were delivered up to them as hostages, and among the rest one *Theodorus*, who was nearly related to *Avitus*, afterwards emperor. He adds, that *Avitus* went to visit his kinsman at the court of *Theodoric*; on which occasion he rejected the great offers with which *Theodoric* endeavoured to entice him into his service <sup>l</sup>. After this, the *Goths* continued quiet in the countries that had been allotted them in *Gaul*, for the space of ten years, that is, to the year 436. when the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Burgundians*, *Theodoric* laid hold of that opportunity to enlarge his dominions. Having therefore made himself master of several cities, he laid siege in the end to *Narbonne*. But the *Romans* having, in the mean time, concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, count *Litorius* hastened to the relief of the place, at the head of a body of auxiliary *Hunns*, and, falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a seasonable relief to the inhabitants, reduced, by the long siege, to the utmost extremity <sup>m</sup>. *Idatius* ascribes the raising of the siege to *Aetius* <sup>n</sup>; probably, because *Litorius* commanded under him, and acted by his orders. <sup>He breaks anew with the Romans.</sup>

THE *Romans* pursued the war against the *Goths* with great vigour, and equal success. In 438. a battle was fought, in which *Aetius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces, cut eight thousand of them in pieces <sup>o</sup>. The following year, *Litorius*, who commanded the auxiliary *Hunns*, gained great advantages over them, and even laid siege to *Toulouse*, their capital. *Theo-*

<sup>g</sup> *IDAT.* chron. p. 15.

<sup>h</sup> *ISIDOR.* chron.

<sup>i</sup> Vol.

xvi. p. 580. 584. 586. 591. 593.

<sup>k</sup> *PROSP.* chron

<sup>l</sup> *SID.*

car. vii. p. 337.

<sup>m</sup> *PROSP.* chron. *VALES.* rer. franc. lib. iii.

p. 136.

<sup>n</sup> *IDAT.* p. 21.

<sup>o</sup> *PROSP.* chron.

The Romans defeated, and the siege raised, by Theodoric,

also concludes a peace with the Romans

His fall in the battle of Chalons

*Theodoric*, who was in the place, sent several bishops to *Litorius*, hoping, by their mediation, to prevail upon the *Roman* general to accept the advantageous terms which he offered; but *Litorius*, who thought the *Goths* reduced to the last extremity, openly declaring, that he would hearken to no proposals, *Theodoric* marched out at the head of his men, and offered him battle; which he not declining, as a more prudent commander would have done, both armies engaged with the utmost fury. Victory continued a long time doubtful, the loss being equal on both sides, but *Litorius* having in the end advanced too far at the head of his *Huns*, in whose valour he chiefly confided, the *Goths*, making a last effort, cut most of them in pieces, put the rest to flight, and, having surrounded *Litorius*, who had received a dangerous wound, took him alive, and carried him, with his hands tied behind his back, into the city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison, where, after he had undergone inexpressible hardships, he was, by the king's order, put to death. After this victory the *Goths* might have extended their conquests to the *Rhone*, and thus resolution they had taken, according to *Sidonius*, *Aetius*, who, at that time, had neither men nor money, being no ways in a condition to oppose them. However, *Theodoric*, at the request of *Aetius*, then prefect of *Gaul*, and by him held in great esteem, readily hearkened to the proposal that was made to him, and concluded a peace with the *Romans* on the same terms he had offered them before the battle.

SOME years after, that is, in 453 *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, assisted them powerfully against the *Huns* who had entered *Gaul*, and, heading his own troops in person, distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*, but, falling unhappily from his horse, he was, according to some, treacherously killed by his own people, who did not know him, according to others, killed by a *Goth* named *Andagis*, who seized upon *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amalians*. He was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*, who had fought under his father, and had been wound-

GREK I R I st Franc I b u c a p 81 SALVIAN  
gub l q VII 1 I A IDAT p 18 SID D 341 I SID  
C r v i p 11 P osp IDAT CH CH \* Vide BUCH.  
h r be o c / — 40

ed in the same battle. The young prince was for revenging the death of his father on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp; but *Actius*, fearing the *Hunns*, whom he considered as a check upon the *Goths* and *Franks*, might be thus entirely cut off, craftily advised him to return home, lest his brothers should raise disturbances during his absence, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismund* followed his advice, and, returning with his troops to *Tegoufe*, was there received as king with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable<sup>t</sup>. Being soon after apprised of the deceitful advice given him by *Actius*, he broke the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, and laid siege to *Arles*; but was prevailed upon by *Ferreolus*, prefect of *Gaul*, to drop that enterprize, and retire<sup>u</sup> (U).

Year of the flood  
2801.  
Of Christ  
453.  
Of Rome  
1201.

*Thorismund, his successor, breaks with the Romans.*

THE same year *Thorismund* had a favourable opportunity of revenging, on the *Hunns*, the death of his father; for, *Attila* having invaded *Gaul* anew, with a design to make war upon the *Alans*, next neighbours to the *Visigoths*, and, by reducing them, get footing in *Gaul*, *Thorismund* joined the *Alans* with all his forces, engaged *Attila*, and, having gained a complete victory over him, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country<sup>v</sup>. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that he overcame and subdued the *Alamans* and the *Alans*<sup>x</sup>. It appears from *Sidonius*, that his dominions extended to the *Rhone*<sup>y</sup> that writer styles him th haughty and untractable king of *Gothia*<sup>z</sup>, for in his whole conduct he betrayed great pride and arrogance, was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, and seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter. On the other hand, his brothers *Theodoric*, *Fredrick*, *Tunic*, or rather *Eunic*, *Rotemer*, and

*Defeats Attila.*

*Extends his dominions.*

<sup>t</sup> JORN rer Goth c 41 p 671.

p 718 PROSP p 54

<sup>x</sup> GREG. TUR rer franc 1b ii c 7 p 277

lib vii. epist 22 p 109

<sup>u</sup> ISIDOR chron

<sup>v</sup> JORN ibid c 43 p 674-676

<sup>y</sup> SID

<sup>z</sup> Idem ibid

(U) *Sidonius* writes, that *Ferreolus* did more by an entertainment, than *Actius* could have done with an army, that by his obliging manner, and agreeable conversation, he gained *Thorismund*, and saved *Arles* (3)



*Himnarit*, were inclined to peace; which occasioned daily quarrels between them and the king. At length, his brothers, especially *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, finding they could by no other means divert him from engaging in new wars, resolved to dispatch him. Being therefore one day let blood on account of some slight indisposition, while his vein was still open, one of his officers, named *Ascaleru*, having first removed privately his arms, cried aloud, that assassins were coming in to murder the king, and, at the same time, threw himself upon him with several others. *Thorismund*, missing his weapons, with the only arm he had free, laid hold of a footstool, and with it dispatched some of the conspirators; but was in the end overpowered and slain <sup>a</sup>.

Theodo-  
ric II.

A friend  
to the Ro-  
mans.

*THORISMUND* was succeeded by his brother *Theodoric*, a prince, according to *Sidonius* <sup>b</sup>, whom he honoured with his intimacy, of uncommon parts, and great accomplishments, but in point of religion a mere hypocrite. The same writer calls him elsewhere a martial prince, who even surpassed his illustrious parent, the glory of the *Gothic* nation, and the support of the *Roman* empire, not able to maintain itself without the assistance of the barbarians, whom the *Romans* had so often overcome <sup>c</sup>. He was, it seems, a man of some learning, and well versed in the *Latin* poets <sup>d</sup>. In the beginning of his reign he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, sending his brother *Frederic*, with a chosen body of troops into *Spain*, to make war upon the *Bagaudeæ*, who, driving out the *Romans*, had seized on great part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. *Frederic* recovered several places out of their hands, which he restored to the *Romans* <sup>e</sup>. However, in the year 455. the emperor *Maximus*, apprehending that *Theodoric* designed to break with the empire, sent *Avitus*, who was greatly esteemed and respected by the *Goths*, to the court of *Toulouse*, to divert that storm. *Avitus* was received by the king with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, and the peace between the two nations confirmed. But in the mean time *Maximus* dying, *Theodoric* pressed *Avitus* to assume the sovereignty, promising to assist him to the utmost of his power. *Avitus*, encouraged with this promise, suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* at *Toulouse*, on the tenth of

Causes  
Avitus to

<sup>a</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 664, 665.  
p. 2—6.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, car. xxiii. p. 400.  
car. vi. p. 346.

<sup>b</sup> SID. ep. vii.  
<sup>d</sup> Idem,

<sup>e</sup> IDAT. p. 30.

*July*; and was, on the eighth of *August*, acknowledged and *be pro-* proclaimed anew at *Arles* by the Roman soldiery, and all the *claimed* persons of distinction in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, *emperor at* attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new *Toulouse*. prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed <sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, the *Suevians*, taking advantage of the *The Sue-* confusion which the assassination of *Valentinian III.* and *Maxi-* mus had bred in the empire, over-ran and pillaged the province *lage the* of *Cartagena*, with a design to drive the *Romans* quite out of *province* *Spain*. Hereupon *Avitus* dispatched count *Fronto* to *Requarius* of *Cartha-* gena. tween him and the *Romans*: *Theodoric* likewise interposed his good offices, conjuring *Requarius*, who had married his sister, not to disturb the public tranquillity; and at the same time acquainting him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus* <sup>g</sup>. What answer *Requarius* returned to the ambassadors, our historian does not tell us; but he had no sooner dismissed them, than, assembling his forces, he entered the province of *Tarraco*, which then belonged to the *Romans*, and there committed unheard-of ravages, without any regard to the faith of treaties, or the laws of justice. Upon this, *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that he did not understand, why the king of the *Goths* should concern himself with his affairs; that if he found fault with his conduct, he would soon give him an account of it at *Toulouse*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; but in the mean time *Requarius*, entering anew the province of *Tarraco*, laid it waste far and near, carrying with him into *Gallia* a great number of captives <sup>h</sup>.

Soon after, *Theodoric*, having concluded a peace with all *Makes* his neighbours, left his own dominions, and, with the consent *war upon* and approbation of *Avitus*, entered *Spain* at the head of a nu- *the Sue-* merous army, consisting of *Goths* and *Burgundians*; the lat- *vians in* ter, whom he had called to his assistance, being commanded *Spain*. by their king *Hilperic* or *Chilperic*. *Requarius* met him about twelve miles from *Astorga* on the *Urbicus*, now the *Orbegua*. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which the *Suevians* were utterly *Takes* defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, *their king*

<sup>f</sup> SID. p. 349. IDAT. chron. BUCH. Belg. p. 523.  
c. 44. p. 675.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 656.

<sup>g</sup> JORN.

prisoner,  
and puts  
him to  
death.

Recovers  
several  
provinces  
from the  
Suevians;

which he  
retains.

obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of *Gaditania*.<sup>k</sup> This battle was fought on the fifth of *October*, and *Theodoric*, pursuing the fugitives, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who abstained from slaughter, and spared the sacred virgins, but committed all other disorders.<sup>k</sup> *Requiarus* had retired to a place called *Portugal*, thought to be the present city of *Porto* on the *Dauna*; and from thence attempted to make his escape by sea; but, being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who kept him under close confinement till *December*, and then ordered him to be put to death.<sup>l</sup> The *Suevians*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, and destitute of a leader, were most of them either taken prisoners, or put to the sword; tho' *Theodoric* had strictly enjoined his men to spare all who laid down their arms, and submitted.<sup>m</sup> Thus was the power of the *Suevians* reduced by the *Goths* to the lowest ebb (W). The king of the *Visigoths*, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*, appointed one *Aquiulphus* to govern them. *Aquiulphus*, or, as others call him, *Aeliulphus*, was not a *Goth*, as *Jornandes* takes care to tell us, but born in the country of the *Warni*, who are thought to have passed about this time from *Lower Saxony* into *Frisia* and *Holland*.<sup>n</sup> He therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the *Goths*, and, retiring into *Galicia*, endeavoured to persuade the *Suevians* dwelling there to acknowledge him for their king;<sup>o</sup> but a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded.<sup>p</sup> Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died in the month of *June* of the following year 456. at *Porto*.<sup>q</sup> The *Suevians*, who, refusing to submit to *Theodoric*, had retired to *Galicia*, upon the news of the death of their king, chose one of their own nation, named *Maldra*, in his room.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>k</sup> JORN. c. 44. p. 676.  
p. 676. IDAT. p. 34.  
p. 525. <sup>o</sup> JORN. ibid.  
p. 37. <sup>r</sup> Idem, p. 35.

<sup>k</sup> IDAT. p. 33.  
<sup>m</sup> JORN. IDAT. ibid.  
<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 677.

<sup>l</sup> JORN.  
<sup>n</sup> BUCH.  
<sup>q</sup> IDAT.

(W) Some authors think, that *Aovitus*, who owned himself indebted to *Theodoric* for the imperial dignity, had yielded to him all the countries in *Spain* he should recover out of the hands of the *Suevians*: others are of

opinion, that, *Aovitus* being in the mean time deposed, *Theodoric* thought he might retain for himself the countries he had conquered in the name of that prince.

The following year, *Theodoric*, having almost entirely  
 subdued the *Suevians*, passed from thence into *Lusitania*, and  
 there, after having laid in ashes several cities and  
 villages, besieged and took *Merida* the metropolis of that  
 province; but was, as we are told, deterred from plunder-  
 ing it by some prodigies that happened. He continued at *Me-  
 rida* till *Easter*, which this year 457. fell on the thirty-first of  
*March*; when, receiving some disagreeable tidings from *Gaul*,  
 not specified in history, he returned in great haste to *Toulouse*.  
 However, he left in *Spain* a body of troops, composed of dif-  
 ferent nations, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*,  
 who had not yet submitted to the *Goths*. These forces, being  
 on their march admitted as friends into the city of *Astorga*,  
 held by the *Romans*, or rather by some banditti, who called  
 themselves *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants,  
 put great numbers of them to the sword, set fire to the city  
 after they had plundered it; and, having ravaged the neigh-  
 bouring country, pursued their march, carrying with them  
 an immense booty, and a great many captives, among whom  
 were several ecclesiastics, and two bishops. We are told, that  
 they had express orders from *Theodoric* to act in this manner. The  
 city of *Palentia* met with the same treatment; but the castle  
 of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Astorga*, making a vigo-  
 rous resistance, the *Goths*, after several unsuccessful attempts,  
 in which they lost great numbers of their men, abandoned  
 the enterprize, and returned to *Gaul* (X).

Enter Lusitania, and  
 reduce several places there.  
 Year of the Flood  
 2805.  
 Of Christ  
 457.  
 Of Rome  
 1205.

\* IDAT. p. 35.

\* Idem, p. 36.

\* CUSPINIAN p 451.

(X) In their room *Theodoric*  
 sent another army into *Spain*,  
 commanded by one *Cyrila*; but  
 we read of no other exploits per-  
 formed by them, besides the ra-  
 vaging the province of *Bætica*,  
 now *Andalusia* (4). *Idatius* writes,  
 that ambassadors were sent at this  
 time by the *Goths* and *Vandals* to  
 the *Suevians*; but he does not tell  
 us, what was the subject of their  
 embassy (5). Perhaps the *Goths*  
 and *Vandals* had entered into an

alliance with the emperor *Majo-  
 rianus*, and were endeavouring  
 to draw the *Suevians* into the  
 same league; but they did not  
 therein succeed; for the follow-  
 ing year *Theodoric* recalled *Cy-  
 rila*, and sent another general,  
 who, nevertheless, ravaged the  
 province of *Lusitania* under the  
 conduct of *Malgra* their king,  
 and *Galicia* under that of his  
 son *Remismund*, whom *Jordanes*  
 calls *Richmund* (7).

(4) Cuspinian. p. 451.

(5) Idat. p. 36.

(6) Idem, p. 37.

(7) Cusp p. 451. Idat. p. 38. Jorn. p. 619.

Is defeated  
by Majorianus.

He takes  
Narbonne;

but is de-  
feated by  
Ægidius

The Goths  
masters of  
the greater  
part of  
Spain

**THEODORIC**, though thus engaged in the war with the *Suevians*, broke at the same time, upon what provisions we know not, with the *Romans*, and, taking unexpectedly the field, made himself master of several cities in *Gaul* belonging to them. But *Majorianus*, who was then at *Arles*, marching against him with what troops he could assemble, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* and *Vandals* <sup>u</sup>. But *Majorianus* dying soon after, *Theodoric* thought himself no longer obliged to maintain the peace he had concluded with him, and therefore made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*, and among the rest of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to him by one *Agrippina*. From *Narbonne* he marched to *Arles*; which he invested, but was obliged to raise the siege by *Ægidius*, a native of *Gaul*, whom *Severus*, the successor of *Majorianus*, had appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there <sup>w</sup>. The following year 463. *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Goths* in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*. In this battle great numbers of the *Goths* were slain, and, among the rest, *Frederic*, the king's brother, who commanded in chief <sup>x</sup>. The *Goths* being overcome and dispersed, *Ægidius* laid siege to *Chinon* in *Touaine*, but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire <sup>y</sup>. The *Goths* were attended with better success in *Spain* than in *Gaul* for *Idatius* speaks of them as now masters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*; and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*, and were governed by a duke; for in 465. a *Roman*, named *Vincentius*, resided at *Tarraco* with that title <sup>z</sup>. The provinces subject to the *Goths* were governed by the generals *Sumeric* and *Nepotianus*, the former a *Goth*, and the latter a native of *Languedoc*, which was subject to the *Goths*.

IN the year 464. died *Ægidius*, and upon his death the *Goths*, says *Idatius* <sup>a</sup>, made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for *Berr*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, still belonged to the *Romans* in 472 <sup>b</sup>. *Syagrius* the son of *Ægidius* held *Soissons*, and its territory <sup>c</sup>, *Childeric* king of the *Burgundians* reduced the city

<sup>u</sup> IDAT. p 38 CUSP. p 451. <sup>w</sup> PRISC. p 42. IDAT. p 41 CUSP. p 452. <sup>x</sup> IDAT. ibid. <sup>y</sup> GREG. TUR.

<sup>z</sup> 22 p 387, 388. <sup>z</sup> CONCIL. tom. iv p 1062. IDAT. ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p 43. <sup>b</sup> GREG. TUR. p. 282. <sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 285.

SID epist viii. p 260.

# XXVIII. The History of the Goths.

Paris after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years <sup>d</sup>. The Franks were masters of the countries bordering on the Rhine, the Saxons of Nantes and Poitou, and the Britons driven out by the Angles of Vannes and Aquitaine <sup>e</sup>. The following year 465. Theodoric, more bent on making acquisitions in Gaul than in Spain, came to an agreement with Remismund king of the Suevians; but, before he could put his vast designs in execution, he was taken off by the same crime that had raised him to the throne, being murdered by his brother Euric, after he had reigned thirteen years <sup>f</sup>. Jornandes, ever favourable to the Goths, only writes, that the joy Euric had betrayed on this occasion, induced some to imagine, that he had been accessory to the death of his brother <sup>g</sup>.

Theodoric murdered.

Euric, called also Eoric, Evarix, and Euthoric, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he dispatched ambassadors to Leo emperor of the East, to Remismund king of the Suevians, and to Genferic king of the Vandals. Remismund no sooner heard the ambassadors, than he sent others to Euric, to the emperor, and to the king of the Vandals <sup>h</sup>, but, what was the subject of so many embassies, our historian has not thought fit to acquaint us. All we know is that the ambassadors sent by Euric to the king of the Vandals, hearing that the Romans were making great preparations to attack that people, returned in great haste to Toulouse; and that Remismund, upon the departure of Euric's ambassadors, recalled, and assembled into one body, the troops he had sent out in small parties to ravage the country <sup>i</sup>. These people were perhaps negotiating an alliance among themselves against the common enemy the Romans. Be that as it will, Euric this very year 466 committed great ravages in Lusitania; and, having reduced the cities Pampe of Pampelona and Saragosa, made himself master of Upper lona and Spain <sup>k</sup>. The following year, Remismund, having entered Saragosa. Lusitania, took Coimbra, made himself master of several other places, and ravaged the country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Hereupon the natives, recurring not to the Romans, which shews that their power in Spain was now reduced to a very low ebb, but to the Visigoths, sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which was one Opilio, to implore the protection of Euric, who readily interposed his good offices; but, it seems, to no effect; for Remismund, upon the depar-

<sup>d</sup> BOLLAND. 3. Januar. p. 140. <sup>e</sup> VAL rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. SID. ep. vii. p. 16. <sup>f</sup> IDAT. ISIDOR. MARC. chron.

<sup>g</sup> JORN. c. 44. p. 677.

<sup>h</sup> IDAT. p. 44, 45.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, chron. p. 719.

ture of the ambassadors sent to him by *Euric*, plundered the city of *Cimbra*, destroyed several houses, with part of the walls, and carried such inhabitants, as had not the good luck to make their escape, into captivity<sup>1</sup> (Y). *Euric* having made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Cæsaraugusta*, or *Saragossa*, as we have related above, *Tarraco* with its territory was the only place held now in *Spain* by the *Romans*; and that *Euric* besieged in 468. the second of the emperor *Anthemius* reigned, and having, after a long siege, reduced it, leveled it

with the ground. Thus were the *Romans* driven quite out of *Spain*, and a period put to their empire there, after they had been at least seven hundred years masters of that country.

All those provinces, except *Gallia*, and part of *Lusitania*, which were subject to the *Suevians*, acknowledged *Euric* for their king, who, residing at *Toulouse*, governed them by his lieutenants.

*Euric*, not satisfied with the conquests he had made in *Spain*, resolved to extend his dominions likewise in *Gaul*. With this view he began to draw together his forces, and make

other military preparations; which the emperor *Anthemius* no sooner understood, than he wrote to *Riatham* king of the *Britons*, who had settled on the *Loire*, pressing him to join the *Romans* against the common enemy; for the *Britons* were greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. *Riatham* readily complied with the emperor's request, and, having assembled a body of twelve thousand men, marched at the head of them to *Bourges*, and from thence to *Bourdeaux* on the *Indre*, in the province of *Perri*, but, being there met by *Euric*, he was overcome by the *Goths* with great loss, and obliged to abandon that province, and take refuge among the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the *Romans*<sup>m</sup> (Z). The war between the

<sup>1</sup> *Idat* p 45. <sup>m</sup> *Jorn* rer Goth c. 45. p 678. *Greg.* Tur. l ii c 18 p 282

(Y) *Idatius* adds, that the ambassadors sent by the *Lusitanians* reported, upon their return, that several prodigies had happened in *Gaul*, and, among the rest, that a fountain of blood had sprung up in the midst of *Toulouse*, and flowed a whole day (8)

(Z) *Gregory* of *Tours* writes,

that, after the defeat of the *Britons*, one *Paul*, whom he distinguishes with the title of count, having assembled a body of troop, consisting of *Romans* and *Franks*, made war upon the *Goths*, and gained considerable advantages over them (9). However, *Sidomus* tells us, that the *Goths*

(8) *Idat.* p 45, 46.

(9) *Greg Tur.* l ii. c. 18. p. 282.

The *Romans* and *Goths* continued all this and the following year 471. but the authors, who speak of that war, without descending to particulars, only tell us, that the *Goths* gained great advantages over the *Romans*, and in the end made themselves masters of the provinces of *Berri* and *Gevaudan*<sup>a</sup>, the inhabitants, who were greatly oppressed by the *Roman* officers, especially by *Serenatus*, governor of *Gaul*, choosing rather to live under the *Goths* than the *Romans*<sup>b</sup>, or, as *Salvianus* expresses it, choosing rather to live free, under the appearance of slavery, than be treated like slaves under the appearance of liberty<sup>c</sup>. Makes himself master of Berri and Gevaudan.

IN 473. a peace was concluded<sup>d</sup>; but *Anthemius* being murdered the same year by *Ricimer*, and *Olybrius* proclaimed emperor in his room, as we have related in our *Roman history*<sup>e</sup>, *Euric*, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire, renewed the war, hoping to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Gaul*, as he had done five years before out of *Spain*. *Auvergne* was the only province they still held in *Aquitania Prima*, lying between the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*; and into this province *Euric* broke at the head of a powerful army in the beginning of the year 474. but met with a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants, who, without the assistance of any regular troops, gained some considerable advantages over the enemy. But at the end they laid siege to *Besieges Clermont*, and continued before that place, without being able to reduce it, till the rigour of the season obliged them to retire<sup>f</sup>. As they seemed resolved to renew the siege early in the spring, *Nepos*, who had succeeded *Olybrius* in the empire, thinking he could better secure by treaty, than by arms, what he still possessed in *Gaul*, dispatched the quaestor *Licinianus* with the character of ambassador to *Euric*, in order to enter into a negotiation with that prince. *Euric* received him in a very obliging manner, and several conferences were held, at which some bishops of *Provence* were allowed to assist; to

<sup>a</sup> SID. l. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63, 68. & l. vii. ep. 5 p. 180.

<sup>b</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 28. ISIDOR. chron. SID. l. ii. ep. 1. p. 33. & ep. 13. p. 143.

<sup>c</sup> SALVIAN l. v. de guber. Dei. <sup>d</sup> SID. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 183. <sup>e</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 592. <sup>f</sup> SID. l. vi. ep. 6. p. 162.

overcame the *Franks*, and afterwards entered into alliance with them (1). He writes elsewhere, that *Euric* gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigimer* a barbarian prince (2), whom *Valesius* conjectures to have been by nation a *Frank* (3).

(1) Sid. l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215.  
(3) Val. l. i. de Franc. p. 219, 220.

(2) Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 252.



with *Leontius* bishop of *Arles*, *Faustus* of *Riez*, *Gereus* of *Marseilles*, and *Basilus* of *Aix*. To *Basilus*, *Sidonius*, then bishop of *Clermont*, wrote a letter, recommending to him the interest of the catholic religion, and begging he would take care, that by the treaty the catholics should be allowed to ordain bishops for the vacant churches in the countries subject to the *Goths*. For the *Goths* held the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Euric*, a professed enemy to the catholics, would not allow them to appoint new bishops in the room of those who died; inasmuch that nine episcopal sees were at that time vacant. A report being spread, which proved afterwards true, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded between the *Romans* and *Goths*, in virtue of which *Auvergne* was to be delivered up to the *Goths*, *Sidonius*, who was bishop of *Clermont* in that province, and a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, wrote a letter to *Gereus* bishop of *Marseilles*, conjuring him not to agree to so shameful an article, and assuring him, that the inhabitants were ready to undergo the greatest hardships, rather than submit to the *Goths*, who, mindful of the vigorous resistance they had often met with from them, would treat them more like criminals than slaves. He concludes by earnestly begging, that if the country was to be yielded to the *Goths*, the inhabitants might be allowed to retire, and some place allotted to them within the bounds of the empire. However, the treaty was concluded, and *Auvergne* delivered up to *Euric*, tho' he would not by any means consent to the ordaining of catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions.

*Auvergne*  
yielded to  
him by  
treaty.

Year of the flood 2828. Of Christ 480. Of Rome 1228. FIVE years after, that is, in 480. the few places in *Gaul*, that were still held by the *Romans*, having submitted to *Odoacer*, who, after putting to death *Orestes*, and deposing his son *Augustulus* the last emperor of the west, had assumed the title of king of *Italy*, that prince yielded them to the *Goths*, whose dominions, by that addition, extended from the *Loire* to the *Alps*. However, the cities of *Arles* and *Marseilles* held out, it seems, some time against the *Goths* (A). *Euric*, having thus

<sup>1</sup> Idem, l. vii. ep. 6, 7 p. 184, 186. <sup>2</sup> SID. l. iv. ep. 15. p. 109. <sup>3</sup> Idem, l. vii. ep. 7. p. 185. <sup>4</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 675. <sup>5</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 12, p. 341. <sup>6</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680.

(A) We leave *Bucherus* to inquire why *Odoacer* abandoned these countries, and, in abandoning them, chose rather to bestow them on the *Goths*, than the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the empire (4) That writer supposes the *Burgundians*, jealous of

(4) *Bucher*, p. 566.

He made himself master of the best part of *Gaul*, that is, of the whole tract between the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and of all *Spain*, except a small corner of *Galicia*, and part of *Lusitania* held by the *Suevians*, was still bent on making new conquests, and reducing the remaining part both of *Spain* and *Gaul*, when death put an end to his vast designs. He died at *Arlés* <sup>Euric dies</sup> the nineteenth year of his reign <sup>a</sup>, after the eleventh, <sup>Year of</sup> and before the end, of *September* <sup>b</sup>. He had made himself way <sup>the flood</sup> to the throne by the murder of his brother, and governed his <sup>2832.</sup> subjects with a rod of iron <sup>c</sup>. He passed the greater part of his <sup>Of Chris</sup> life in the field, was constantly quarreling with his neighbours, <sup>484.</sup> and never pleased, but when he had an opportunity of staining <sup>Of Rom</sup> his hands in the blood of his enemies <sup>d</sup>. He was a prince of <sup>1232.</sup> great penetration, formidable in war, and attended with suc- <sup>His cha-</sup> cess in most of his undertakings <sup>e</sup>; whence he was dreaded by <sup>rafter.</sup> all nations, and his friendship courted by the neighbouring as well as the distant people <sup>f</sup> (B).

EURIC

- <sup>a</sup> ISID. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680. LABB. chron.  
<sup>b</sup> Concil. tom. iv. p. 1394. <sup>c</sup> ENNOD. in vit. Epiph. p. 385.  
<sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 384. <sup>e</sup> SID. l. vii. ep. 5. p. 183. & l. viii. ep. 3.  
<sup>f</sup> p. 215. ENNOD. ibid. p. 385. Idem ibid.

the too great power of the *Goths*, to have made war upon them; and that this is the year of which *Jornandes* speaks, where he tells us, that a war was kindled between two nations in *Gaul* (5); for he speaks soon after of the war between the *Burgundians* and *Goths*. The *Burgundians*, sprung originally from the *Vandals*, had entered *Gaul* in 406. with the *Vandals* and *Alans*; and, having some years after made themselves masters of the country now known by the name of *Alsace*, they were allowed to settle there as friends and allies of the *Roman* people. They were removed from thence in 431. by *Actius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. In 456. they seized on part of *Spain*, and made them-

selves masters of the city of *Lyons*, and in 478. reduced the whole province called *Lugdunensis Prima*. *Jornandes* writes, that in the present year 482. the *Goths* gained great advantages over them (6). However, it appears from the acts of the council of *Agde* held in 526. and of the council of *Epaune* in 527. that no fewer than twenty eight cities or dioceses belonged to the *Burgundians*, in which number were *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun* (7); so that the *Goths* were not, as *Jornandes* supposes them to have been, masters of all the fourth part of *Gaul* (8).

(B) *Sidonius*, speaking, in 476. of the court of this prince then at *Bourdeaux*, describes the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, the *Heruli*, the

(5) *Jorn.* p. 681.  
*Idem*, p. 105.

(6) *Idem* ibid.  
*Jorn.* p. 680.

(7) *Notit. Gall. per Adrian. Va-*

The first who gave written laws to the Goths, till his reign, by customs only\* (C). The person

\* ISIDOR. chron.

*Burgundians*, and even the *Romans* and *Persians*, falling down before him in the posture of suppliant, and conquered people (9). Upon this *Bucharius* makes a long descant (1), to which we refer the reader. *Apollinaris Sidonius* makes several excellent reflections on the success that attended *Euric* in most of his undertakings (2), though he was not only separated from, but an irreconcilable enemy to, the catholic church, being a zealous *Arian*, and firmly persuaded, says *Sidonius*, that the success of his arms was owing to the purity of his faith. His aversion to the catholic church was so great, that he could not even endure the name of catholic (3). *Gregory of Tours* writes, that, having raised a persecution against the catholics, he caused their churches to be shut up, and either banished, imprisoned, or put to death, their bishops, their clergy, and all who dared to oppose or impugn the *Arian* impiety (4). But if that writer had no other voucher for that persecution but *Sidonius*, whom he quotes, his account is greatly exaggerated; for *Sidonius* only says, that *Euric* banished two bishops, and would not suffer any to be named to the vacant sees (5). Most churches, continues *Sidonius*, in the countries he & by the *Goths* are without pastors, and the bishopricks and there with the lives of the

bishops. Of these vacant bishopricks he names nine, to wit, *Bourdeaux*, *Pereguex*, *Rhodes*, *Limoges*, *Mande*, *Eause*, *Banas*, *Cominges*, and *Auch*. He adds, that the vacancy of the sees was attended with the ruin of religion, since it was the province of the bishops to provide the churches with inferior ministers, and bring back to the fold the sheep gone astray; that Christianity was almost extinct in those dioceses; that the churches were ready to fall, both in the towns and villages; that some of them were shut up by the thorns and briars that grew in the entry, and others lay open only for the sheep, that came to graze at the very foot of the holy altar. If such was the state of affairs in 474. when *Sidonius* wrote, we leave the reader to judge to what a deplorable condition they must have been reduced before the end of *Euric's* reign, which lasted ten years longer, for that prince never suffered the vacant sees to be filled. The two bishops he banished in 474. were *Crucus*, supposed to have been bishop of *Arles*, and *Simplicius*, whose see is quite unknown (6).

(C) The laws he published were called the *Theodorician* laws; which appellation has occasioned great disputes among authors. *Baronius* supposes them to have been so called, because the two *Theodorics*, predecessors of *Euric*,

(9) *Sid. l. vi. ep. 9. p. 229, 230.*

(1) *Buch. p. 52, 562.*

(2) *Sid.*

*l. vii. ep. 6. p. 182, 183.*

(3) *Item ibid.*

(4) *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc.*

*l. h. c. 25. p. 284.*

(5) *Sid. ep. vi. p. 184.*

(6) *Idem ibid. p. 484.*



that, besides *Leo*, he employed seventy bishops, among whom was one *Severus*, bishop of *Barcelona*, whom he afterwards put to death, with a countryman named *Emeterius*, on account of their zeal for the catholic faith. But what these authors write is founded on an antient tradition, which *Bollandus* thinks quite groundless<sup>1</sup>. *Euric* married one *Ragnabild* or *Ragnachild*, the daughter of a king, for whose use in bathing *Evodius* caused a silver vessel to be made, on which were engraved some verses composed by *Sidonius*<sup>2</sup>. By her he had a son named *Alaric*, by whom he was succeeded, and a daughter, who was married to a barbarian prince named *Sigismund*<sup>3</sup>. From the description which *Sidonius*, who saw that prince, gives of him, *Valesius* concludes him to have been by nation a *Frank*; and that *Euric* gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping by that means to gain the nation of the *Franks*, which began to be very powerful in *Gaul*. But by that very nation the son he had by her was killed in battle, and a period put to the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, who, being driven from thence, fixed their royal seat at *Toledo* in *Spain*. But, as in *Euric's* reign they firmly established their dominion in the latter of these countries, we shall, in compliance with our plan, leave them for the present, and, reserving for their modern history an account of their affairs from the time they settled in *Spain* to the loss of that country to the *Arabs*, return to the *Ostrogoths*, who, as we have observed above, upon the departure of their countrymen the *Visigoths* admitted by *Valens* in 376. into the empire, continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the illustrious family of the *Amals*.

The history of the Ostrogoths, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ermenric* or *Hermanaric* their king, chose *Vithimir*, by some called *Winithar*, in his room. The new king gained at first some small advantages over the *Hunns*; but was in the end overcome, and killed in battle, by *Salamir* or *Balamber*, king

<sup>1</sup> BOLLAND 8 Mar. p. 244, 245.  
97, 98.

<sup>2</sup> SID. l. iv. ep. 8. p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> SID. l. iv. ep. 8. p.

for it (8). St *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Alaric* the son of *Euric* having once complained in the presence of *Leo*, that a fine view from his palace was obstructed by the church of *Narbonne*,

he advised him to lower the church; which was done accordingly. *Gregory* of *Tours* adds, that *Leo* paid dear for this advice, having soon after intirely lost his eye-sight (9).

(8) Idem, l. iv. ep. 22 p. 118, 120.  
p. 208, 209.

(9) *Greg. Tu. de glor. martyr. c. 92.*

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of the *Huns*<sup>m</sup>. His son *Vitheric* withdrew, attended by great numbers of his subjects, into the plains between the *Boresphenes* and the *Danube*, that is, into the present *Podolia*. Of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by *Hunimund* the son of *Ermenric*, who submitted to the *Huns*, and is said to have made war upon, and gained a signal victory over, the *Suevians*. His son *Thorismund* reigned next, who defeated with great slaughter the *Gepidae*; but was soon after killed in the flower of his age by a fall from his horse. The *Goths* so lamented the loss of this prince, that, for the space of forty years, they chose no king in his room. After so long an interregnum, *Wandalar*, son to the brother of *Ermenric*, was raised to the throne; but of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by his three sons *Valemir*, *Theodimir*, and *Vidimir*, who reigned jointly, and attended *Attila* in most of his expeditions. Upon that prince's death, several nations, by him formerly subdued, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave from *Marcian*, then emperor, to settle in the *Roman* territories, almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the *Huns*, and other barbarians. Among these, mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who settled in *Lesser Scythia*, and *Lower Mæsia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Castle of Mars*. To the *Ostrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Scлавonia*, to *Vindobona*, now *Vienna in Austria*<sup>n</sup>. The *Goths*, settle in as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time governed by their own princes, to whom the emperor agreed to pay an annual pension, upon their promising to guard the frontiers of the empire, and serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies<sup>o</sup>. *Pannonia* being granted to the *Ostrogoths*, the three brothers divided that country among them, *Valemir* settling in the eastern part of it, *Theodimir* in the western, and *Vidimir* between the other two<sup>p</sup>. They were scarce settled in their new territories, when the sons of *Attila*, pursuing them even into *Pannonia*, fell upon *Valemir* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*; but that prince, with an handful of men, overthrew them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge in that part of *Scythia* which bordered on the *Danube*<sup>q</sup>. About eight years after, the *Goths*

They are allowed to  
Pannonia.  
Year of the flood  
2801.  
Of Christ  
453.  
Of Rome  
1201.

They gain two victories over the *Huns*.

<sup>m</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. p. 644.    <sup>n</sup> Idem, c. 48. p. 683.    <sup>o</sup> JORN. c. 57. p. 696.    <sup>p</sup> Idem, c. 50—52. p. 688, 689.    <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid p. 690.

being

They ravage Illyricum.

They conclude a peace with Leo, and send him Theodoric as an hostage.

being engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dintzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, laying hold of that opportunity, entered *Pannonia* at the head of a considerable army; and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to *Bassiana*, thought to be the present city of *Posega*, which gives name to a county in *Hungary* between the *Save* and the *Draw*. But the *Goths*, leaving the *Satagæ*, marched with all their forces against the *Huns*, who readily engaged them; but received such an overthrow, that they ever after stood in awe of the *Goths*, and never offered to molest them<sup>r</sup>. In the year 455. the emperor *Leo* refusing, under several pretences, to pay to the *Ostrogoths* their usual pension, they entered *Illyricum*, and there committed dreadful ravages; but *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, having assembled the troops quartered in that province, obliged them to retire with no small loss<sup>s</sup>. Soon after, *Leo* sent deputies to *Valemir*, to upbraid him with his late conduct, and renew the antient treaties<sup>t</sup>. The treaties were accordingly renewed, and the peace re-established, upon the emperor's promising to pay to the *Goths* what was due to them to that time, and for the future three hundred pounds weight of gold a year. On the other hand, *Valemir* sent to *Constantinople*, by way of hostage, the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, but then only eight years old (E). *Leo* received him with the greatest marks of esteem and affection, maintained him for the space of ten years at his court, in a manner suitable to his rank, and took care to have him instructed by the best masters in every branch of polite literature<sup>w</sup>.

In the year 466. the tenth of *Leo*'s reign, a war breaking out between the *Goths* in *Pannonia* and the *Squiri*, whom the emperor *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mæsia*, both nations had recourse to *Leo*, whose subjects they were, imploring his assistance. *Aspar*, *Leo*'s chief favourite, was for aiding neither, but suffering them to destroy each other. However, the emperor wrote to the governor of

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. p. 691.

<sup>s</sup> Idem, p. 690. SID. CAR. II. p. 296.

PRISC. p. 74.

<sup>t</sup> PRISC. p. 74, 75.

<sup>u</sup> JORN. PRISC. ibid.

<sup>w</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 55. p. 693, 694. THEOPH. p. 612.

(E) *Males* the historian, and *Damascius*, who wrote the life of *Isidore*, and was cotemporary with *Theodoric* himself, suppose him to have been the son of *Valemir* (1). But *Jernandes*, who lived some time after, and was

perhaps better acquainted with the history of the *Ostrogoths*, being himself one of that nation, assures us that *Theodoric* was the son of *Theodamir* by a concubine named *Erelsewa*, and consequently only nephew to *Valemir* (2).

(1) *Pb t c* 78. p. 172.

(2) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 52. p. 689.

## §. XXVIII. *The History of the Goths.*

*Thyricum*, injoining him to march with all the troops under *Thy* his command to the assistance of the *Squiri*, who nevertheless *feat the* were utterly defeated, and most of them cut to pieces, either *Squiri* in the fight or the pursuit. But the *Goths* lost on this occa- *Valimir slain.* sion *Valimir* their king, who, falling from his horse as he was riding full-speed through the ranks to animate his men, was surrounded, and, with many wounds, dispatched by the enemy<sup>x</sup>. Such of the *Squiri* as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the *Sarmatians*, the *Rugians*, and the *Gepidæ*, who, readily joining them, renewed the war, and, entering the territories of the *Goths*, laid them waste far and near. Hereupon the *Goths*, putting themselves under the conduct of the two remaining brothers *Theodomir* and *Vidimir*, took the field, and, engaging the enemy on the banks of the *Danube*, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire with great precipitation beyond that river, which *Theodomir* passed soon after on the ice, and, having laid waste the enemy's country, returned loaded with booty into *Pannonia*<sup>r</sup>. In this war *Theodomir* not only defeated the *Sarmatians*, *Rugians*, and *Gepidæ*, but gained a signal victory over the *Suevians* and *Alemans*, who had joined the above-mentioned nations<sup>2</sup>. Upon his return, he received with great joy his son *Theodoric*, whom *Leo* had sent back loaded with rich presents, after having kept him at his court as an hostage for the space of ten years<sup>3</sup>. He was scarce returned, when news were brought, that *Babai* king of the *Sarmatians*, having defeated a *Roman* general named *Camundus*, had made himself master of *Singidunum* in *Upper Mæsia*. Hereupon *Theodoric*, having assembled, without his rather's knowledge, a small body of troops, passed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Sarmatian* territories, fell upon *Babai*, put him and most of his men to the sword, and, on his return home, retook *Singidunum*; but did not restore it to the *Romans*<sup>b</sup>.

*Theodomir and Vidimir defeat the Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, &c.*

*Theodoric overcomes and kills the king of the Sarmatians.*

In the year 473. during the short reign of *Glycerius*, the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, without the least provocation, says *For- nandes*, and only because they were incapable of living in peace, resolved to make war on the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, the two brothers *Theodomir* and *Vidimir* met, when it fell to the lot (for they cast lots) of the latter to invade *Italy*, where *Glycerius* then acted as emperor, and to that of *Theodomir* to attack the eastern empire, governed at that time by *Leo I.* *Vidimir* immediately set out on his march; but

<sup>x</sup> PRISC p. 44.

<sup>r</sup> JORN. ibid. JORN c. 50 p 687 & c 63. p 691, 692.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, c. 5; p 693.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> JORN. p. 694.



Part of  
the Ostro-  
goths join  
the Visi-  
goths in  
Gaul.

had scarce entered *Italy*, when he died, leaving the command of his troops to his son, who bore the same name. *Jornandes* adds, that the young prince being prevailed upon by the rich presents which *Glycerius* sent him to retire out of *Italy*, he marched into *Gaul*, and, joining the *Visigoths*, settled there, assisted them in the conquest of that country, and in the reduction of *Spain*, becoming one people with them<sup>c</sup>. As for *Theodomit*, he entered *Illyricum*; and, having made himself master of *Naissus*, he divided his army into several small bodies, under the command of his son *Theodoric*, and other generals, who reduced, without any considerable opposition, the cities of *Ulpiana*, *Heraclea*, and *Larissa*. Having afterwards reunited their forces, and left a strong garison in *Naissus*, they laid siege to *Thessalonica*. But *Clarianus*, governor of the place, prevailed upon *Theodomit*, with rich presents, to abandon the enterprize, and retire.

Theodo-  
mir dies,  
and is suc-  
ceeded by  
his son  
Theodo-  
ric.

Year of  
the flood  
2824.

Of Christ  
476.

Of Rome  
1224



Theodo-  
ric de-  
clares for  
the empe-  
ror Zeno  
against Ba-  
siliscus.

He is aban-  
doned by  
Zeno.

SOON after a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, during which *Theodomit* died, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, called *Amalus*, being descended from the *Amali*, the most illustrious family among the *Goths*<sup>d</sup>. The emperor *Zeno*, overjoyed at the news of the young prince's accession to the crown, immediately invited him to court, received him with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, raised him to the rank of a patrician, and even adopted him, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, for his son<sup>e</sup>. *Theodoric* was scarce returned to *Pannonia*, when news were brought him, that *Basiliscus*, of whom we have made frequent mention in a former volume<sup>f</sup>, revolting from *Zeno*, had been proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the senate of *Constantinople*. The usurper was chiefly supported by a *Goth* in the *Roman* service, named likewise *Theodoric*, who had been raised to the first posts in the army, and the command of his countrymen, who, following the example of their leader, had all declared for *Basiliscus*. However, King *Theodoric*, espousing the cause of *Zeno*, marched against them, but as his troops were far inferior in number to those of the enemy, *Zeno* assured him, that he should be joined at the straits of mount *Hæmus* by the general of *Thrace*, with ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, and that, after passing the mountains, he should find twenty thousand horse on the banks of the *Hebrus* ready to join him. but at neither place did he find any troops; and the guide, who had been sent him by the *Romans*, leaving

<sup>c</sup> Idem, rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 694, 695. & reg. c. 47. p. 654, 655.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. p. 696.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Univers.

hist. vol. xvi. p. 587, 588

the known roads and beaten ways, led him through deserts, where his men suffered greatly for want of provisions, and over steep mountains, till they brought his army, quite spent with such long and fatiguing marches, in sight of the enemy, encamped in a most advantageous post. But though they might with great ease have cut the king and his whole army in pieces, yet *Theodoric* their leader sent only some persons to upbraid the king with making war on his countrymen in favour of the *Romans*, who had thus betrayed him with fair promises, and only fought to set *Goths* against *Goths*, that they might have the cruel satisfaction of seeing them destroy each other. These remonstrances occasioned a mutiny in the king's army, who, finding himself reduced to the alternative of being abandoned by his own men, or coming to an agreement with *Theodoric*, chose the latter.

THE two generals conferred, having a river between them, and in the end agreed not to make war upon each other. They both dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, *Theodoric* to demand the arrears that were due to him and his army, and the king to acquaint the emperor with the treaty he had made, and at the same time to let him know, that, unless provisions were sent to the army, it was not in his power to restrain his men from plundering *Thrace*.<sup>c</sup> What answer *Zeno* returned to the former, we are no where told, but to the latter he made a long apology for not sending, as he had promised, the *Roman* troops to join him. But the author of *Zeno's* life, though not a little biased in favour of that prince, cannot help owning, that he was therein greatly to blame.<sup>d</sup> The emperor did all that lay in his power to persuade the king to break the treaty he had lately concluded with *Theodoric*, sending to him for that purpose two solemn embassies, and promising not only to reward him with large sums, and great revenues, if he should defeat the rebels, but to give him in marriage *Juliana*, the daughter of *Olybrius*, and grand daughter of *Valentinian III.* But the king could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to make the least breach in the treaty with *Theodoric*; which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace with him upon the following terms, highly dishonourable to the imperial dignity, to wit, that *Theodoric* should have the command of the emperor's guards; that he should retain all the honours conferred upon him by the usurper *Basiliscus*, that his estate, which had been confiscated, should be restored to him; and lastly, that he should be appointed commander in

*He enters into a treaty with Theodoric, a Goth in the Roman service.*

<sup>c</sup> *MALES*, p. 83—96.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem*, p. 83, 84.

chief of the Roman cavalry, which post was then held by king *Theodoric*, but, in virtue of this treaty, taken from him, and bestowed on the other<sup>1</sup>.

*He breaks with Zeno, and ravages Thrace and Macedon.*

IN the mean time king *Theodoric*, who was still with his army among the mountains of *Thrace*, not receiving from the Romans either money or provisions to support them, marched down into the province of *Rhodope* on the *Ægean* sea, and being highly provoked at the emperor's conduct, laid waste the most fertile places of *Thrace*, destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off. The emperor sent several generals to oppose him; but though he lost, as we are told, a great many men in skirmishes, yet the loss on the side of the Romans must have been far more considerable, since, in the end, all the emperor's generals declined the command of the army in *Thrace*<sup>2</sup>. From *Thrace* *Theodoric* marched into *Macedon*, and, having pillaged the open country, made himself master of *Stopi* on the river *Axius*. From thence he marched into the neighbourhood of *Thessalonica*; which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that, thinking themselves abandoned by the emperor, they pulled down and broke in pieces all his statues, and were ready to fall upon their governor, named *John*; but, in the end, contented themselves with taking from him the keys of the city, and delivering them to the bishop<sup>3</sup>.

*Proposals for an accommodation.*

*THEODORIC*, without making the least attempt on *Thessalonica*, led his army from thence to *Heraclea*, where he was met by ambassadors from *Zeno*, with proposals for an accommodation; which he being willing to conclude, sent others to *Constantinople*, and, in the mean time, ordered his men to forbear all hostilities. The person employed by *Zeno* to treat with *Theodoric* was the patrician *Adamancus*, who, as appears from some laws, had been governor of *Constantinople*, and was, on this occasion, honoured with the consular ornaments, but not with the consulship. During the negotiations, *Theodoric* found means of making himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that he might have some place of strength to retire to, in case the negotiations should not have the desired effect.

*Which are rejected by Zeno.*

Hereupon the conferences were broken off, *Adamancus* declaring, that he could not treat with the *Goths*, till they had restored the city of *Duras* to the empire. *Theodoric* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with that important place during the winter; but promised to abandon it early in the spring, to march against the other *Theodoric*, who had raised new disturbances in the empire; and, that the emperor

<sup>1</sup> *MALES*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 95.

might

might not question the sincerity of his intentions, to deliver up to him his mother and sisters as hostages. He likewise offered, with the emperor's approbation, to march into *Italy*, and restore *Nepos*, who was nearly related to the empress *Verina*, *Zeno's* mother-in-law, and had been lately driven from the throne by *Glycerius*. To these proposals *Adamancus* answered, that he had no power to grant him any terms, till *Duras* was restored<sup>m</sup>; but that he would write to the emperor, and acquaint him with his answer.

THE *Romans*, in the mean time, became more intractable, being elated with some advantages they gained at that very time over the *Goths*. *Theodoric* had marched before with a strong detachment to surprise *Duras*, while the main body, with the baggage, followed by slow marches, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimund*. This *Sabinianus*, general of *Illyricum*, and at that time the best commander in the whole empire, no sooner understood, than he ordered all the troops quartered in that province to assemble at *Lychnidus* in *Macedon*; and, marching from thence with incredible expedition, overtook the *Goths*, as they were descending from the mountains of *Candavia*, between *Lychnidus* and *Duras*. *Theudimund*, and his mother, who followed the army, had just time to pass a torrent, and cause the bridge to be broken down, by which means they saved themselves, but stopped the march of the army; so that the *Romans*, falling upon them, cut most of them to pieces, took five thousand prisoners, two thousand waggons, and an immense booty<sup>n</sup>. *Zeno*, elated with this victory, and not doubting but he should either take *Theodoric* himself prisoner, or oblige him to submit to what terms he pleased, wrote to *Sabinianus*, and to *Gento*, a *Goth* of great reputation in the *Roman* service, to pursue the war, and not suffer *Theodoric*, with the troops he had with him, to retire, but to keep him shut up on all sides, ordering at the same time *Adamancus* to break off the conferences, and return to *Constantinople*<sup>o</sup>. But of this war all we know is, that the following year 480. *Theodoric* ravaged *Greece*; and that *Sabinianus*, as count *Marcellinus* writes, put, in the end, a stop to his ravages, more by address than by dint of arms<sup>p</sup>: which plainly shews, that the *Romans* had not been attended with the success they expected.

No further mention is made of *Theodoric* till the year 482. *Theodoric* when, *Sabinianus* being dead, he ravaged without controul both *Macedons*, with *Thessaly*, and even took and plundered

<sup>m</sup> MALES, p. 84.<sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 85.<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>p</sup> MARCEL. chron.

*ant. av- Larissa, the metropolis of the latter province<sup>1</sup>; inso-*  
*ges Mace-* that the emperor, to appease him, was at length obliged to  
*don and* yield to him part of *Lower Macedonia* and *Lower Dacia*, to give  
*Theodori-* him the command of the troops of the household, and to name  
*but is ap-* him consul for the ensuing year 484. which was the greatest  
*per/dly* honour he could confer upon him. Hereupon *Theodoric*, dis-  
*th empe-* banding his troops, set out for *Constantinople* with a small reti-  
*ror* nue, and, being received there by the emperor with the  
 greatest marks of kindness and esteem, discharged the follow-  
 ing year the office of consul. During his consulship, *Leontius*,  
 a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the  
 troops in that province, revolting, caused himself to be pro-  
 claimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* dispatched *Illus*, captain  
 of his guards, but he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined  
 him, and both together defeated and took prisoner *Longinus*,  
 the emperor's brother, who, at the head of a considerable  
 army, had ventured to engage them in the neighbourhood of  
*Antioch*, which city, after his defeat, submitted to the usurper.  
*Zeno*, upon the news of the defeat and captivity of his  
 brother, dispatched one *John*, an officer of great valour, and  
 experience in war, into *Syria*, and prevailed upon *Theodoric*  
 to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two  
 commanders, meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbour-  
 hood of *Selucia*, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged  
 them to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Ci-*  
*licia*<sup>2</sup> (F).

He de-  
 feats the  
 usurper  
 Leontius

He falls  
 out with  
 Zeno, and  
 returns  
 from Con-  
 stantino-  
 ple

As the rebels were no more in a condition to give the least  
 apprehension or uneasiness, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his  
 forces with the other commander to pursue the war, returned  
 with the rest to *Constantinople*, but, finding that *Zeno* began to  
 mistrust him, and even to seek underhand his destruction, he  
 withdrew from court, and retired into *Thrace*, the emperor  
 having, some time before, appointed him general of the troops  
 quartered in that country (G). Soon after his leaving *Con-*  
*stantinople*,

<sup>1</sup> MARCEI chron ad ann 487 MARCEL chron.  
 THLOIH p 202 JORN rer Goth c 57 p 686. MAD.  
 p 84 <sup>2</sup> THEOPH p III 118 EVAGR. l III c 35. p 366.

(F) *Faegrius*, and others, as-  
 cribe this victory to the *Latins*,  
 that is, the *Goths*, for so  
 we find them styled by several  
 writers, from their king *Vil-*  
*limer* 3

(G) Thus *Evagrius* (4) But  
*Marcellinus*, accusing *Theodoric*  
 of ingratitude towards his bene-  
 factor *Zeno*, tells us, that, not  
 satisfied with the innumerable fa-  
 vours he had received at the em-

*Constantinople*, he fell upon the *Bulgarians*, who, under the conduct of their king or leader named *Libertem*, had broken into *Thrace*, and gained a complete victory over them, *Libertem* himself being dangerously wounded, and most of his men cut in pieces<sup>c</sup>. The following year 486. *Theodoric* spent in raising forces, and in 487. broke into *Thrace* at the head of a powerful army, putting all to fire and sword. Upon what provocation he thus turned his arms against the empire, we are nowhere told; but, without all doubt, the same motives that, some time before, had induced him to withdraw from court, prompted him now to act as an enemy. Having ravaged *Thrace*, he approached *Constantinople*, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Melantiades*, a city placed by *Sanfon* about fifteen miles west of *Constantinople*, with a design as was believed, of laying siege to the imperial city. But, while the inhabitants were under the utmost consternation, *Theodoric*, decamping all on a sudden, marched back to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, whence he was come<sup>d</sup>. Some writers ascribe his sudden retreat to the regard he had for that metropolis; others to a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, who, putting him in mind of the kindness he had ever shewn him, and of the many honours he had heaped upon him, and representing to him at the same time the danger to which he exposed himself in making war on the empire, persuaded him to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, and turn his arms against *Odoacer*, who, having put *Orestes* to death, and deposed his son *Augustulus*, had taken upon himself the title of king of *Italy*<sup>e</sup> (H). *Theodoric*

He de-  
fats the  
Bulgari-  
ans.

He ra-  
vages  
Thrace.

Year of  
the flood  
2835.  
Of Christ  
487.  
Of Rome  
1235.

Is advised  
by Zeno  
to turn  
his arms  
against  
Odoacer.

<sup>c</sup> ENNOD. p. 292. 296. <sup>d</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 461. MARCELL. THEOPH. p. 113. <sup>e</sup> JORN. p. 697. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 27. p. 356.

peror's hands, he retired from court, and began to seek some plausible pretence of making war on the empire (5). *Jornandes*, ever favourable to that prince, but not well acquainted with his history, supposes him to have retired into *Pannonia*, choosing rather to live in poverty among his *Goths*, than in affluence among the *Romans* (6).

(H) The *Romans* afterwards

pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the East, to whom of right it belonged (7). On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded *Italy* to *Theodoric*, and his posterity (8). Of this opinion were not only *Jornandes* (9), by nation a *Goth*, but *Procopius*, a *Roman* writer (1), who tells us, that *Zeno* encoura-

(5) *Marcel. ad ann.* 485.

(6) *Jorn. c.* 57. p. 696.

(7) *Mol. p.* 84.

(8) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p.* 462.

(9) *Jorn. c.* 57. p. 696, 697.

(1) *Procop. p.* 655.

ric received with joy the proposal made him by the emperor of driving *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, and returned, as we have hinted above, to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, in order to make the necessary preparations for that expedition.

*He sets out for Italy.* THE following year 488. *Theodoric*, having assembled, says *Ennodius*<sup>x</sup>, an infinite number of people, carrying with them on waggons their wives, children, and all their effects, set out from *Novæ*, bending his march towards *Italy*. His mother, and sister named *Amafrides*, attended him in this expedition<sup>y</sup>. Several *Romans* of great distinction flocked to him from all parts, to serve as volunteers in this war, and among the rest *Artemidorus*, who was nearly related to, and in great favour with, the emperor; but joyfully abandoned his country, and the grandeur he lived in at *Constantinople*, to share with *Theodoric* in his good or bad fortune, who afterwards created him a patrician, and made him governor of *Rome*<sup>z</sup>. On the other hand, a great many *Goths* declined following *Theodoric* into *Italy*, and, settling on the sea-coast in *Thrace*, formed there a separate nation, which lived in amity with the *Romans*, and is highly commended by *Procopius*<sup>a</sup>. From *Novæ* in *Mæsia* *Theodoric* marched strait to the *Adriatic* sea; but, for want of ships, was obliged to go round, and traverse the several nations dwelling on the coast. This march he performed in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine, says *Ennodius*<sup>b</sup>, raging the whole time in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. He found the *Gepidæ* encamped on the banks of a certain river, with a design to oppose his passage; but *Theodoric*, passing it at the head of a choice body of men, charged them so briskly, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight. At another place he was met by the *Sarmatians*, whom he likewise overcame, and put to flight<sup>c</sup>.

*He defeats the Gepidæ and Sarmatians on his march.*

*He enters Italy,* THUS, after a long and fatiguing march, he entered at length *Italy*; and, advancing to the river *Sontius*, now *Zonzo*, in the neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, halted there, in order to rest his men, being informed, that *Odoacer* was in full march

<sup>x</sup> ENNOD. vit. Theodor. p. 298, 299. <sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. p. 303.

<sup>z</sup> CASSIODOR. l. i. epist. 43.

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS. ædific. c. 7. p. 63.

<sup>b</sup> ENNOD. vit. Theod. p. 269.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 301.

ged *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, which he was to keep for himself. *Ammianus* writes, that, in virtue of this treaty with *Zeno*, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life; but that, upon his death, it was to be reunited to the empire (2).

to meet him with a very numerous army, consisting of various nations, commanded by their respective kings or chiefs<sup>d</sup>. Soon after, *Odoacer* appeared, and was met by *Theodoric* with his men in battle-array. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which *Odoacer* was, after a faint resistance, put to flight, <sup>puts Odo-</sup> and great numbers of his men cut in pieces. *Theodoric* pursued the fugitives, and, on the 28th of August 489. entered <sup>aces to</sup> their camp, though defended by a river, and a great many works<sup>e</sup>. *Odoacer* retired to the plains of *Verona*, and encamped there at a small distance from the city. But *Theodoric*, pursuing him close, forced him to a second engagement, when he met with a far more vigorous opposition than in the former; for great numbers were killed on both sides but, in the end, *Odoacer* was again put to flight, and obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*; so that *Theodoric*, having now no enemy in the field to oppose him, made himself master of several important places, and, among the rest, of *Milan* and *Pavia*<sup>f</sup>. At the same time *Tufa*, commander in chief of *Odoacer's* forces, came over to *Theodoric*, with most of the troops under his command, and was immediately by him dispatched, with one of his own officers, in pursuit of *Odoacer*, to *Ravenna*. *Odoacer* had left that city, and was advanced as far as *Faenza*, in which place he was closely besieged by *Tufa*; but that treacherous commander, declaring for his former master, joined him anew with all his troops, delivering up to him at the same time several officers, who had been appointed by *Theodoric* to command under him, and were, by *Odoacer's* orders, sent in irons to *Ravenna*<sup>g</sup> (1). About the same time *Frideric*, the son of *Fava* king of the *Rugians*, who had joined *Theodoric* with a considerable body of his countrymen, fled over to *Odoacer*; who, being thus reinforced, left *Faenza*, and advanced as far as *Milan*; which city he is sup-

and makes himself master of Milan and Pavia.

<sup>d</sup> JORN. p. 697. ENNOD. p. 301    <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. THEOPH. p. 361.    <sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 479. JORN. p. 697 ENNOD. p. 303, 304.    <sup>g</sup> ENNOD. vit. Epiph. p. 300. CASSIODOR. l. ii. ep. 16 p. 38.

(1) *Ennodius* writes, that *Theodoric* did not send against *Odoacer* all the troops that came over to him with *Tufa*, but placed several detachments of them, together with his own forces, in the towns that had submitted to him.

He adds, that, when *Theodoric* was informed of *Tufa's* treachery, he cautioned them all, by a private order, to be cut in pieces, lest they should follow the example of their general (3).

(3) *Ennod. panegy. Theodor. p. 36.*



posed to have taken, since he is said to have recovered all *Liguria*<sup>h</sup>.

*Is obliged  
to shut  
himself up  
in Pavia.*

THEODORIC in the mean time, finding himself abandoned both by *Tufa* and *Frideric*, kept himself shut up in *Pavia*, a place in those days of great strength, while *Odoacer* without controul ravaged the country that had submitted to him, and besieged him at last in *Pavia*, where the *Goths*, who had brought along with them their families, and all their effects, were greatly frightened for want of room. But Heaven, says *Ennodius*<sup>1</sup>, openly declared in favour of *Theodoric*, the enemy's men quarreling daily among themselves, and every thing contributing to their ruin. However, *Theodoric*, fearing he should in the end be overpowered with numbers, had recourse to *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, who had settled in *Gaul*. As the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths* were originally one and the same nation, and the *Visigoths* had received among them, about sixteen years before, a great number of *Ostrogoths*, under the conduct of their king *Vulmir*, cousin-german to *Theodoric*, they readily granted him the desired supplies; which he no sooner received, than, leaving *Pavia*, he marched to the river *Aldua*, where the enemy lay encamped, engaged them the third time, and gave them a total overthrow. *Odoacer* took refuge anew in *Ravenna*; but left numerous garisons in all the strong places<sup>k</sup>. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of *August*, *Odoacer* lost several officers of distinction, and among the rest *Pierius*, his *comes domesticorum*, or captain of the guards<sup>l</sup>. *Theodoric* after the battle marched in pursuit of *Odoacer*, and, approaching *Ravenna*, encamped at a place called *Pmaia*, about three miles from the city.

*He receives a  
powerful  
supply from  
the Visi-  
goths.*

*He be-  
sieg'd Odo-  
acer in  
Ravenna.*

*Year of  
the flood  
2338.  
Of Christ  
490  
Of Rome  
1238.*

ON the other hand, *Odoacer*, with many new works, fortified himself in the town, and, with frequent sallies, especially in the night, greatly harassed the *Goths*. The siege lasted three years, during which time great numbers were killed on both sides in the frequent sallies and attacks. Authors speak in particular of a sally made, according to some on the tenth, according to others on the fifteenth, of *July* 491. in which *Odoacer* commanded in person, and, at the head of the *Heruli*, entered the camp of *Theodoric* at *Pmaia*, and made a dreadful havoc of his men; but he was, after a long and sharp dispute, obliged to retire. The *Goths* pursued him to the very gates of the city, killing many of his men, and among the rest *Libila* or *Levila*, who commanded the *Heruli* under

<sup>h</sup> ENNOD. de Laurent p 465.

<sup>1</sup> Idem vit Epiph. p. 397.

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. Anonym p 470. CASSIODOR p. 68. PROCOPI. bell. Goth. p. 309.

<sup>l</sup> AMMIAN. Anon., iii. p. 479.

the king, and had eminently distinguished himself on that occasion<sup>m</sup>. After this, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his army before *Ravenna*, marched with the rest against the strong-holds, in which *Odoacer* had left garisons, and was every-where received with great joy, except at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, where he met with some opposition<sup>n</sup>. Thus he made himself master of *Italy*<sup>o</sup>, not at once, but by degrees; for he laid siege to *Ravenna* in 490. and pope *Gelasius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 492. speaking of *Odoacer*, still gives him the title of king of *Italy*<sup>p</sup>. The sally we have spoken of above was made on the tenth or fifteenth of *July*, and *Theodoric* was on the thirty-first of the following *August* at *Pavia*, and returned to the siege of *Ravenna* on the twenty-ninth of *August* 492. pitching his camp at a place called the *Little Palace*. He was then master of *Italy*, no one place remaining to *Odoacer* except *Ravenna*, in which he had been shut up three years with his foreign and some *Roman* troops, now reduced to great streights by the enemy without, and the famine within<sup>q</sup>, wheat being sold at six pieces of gold a bushel<sup>r</sup>. On the other hand, the *Goths* were quite worn out with the fatigues of a three years siege; so that both parties being willing to put an end to the war, *Odoacer* sent *John* bishop of *Ravenna* to *Theodoric*, with proposals for an accommodation (*J*). The agreement was concluded on the twenty-seventh of *February*, *Odoacer* delivering up his son named *Thelan* to *Theodoric* as an hostage, who thereupon entered *Ravenna* in triumph by the *Fleetgate* on the fifth of *March*<sup>s</sup>. *Theodoric* did not long stand to the agreement he had made; for, having a few days after invited *Odoacer* to a banquet, unmindful of his oath, he dispatched him with his own hand, according to some in the

*He reduces all Italy.*

*The besieged reduced to great streights.*

*Odoacer submits, and is put to death by Theodoric.*

<sup>m</sup> JORN. c. 57. p. 697. ONUPH. p. 17. ENNOD. pan. Theodor. p. 306. <sup>n</sup> ENNOD. ibid. p. 309. <sup>o</sup> JORN. ibid. p. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1208. <sup>p</sup> JORN. p. 698. PROCOP. p. 309. <sup>r</sup> Anonym. p. 480. <sup>q</sup> PROCOP. p. 380. ONUPH. p. 57. Anonym. p. 488.

(*J*) This prelate died in 494. and there is still extant the original act of a donation made to him in *January* 491(4). *Jornandes* writes, that *Odoacer* only begged his life; which *Theodoric* bound himself by a solemn oath to grant him (*s*). *Procopius* tells us, that they agreed to live together on equal

terms in *Ravenna* (*G*); which expression we do not well comprehend, it being altogether incredible, that *Theodoric*, who was already master of all *Italy*, and had reduced *Odoacer* to the last extremity, should suffer him to reign jointly, and have an equal share of power, with himself.

(4) *Urb. tom. ii. p. 333. A'abil. it. Ital. p. 221.*  
(6) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 1. p. 317.*

(5) *Jorn. p. 698.*

Year of the flood palace, according to others in a grove of laurels adjoining perhaps to the palace † (K).

2841. THEODORIC had sent, some months before, *Faustus Nigiger*, a leading man in the senate of *Rome*, to obtain of the emperor *Zeno* the ensigns of royalty. But *Odoacer* having submitted before the return of the ambassador, *Theodoric*, without waiting for the emperor's permission, caused himself to be proclaimed by his *Goths* king of *Italy*°. However, he dispatched soon after *Festus* or *Faustus*, his *magister officiorum*, and *Irenæus*, both distinguished with the title of *illustrious*, to the *Goths*, *Constantinople*, to excuse the liberty he had taken°. The ambassadors were received in a very obliging manner by *Anastasius*, the successor of *Zeno*, who readily confirmed the peace which his predecessor had made with *Theodoric*, approved of what he had done, and sent him the ensigns of royalty°. Hence it is manifest, that *Theodoric* himself owned he held the kingdom of *Italy* of the emperors of the East, by whom he suffered even the *Roman* consuls to be named<sup>v</sup> (L).

THEODORIC, now master of all *Italy*, began to make the necessary preparations for reducing the island of *Sicily*, which refused to acknowledge him; but the inhabitants were persuaded by *Cassiodore* to submit to their new lord without bloodshed. After this, *Theodoric*, sheathing his sword, endeavoured, in the first place, to establish himself in his new kingdom, by alliances with the neighbouring princes. With this view he sent *Festus* to *Constantinople*, to confirm the peace he

*Sicily submits to him.*

† PROCOPIUS. Anonym. ibid. ° Anonym. p. 408. ° Council. tom. iv. p. 1181. x PROCOPIUS. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. y Idem ibid.

i

(K) Some authors pretend, that *Odoacer* had formed a design upon the life of *Theodoric*; which he being acquainted with, resolved to be beforehand with him (7). But the dead are always found guilty. *Jornandes*, though himself a *Goth*, seems to insinuate, that *Odoacer* was murdered upon a bare suspicion, and that, as was then believed, quite groundless (8). All his servants and relations were massacred at the same time, except his brother

*Aonulphus*, and a few more, who, having had the good luck to make their escape, retired beyond the *Danube* (9).

(I.) There is still extant a letter from *Theodoric* to *Anastasius*, concerning one *Felix*, who was consul in 511. wherein he acquaints the emperor, that he had named *Felix* for the consulship, and at the same time intreats him to confirm, by his suffrage, that dignity to so deserving a person (1).

(7) Vide Vales. rer. Franc. p. 344.  
(9) Anonym. p. 380. Isidor. ebren. p. 721:

(8) Jorn. de reg. c. 47. p. 655.  
(1) Cassiodor. l. ii. ep. 1.

had made with *Anastasius*, marrying at the same time *Ande- He secures*  
*fleda*, the daughter of *Clodoneus* king of the *Franks*, and be- his new  
 stowing his own two daughters, whom he had by a concu- kingdom by  
 bine, on *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, and on *Sigif- alliances.*  
*mund* the son of *Gundobald* king of the *Burgundians*. Having  
 thus secured his new kingdom, he made it his chief study to  
 govern it with salutary laws, following therein the advice of  
*Cassiodore*, a man of great learning and integrity, whom he  
 had created a patrician, and raised to the dignities of count,  
 of consul, and even to that of *præfæctus prætorio*. He first  
 placed all his *Goths* in the castles and strong-holds, with their  
 officers who were to command them in time of war, and go-  
 vern them in time of peace. The *Roman* laws he retained, *He retains*  
 and commanded them to be inviolably observed, and to have the Ro-  
 man laws, the same force which they had had under the emperors of the  
 West \* (M).

*THEODORIC* not only retained the same laws, but the same and the  
 form of government, the same distribution of provinces, the same ma-  
 gistrates and dignities. As the emperors had, before *gistrates.*  
 his time, translated the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*,

\* *CASSIODOR.* l. iii. c. 13. & l. i. c. 27.

(M) In the first five books of *Cassiodore*, consisting of the let-  
 ters and edicts of *Theodoric*, no-  
 thing is so much recommended  
 to the judges and magistrates as  
 the due observance of, and re-  
 spect for, the *Roman* laws. In  
 these books are quoted many  
 constitutions of the *Theodosian*  
 code, and many *novellæ* of *The-*  
*odosius*, *Valentinian*, and *Majori-*  
*anus* (2), *Theodoric* declaring, that  
 he did not intend to introduce  
 any new laws into *Italy*, the *Ro-*  
*man* laws, by which it had been  
 so long governed, being the most  
 equitable that could be enacted;  
 nay, so great was the respect he  
 bore to the *Roman* laws, that he  
 ordered them to be observed, not  
 only by the *Romans*, but likewise  
 by the *Goths* who lived among  
 the *Romans*. To his *Goths* he

left some of their own laws, or  
 rather customs; but, in all mat-  
 ters of moment, such as succe-  
 ssions, testaments, adoptions, con-  
 tracts, penalties, crimes, and in  
 whatever belonged to public or  
 private property, the *Roman* laws  
 were common to all. All law-  
 suits and disputes between a *Ro-*  
*man* and a *Goth*, or a *Goth* and a  
*Roman*, were to be decided by  
 the *Roman* laws, as appears from  
 one of *Theodoric's* rescripts to *Ja-*  
*nuarius*, president of *Samnium* (3).  
 But when the dispute arose be-  
 tween *Goth* and *Goth*, they were  
 to have recourse to their proper  
 judge, who decided it according  
 to *Theodoric's* own edicts, which  
 did not much differ from the *Ro-*  
*man* laws, and were given to  
 those who were sent into the pro-  
 vinces as judges of the *Goths* (4).

(2) *Vide* *Grot. in proleg.* c. 3.

(3) *Edict. Theodor. apud Cassiodor.*

(4) *Cassiodor.* l. ii. *var. ep.* 13. & l. vii. c. 2.

to be near at hand, and ready to put a stop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that side, broke into *Italy*, he likewise chose that city for the usual place of his residence, governing from thence the provinces by the same magistrates that had presided over them in the times of the emperors, to wit, by the *consulares*, the *correctores*, and the *præsides*. But, besides these, he sent, according to the custom of the *Goths*, to each city inferior judges, distinguished with the title of *counts*, who were to administer justice, and decide all controversies and disputes: and herein the polity of the *Goths* far excelled, as *Grotius* observes, that of the *Romans*; for, in the *Roman* times, a whole province was governed by a *consularis*, a *corrector*, or a *præses*, who resided in the chief city, and to whom recourse was to be had at a great charge from the most remote parts, but *Theodoric*, besides the *consularis*, the *corrector*, or the *præses*, appointed, not only in the principal cities, but in each small town and village, inferior magistrates of known integrity, who were to administer justice, and, by that means, save those who had law-suits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province<sup>a</sup>, no appeals to distant tribunals being allowed, but in matters of the greatest importance, or in case of manifest injustice<sup>b</sup>. Thus *Italy*, from the dominion of the *Romans*, came under that of the *Goths*, almost without perceiving the change. But of the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*, of his glorious reign, and the reigns of the *Gothic* kings of *Italy* his successors, to the expulsion of the *Goths* by *Narses*, we shall, pursuant to our plan, speak at large in a more proper place, and, in the mean time, proceed to the history of other antient nations.

<sup>a</sup> GROTI. in proleg. hist. Goth. CASSIODOR. l. vi. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> GROTI. *ibid*.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The antient State of the Vandals, till their settling in Spain and Africa.*

The origin  
of the  
Vandals.

THE *Vandals* were originally a *Gothic* nation; for *Procopius*, who could not be a stranger to their descent, being well acquainted with *Gelimer* their king, and the other *Vandals*, who were brought prisoners to *Constantinople* in the reign of *Justinian*, tells us in express terms, that the *Goths* and *Vandals* were one and the same people, distinguished in names, but agreeing in original and manners<sup>c</sup>. He adds, that they spoke the *Gothic* language, as did likewise the *Gepidæ*, *Lom-*

<sup>c</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2.

*bards, Burgundians, and Alans.* They were called *Vandals* *Thir* from the Gothic word *Vandelen*, which signifies *to wander, be-* *name.* cause they often changed their seats, wandering from one country to another <sup>b</sup>. They are supposed to have come originally out of *Scandinavia* with the other *Goths*, under the conduct of king *Eric*, of whom we have spoken in the foregoing section, and to have settled in the countries now known by the names of *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*. Several ages after, another colony of the *Goths*, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berig*, settled in *Pomerania*, after having driven out the *Rugians*, by *Jornandes* called *Ulmerugians*. At the same time *Berig* subdued the *Vandals* inhabiting the above-mentioned countries; but, instead of driving them from their antient seats, he only obliged them, as they were a Gothic nation, to share their territories with the new-comers <sup>c</sup>. In the reign of *Augustus*, part of the *Vandals*, streightened in their own country for want of room, settled on the banks of the *Rhine*; but were driven from thence by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, and obliged to return home.

As their country was overstocked with people, great num- *Their dis-* bers of them soon left it anew, and, taking their route east- *ward,* entered the country lying between the *Bosporus Cim-* *seats.* *merius* and the *Tanais*, inhabited: that time by the *Sclavi*, whom they drove out, and, seizing on their country, took the name of the antient inhabitants, calling themselves *Sclavi*. Some of these, several ages after, that is, in the reign of *Mauritius*, which began in 586. settled in *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, which from them were called *Sclavonia* <sup>d</sup>. Others seated themselves in the eastern parts of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which province comprehended the present countries of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and the eastern parts of *Upper Hungary*. From those who remained in *Germany*, the present *Poles* and *Bohemians* are said by most writers to derive their origin <sup>e</sup>. But the *Vandals*, who, under *Godegesilus* their king, broke into *Gaul*, and afterwards settled in *Spain* and *Africa*, came, according to *Procopius* <sup>f</sup>, from *Dacia*, and the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*. As the *Vandals* were a Gothic nation, the same customs, manners, religion, form of government, &c. obtained among them as among the *Goths*.

THEY had, without doubt, their own kings long before *Thir* they were known to the *Romans*; but *Godegesilus*, under *kins.*

<sup>b</sup> Vide MATTH. PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. <sup>c</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 4. <sup>d</sup> Vide OLAUM RUDBECK. Atlantica, par. i. c. 24. & JOAN. MARIAN. l. v. c. 1. <sup>e</sup> MATTH. PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. l. iii. c. 1. & 2. <sup>f</sup> PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3.

whose conduct they entered *Gaul* in 406. is the first of their princes, whom we find mentioned in history. He was succeeded by *Gunderic*, who, in 409. from *Gaul* passed into *Spain*, and settled in *Galicia*. *Genferic* reigned next, who, abandoning *Spain* in 428. passed with his *Vandals* over into *Africa*, which the *Vandals* held under the following kings, *Huneric*, *Gundamund*, *Thrasamund*, *Genferic II.* and *Gelimor*, till the year 533. when an end was put to their dominion by *Belisarius*, and *Africa* reunited to the empire. *Salvianus*, speaking of the *Vandals*, says, that they were excelled by all the other barbarous nations both in power and courage; but nevertheless made themselves masters of the best and most fertile provinces of the empire, Providence so disposing to convince the world, that their conquests were not owing to their valour, but to the Lord of hosts, who made use of so weak and contemptible an enemy to punish the sins of the *Romans*<sup>2</sup>. They embraced the Christian religion at the same time that the *Goths* were converted; but held, like the other *Gothic* nations, the tenets of *Arius*, and were irreconcilable enemies to the catholic church. *Salvian*, however, extols their continence and chastity<sup>3</sup>.

As to their irruptions into the empire (for we know nothing of their wars with other nations), they first began to be troublesome to the *Romans* in the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, about the year 166. when, entering into an alliance with other barbarous nations, to wit, the *Marcomans*, the *Narischians*, the *Hermundurians*, *Quadians*, *Suevians*, *Sarmatians*, *Visigothians*, *Roxolanians*, *Bastarnians*, *Costobochians*, *Alans*, *Iazygians*, &c. they broke into the empire, took and plundered several cities, and, having put to flight the *Roman* armies sent against them, committed every-where unheard-of ravages. Of this war, which is compared by the antients to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken in our *Roman* history<sup>1</sup>.

ON this occasion the *Marcomans* and *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, after having defeated and killed *Furius Victorinus* the *præfectus prætorio*, who, with a considerable army, attempted to put a stop to their inroads<sup>2</sup>. They continued in *Pannonia* till the year 170. when they were driven out by *M. Aurelius*, who pursued them to the *Danube*, and cut great numbers of them in pieces as they were passing that river<sup>3</sup>. They entered, it seems, afterwards into alliance

<sup>2</sup> SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 161. hist. vol. xv. p. 223, & seq. ibid. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, p. 160. 166.

<sup>4</sup> M. Aur. vit. p. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Univ.

<sup>2</sup> Idem

with the *Romans*; for one of the articles of the peace concluded in 180. between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alamans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Vandals*<sup>m</sup>. In the year 215. a war was kindled between them and the *Marcomans*; for *Caracalla*, as we read in *Dio*<sup>n</sup>, used to glory in his having set at variance these two nations, which, till then, had lived in peace and amity with each other. By this war both nations were greatly weakened; and this is all we know of it.

IN 271. the second of *Aurelian's* reign, while the emperor was engaged in a war with several *German* nations, who had broken into *Italy*, the *Vandals*, having passed the *Danube* under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Aurelian*, having gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, led his army against the *Vandals*, who, upon the news of his approach, retired with great precipitation. The emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*. Five hundred of them, who had separated from the rest to plunder the country, were cut in pieces by the general of the foreign troops, and their leader put to death by their king's order<sup>o</sup>.

THEY continued quiet the remaining part of *Aurelian's* reign; but they no sooner received the news of his death, which happened in 275. than entering into an alliance with the *Lygians*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*, they advanced as far as the *Rhine*; and, having, without opposition, crossed that river, entered *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of almost the whole country, which they held for the space of two years, that is, till the year 277. when *Probus*, who had succeeded *Tacitus*, marching against them, overcame them in several battles. Most of the *Lygians*, a *German* nation, were cut off, and their king *Semmo* taken prisoner; but he was soon after set at liberty, in virtue of a treaty, by which the *Lygians*, after having restored the booty, and dismissed the prisoners they had taken, solemnly promised not only to live in amity with the *Romans*, but to guard the confines of the empire

<sup>m</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxii. p. 817.    <sup>n</sup> *Idem*, p. 754. 757.    <sup>o</sup> *Aur. vit.* p. 215. *DEXIP. legat.* p. 12. *Univ. hist.* vol. xv. p. 451. against



against the other barbarians, who should attempt to break in- to it<sup>p</sup>. The *Vandals* and *Burgundians* retired at the approach of the *Roman* army, and, having crossed the *Rhine* before *Probus* could overtake them, encamped on the banks of that river. However, being provoked by the insults and raillery of the *Roman* soldiers encamped on the opposite bank, they attempted to pass the river, with a design to give them battle; but the *Romans*, falling upon the first that landed, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners, and drove the rest, who were hastening to the assistance of their companions, back into the river, where most of them perished. The emperor was preparing to pass the *Rhine*, in order to pursue the shattered remains of their army; but, upon their suing for peace, and promising to send back all the prisoners and booty they had taken, he agreed to let them retire unmolested. This promise they did not perform with due fidelity; which so provoked the emperor, that, crossing the *Rhine*, he fell upon them as they were retiring, put many of them to the sword, and took a great number of prisoners, among whom was *Igillus* their king, with other persons of great distinction<sup>q</sup>. These were afterwards sent by *Probus* into *Britain*, and are supposed to have settled in the neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, where, according to *Bucherius*, they gave name to the village of *Vandelsburg*<sup>r</sup>.

but receive  
a great  
overthrow  
from Pro-  
bus.

Year of  
the flood  
2625.

Of Christ  
277.

Of Rome  
1025.

Some of  
them al-  
lowed to  
settle in  
Thrace.

They re-  
volt, and  
are defeat-  
ed by Pro-  
bus.

Two years after, *Probus*, finding, on his return from *Persia*, the province of *Thrace* almost quite destitute of inhabitants, allowed a great number of *Bastarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, some say an hundred thousand, to settle there. He likewise granted lands in the same province to the *Gepidæ*, the *Juthungians*, and the *Vandals*. The *Bastarnæ* continued faithful to the empire, and by degrees brought themselves to live after the *Roman* manner; but the other nations revolting, while the emperor's troops were employed against *Saturminus* and *Proculus*, of whom the former had assumed the purple in *Egypt*, and the latter in *Gaul*, over-ran, says our historian, the whole empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages, to the great dishonour of the *Roman* name<sup>s</sup>. But *Probus*, having with great success overcome the two usurpers, marched all his forces against the barbarians; and, in several battles, the particulars of which are unknown to us, made such a dreadful havock of them, that few of those, who had entered the *Ro-*

<sup>p</sup> Prob. vit. p. 238, 239. Zos. l. i. p. 664. <sup>q</sup> Idem, p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 663.

<sup>r</sup> Buch. Belg. l. vii. c. 1. p. 218.

<sup>s</sup> Prob. vit. p. 240. Zos. l. i. p. 666.

man dominions, had the good luck to escape the general slaughter<sup>1</sup>.

No farther mention is made of the *Vandals*, till the year 291. the eighth of *Dioclesian's* reign, when we find them engaged in a war with the *Goths*. The *Taifalæ* assisted the *Goths*, and the *Gepidæ* the *Vandals*: but as the *Romans* were no-way concerned in this war, authors only tell us in general terms, that it was carried on with great vigour; and that the barbarians were so weakened by it, that, for a considerable time, they suffered the *Romans* to live in peace, not being in a condition to molest them<sup>2</sup>. As for the *Vandals*, they seem to have continued quiet till the year 406. the twelfth of *Honorius's* reign, when, stirred up by *Stilicho*, who hoped, by their means, to raise his son *Eucherius* to the empire, they broke into *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to cross the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigisules*; and would have put them all to the sword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians* come seasonably to their relief. These, joining the *Vandals*, obliged the *Franks* to retire; and, crossing without opposition the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul* on the last day of the present year 406<sup>3</sup>. *Procopius* writes, that the *Vandals*, who entered *Gaul*, had been obliged, by a famine that raged among them at home, to abandon their own country, and seek new settlements; but that the greater part of the nation continued in their antient seats beyond the *Danube*<sup>4</sup>. Having passed the *Rhine*, they first ravaged *Germania Prima*, took by storm, and leveled with the ground, the city of *Mentz*, the metropolis of that province. From *Germania Prima* they passed into *Gallia Belgica*, and from thence into *Aquitain*, the most fertile and opulent province of all *Gaul*. Having advanced to the *Pyrenean* mountains, which they did not at first venture to pass, they over ran all the neighbouring provinces, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. The *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, were soon joined by the *Burgundians*, and other barbarous nations, stirred up partly by *Stilicho*, partly by the desire of booty, and hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces<sup>5</sup>. “An incredible number of barbarians,” says *St. Jerom*, writing about this time, “have spread themselves all over *Gaul*: the

*They break*  
*into Gaul.*  
Year of  
the flood  
2754.  
Of Christ  
406.  
Of Rome  
1154.

<sup>1</sup> Prob. vit. p. 240---245.

<sup>2</sup> Paneg. xi. p. 135---138.

<sup>3</sup> GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. OROS. c. 40. p. 223.


VALES p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 22. p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> ZOS. l. vi. p. 825. SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 167. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223.

“ whole country between the *Alps*, the *Pyrenean* mountains, “ the ocean, and the *Rhine*, is held by them <sup>a</sup>.”

Constantine obliges by the *British* legions, from *Britain* passed over into *Gaul*, them to sue taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the island, for peace. and the flower of the *British* youth, who were joined, soon after his landing at *Bologne*, by the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*. With these he overcame the *Vandals*, and other barbarians, in several battles; and, in the end, reduced them to such streights, that they were forced to sue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably because he hoped to maintain himself, by these means, in the power he had usurped <sup>a</sup>. Soon after, *Geroncius*, to whom *Constans*, the son of *Constantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, revolting upon some disgust, and setting up one *Maximus* for emperor, the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities in *Gaul*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no relief either from *Honorius* or *Constantine*, resolved to defend themselves; and accordingly, uniting their forces, they fell upon the barbarians, and defeated them in several encounters. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected, and at the same time acquainted with the distracted state of *Spain*, which was represented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With this design, they bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they passed without opposition, the guards, who had been placed there, either abandoning their posts at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them, in order to avoid the punishment due to the ravages they had committed in those provinces before their arrival <sup>b</sup>.

Year of the flood 2757. Of Christ 409. Of Rome 1157.  Thus the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, first entered *Spain* in 409. according to some, on the twenty-eighth of *September* <sup>c</sup>. according to others, on the thirteenth of *October* <sup>d</sup>. They soon made themselves masters of several cities and strongholds; defeated the troops, which *Constantine* had sent, under the conduct of his son *Constans*, to suppress the rebellion of *Geroncius*; and before the end of the year 410. obliged *Constans* himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* <sup>e</sup>. As for *Geroncius*, he entered into a kind of alliance

<sup>a</sup> HIER. ep. xi. p. 93.

<sup>a</sup> OROS. *ibid*.

<sup>b</sup> GREG. TUR.

hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. *ibid*. SOZOM. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814.

<sup>c</sup> PROSP. chron.

<sup>d</sup> IDAT. fast. & chron.

<sup>e</sup> OROS.

*ibid*. SOZOM. *ibid*. SALV. l. vii. p. 108.

with them against their common enemy *Constantine* <sup>f</sup>. And now the barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, overran the whole country, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of cruelties; which they themselves afterwards repented <sup>g</sup> (A).

THE barbarians allowed such of the natives, as desired to abandon the country, to retire unmolested, nay, for a small sum, they conducted them to such places of safety, as they thought proper to choose <sup>h</sup>. *Idatius*, who was about this time bishop of a city in *Spain*, describes at large the calamities suffered on this occasion by that unhappy people. He tells us, that in 409 the country was ravaged on one side by the barbarians, and on the other by a dreadful plague, which daily swept off great numbers <sup>i</sup>, that, besides these two evils, so great a famine raged in 410. that many were reduced to the dreadful necessity of feeding upon human flesh, that several parents, pressed by hunger, devoured their own children, and that the wild beasts, accustomed to live upon the dead bodies of those who were killed by the barbarians, or died of the plague, being deprived of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country-people in the fields and villages. To these calamities was added, says our author, the cruelty of the soldiers and officers, who, being employed by *Constantine* to levy the taxes, seized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had conveyed them into the towns, as places of safety <sup>k</sup> (B). Such was the de-

*The unhappy condition of these provinces.*

<sup>f</sup> PHOT c 80 p 184.

<sup>g</sup> OROS l vii c 40 p 223.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, c 41 p 2-3

<sup>i</sup> IDAT chion p 10

<sup>k</sup> Idem,

p 11

(A) *St Austin*, speaking of the duty of bishops on such occasions, alleges the example of the bishops of *Spain*, when overrun by the barbarian. Many holy bishops, says he, fled, after having seen their flocks dispersed by the barbarian, put to the sword, destroyed by long sieges, or carried into captivity, but many more remained among the barbarians, because those who were committed to their care, chose to remain, being willing to endure all sorts of hardships,

rather than be wanting to their duty (1)

(B) *Olympiodorus* tells us, that the *Romans*, who, upon the breaking in of the barbarians, had taken refuge in the fortified cities and strong holds, were, in the end, obliged to feed upon one another. He adds, that a woman, who had no fewer than forty children, killed and devoured them one after the other; which the people no sooner knew, than they fell upon her, and stored her to death (2).

(1) *Aug ep cxxx p. 3 6.*

(2) *Pbot c 80. p. 189.*

The Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, divide the provinces of Spain among them.

plorable condition to which the provinces of *Spain* were reduced by the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, upon their first entering that country; and in this state they continued from the year 406. to 411. when Heaven, says *Idatius*<sup>1</sup>, inspiring the barbarians with thoughts of peace, they began to prefer agriculture to war. Having therefore divided among themselves by lot the provinces of *Spain*, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and to other works of agriculture.

IN that division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former having *Gonderic*, who had succeeded *Godigiscles*, for their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Lusitania*, and the province of *Cartagena*, to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Vandals* called *Silingians*, who are supposed to have given to their lot the name of *Vandalusia*, changed afterwards into that of *Andalusia*<sup>m</sup>. Such of the natives as had escaped the general slaughter, and taken refuge in the fortified places, submitted in the end to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the gospels, swore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that many *Romans* chose to live in poverty under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire<sup>n</sup>. However, the inhabitants of *Galicia* maintained their liberty, and formed a separate state in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked by *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, who, in the end, suffered them to live in peace, being seized with a distemper, of which he languished the seven last years of the fourteen he reigned<sup>o</sup>. Pope *Leo* observes, that the catholic church suffered greatly by this irruption of the barbarians, who would not suffer the civil and ecclesiastical laws enacted against heretics, especially the *Priscillianists*, to be put in execution. On the other hand, the bishops not meeting and holding councils as usual, the followers of *Priscillian*, who, till that time, had been obliged to keep themselves concealed, began publicly to own their tenets, and gained over a great many profelytes<sup>p</sup>.

IN the year 416. *Vallia* king of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, took upon him to drive the barbarians out of *Spain*, which gave rise to a war, of which we know but very few particulars (C). In 422. the

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>m</sup> ORO. c. 41 p 223

c. 23 p 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p 223

<sup>p</sup> LEO, ep. xv p 449

<sup>n</sup> Idem, l. iii.

<sup>o</sup> ISIDOR chron.

(C) *Orosius* writes, that on this of his zeal for the welfare of the occasion *Vallia* gave signal proofs empire (3); and *Idatius*, that

(3) *Oros.* l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223.

emperor *Honorius*, acquainted with the low condition to which the *Vandals* had been reduced by the *Goths* under the conduct of *Vallia*, resolved to attempt the recovery of the provinces held by them in *Spain*. With this view, he ordered *Cassinus*, general of the foot, and captain of the guards, to march against them at the head of a considerable army, in which served a great number of *Goths*. *Cassinus* defeated them in several encounters, and reduced them to such straits, that they began to think of abandoning the country, which they had seized; but the *Roman* general having in the mean time unseasonably ventured an engagement, twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged, with the poor remains of his shattered army, to take refuge in the city of *Tarraco* (D). After this victory, the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Seville*; and, having firmly established their dominion in *Arslusia*, they ravaged the neighbouring provinces, almost utterly destroyed the city of *Cantagena*, and, passing over into the *Balearic* islands, committed unheard of ravages there, carrying back with them into *Spain* an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Not long after, the *Herules* and *Suevians* falling out, *Germeric* one of the *Herules* gained great advantages over *Hermeric* king of the *Suevians*, whom, in the end, he obliged to fly to the mountains of *Biscay*, and there kept him and his people blockaded up. But in the mean time *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and the *Vandal* *Marcellus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut to pieces numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to withdraw to *Biscay* and *Galicia*, and then into *Arslusia*. *Germeric*, on his return to *Scythia*, took the church of that city from the Catholics, and gave it to the *Arians*, upon which, being immediately possessed, says *Idatius*, and animated with an evil spirit, he perished soon after, that is, in 410, in a miserable manner. The *Vandals* drove out, that he had been taken prisoner by the *Suevians*, and by them put to death, hoping

*They gain a great victory over the Romans.*

<sup>a</sup> GREG TUR lib. 9 p 62, 63. <sup>b</sup> SAUV. lib. 17 p 165 - 163  
<sup>c</sup> IDAT. chron. <sup>d</sup> IDAT. lib. 1 Idem p 27

*Vallia* made head against the *Alans* and *Andali*, masters of *Lusitania* and *Betica*, and gained great advantages over them (4). This is all we know of the present war

(D) *Idatius* ascribes the defeat

the treaty of the *Goths*, who served auxiliaries in the *Roman* army, but *Gregory*, *Tours*, and *Idatius*, suppose it to be mainly owing to the rashness of *Cassinus*.

(4) *Idatius* lib. 1.

by that means, say some modern writers, to conceal his shameful end, which was a manifest condemnation of the tenets of *Arius* held by them.

**Genferic** GONDERIC left several sons behind him ; but was nevertheless succeeded by his brother, named by the antients *Gaiseric*, *Geiseric*, and *Gizeric*, but now commonly known by the name of *Genferic*. *Procopius* tells us, that he was the natural son of *Godigisles*, killed by the *Franks* in 406. and *Sidonius*, that he was the son of a king, but that his mother was a slave <sup>1</sup>. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius* held by the *Vandals* his countrymen <sup>2</sup>. He was remarkably brave and courageous, well skilled in the art of war, and, from his infancy, inured to the hardships and toils attending a military life <sup>3</sup>. But, as we have elsewhere drawn his character <sup>4</sup>, we shall only add here from *Idatius*, that, before his accession to the crown, he was well known to the *Romans* by the many advantages he had gained over them in *Spain*, that the victory over *Castinus* in 422. was no less owing to his bravery, than to the rash conduct of the *Roman* general, and that chiefly by his means the *Suevians* in *Spain* were reduced to the lowest ebb of power <sup>5</sup>. Upon his arrival in *Africa*, he caused the wife of the deceased king to be drowned in the river *Amsachus*, and soon after put all her children to death, to prevent the disturbances they might have raised, as they had an undoubted right to the crown. *Genferic* had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he was invited over into *Africa* by count *Bonifacius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in that province. *Bonifacius* had served the empire with the utmost fidelity, and, on that account, had been raised by the empress *Placidia* to the highest honours, and sent with an unlimited power into *Africa*, which province he had defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of the usurper *John*. His rise gave no small jealousy to his rival *Aetius*, who thereupon found means to persuade *Placidia*, that *Bonifacius* had preserved *Africa* for himself, and only waited an opportunity of pulling off the mask, and establishing there an independent sovereignty. *Placidia*, giving intire credit to the insinuations of *Aetius*, whom she did not in the least mistrust, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, as we have related more at large elsewhere <sup>6</sup>, and dispatched a strong body of troop, against him. *Bonifacius*, finding the

He is invited by Bonifacius into Africa.

<sup>1</sup> SID. CAL. II & V p 300 310. <sup>2</sup> IDAT. p 17. <sup>3</sup> PROCOPIUS p 184. <sup>4</sup> Univ. hist. vol. XVI p 543, note (L). <sup>5</sup> Ibid. <sup>6</sup> VICT. VIGIL. de persecut. Vandal. l. II p 21. MALCH. leg. p 959. <sup>7</sup> Univ. hist. vol. XVI p 542, 543.

empire bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, who, at this time, peaceably enjoyed the province of *Andalusia* (E).

THE treaty being agreed to, *Genferic* began to make the necessary preparations for so important an expedition. The barbarians, says *Prosper* <sup>c</sup>, had no vessels, neither did they know how to make use of them; but those who employed them, took care to supply them with every thing they wanted. When necessary vessels were got ready, and the *Vandals* upon the point of going on board, *Genferic* was informed, that *Hermigarius*, a celebrated commander of the *Suevians*, was laying waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Genferic*, *He defeats the Suevians.* putting himself at the head of a chosen body of troops, went in quest of the enemy; and, coming up with them in *Iusitania*, gave them a total overthrow. *Hermigarius* their leader attempted to make his escape; but was drowned in crossing on horseback the river *Guadiana* near *Merida* <sup>d</sup>. *Idatius* looks upon his death as a punishment inflicted upon him for speaking contemptuously of St. *Eulalia*, and pillaging the city of *Merula*, where the body of that saint was kept and revered <sup>e</sup>.

FROM this expedition *Genferic* returned to the place where the vessels were kept in readiness for his embarkation. There he had ordered, before his departure, all the *Vandals* to assemble, with their wives, children, and effects, and, having, upon his return, commanded them to go on board, he put to sea in the month of *May* of the year 428 and, abandoning *Spain*, crossed the straits of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa* <sup>f</sup>. The *Romans* took possession anew of the provinces, which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, as we have related above. *Genferic* gave out, that his army was eighty thousand strong, but in that number he must have comprised the old men, the children, and even the

*The Vandals abandon Spain.*  
Year of the flood  
2776  
Of Christ  
428.  
Of Rome  
1176

<sup>c</sup> PROSP chron

<sup>d</sup> IDAT p 27.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, p 28

<sup>f</sup> PROSP ibid IDAT p 17, 18. VICT. VITENS. de persecut. Vandal l 1 p. 3.

(E) *Procopius* writes, that, in virtue of the treaty concluded between them and *Bonifacius*, *Gonderic*, whom he supposes to be still living, against the testimony of *Idatius*, and *Genferic*, were to have two thirds of *Africa*, and he the other; and that they were to assist each other to the utmost of their power (5).



slaves (F). In the mean time *Placidia*, having discovered the true cause of the revolt of *Bonifacius*, wrote a most kind and obliging letter to him, assuring him of her favour and protection for the future, and exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his usual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in for his own safety and preservation. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them considerable sums, provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*.

They gain  
several  
victories  
over the  
Romans.

BUT the *Vandals*, already masters of the far greater part of *Africa*, first returned him a scoffing answer; and then, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himself to take refuge in *Hippo*; which place they invested in the month of *May* 430. about three months before the death of St. *Austin* bishop of that city. The siege lasted about fourteen months, that is, till the month of *July* of the following year 431. when the *Vandals* were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to drop the enterprize, and retire<sup>h</sup>. Soon after, *Bonifacius* having received two reinforcements, the one from *Rome*, and the other from *Constantinople*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Aspar*, a resolution was taken by the *Roman* generals to offer the enemy battle. The *Vandals* readily accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated by the barbarians, who made an incredible number of captives, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the rocks

<sup>a</sup> VICT. VITINS. l. i. p. 3.  
p. 185. VII. S. Aug.

<sup>h</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3.

(F) The author of St. *Austin's* life describes at large the dreadful ravages committed by them in that wealthy province. According to that writer, they were, in the month of *May* of the year 430. already masters of all the cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirtba*, and *Hippo*. *Cassiodore* writes, perhaps to ingratiate himself with those under whom he lived, that the *Vandals* were driven out of *Spain* by the *Goths* (6). But *Salvian* assures us, that they abandoned those countries of their own accord, when they

were in a condition to maintain themselves in the possession of what they had acquired with their valour, in spite of the utmost efforts of their enemies, Heaven, that had made use of them to punish the sins of the *Spaniards*, employing them for the same purpose against the *Africans*. The same writer adds, that they themselves could not help owning, that they were animated to this enterprize more by a secret impulse from Heaven, than by their own inclination (7).

(6) *Cassiod. chron.*

(7) *Salv. gab. l. vii. p. 168.*

and mountains. Among the prisoners was *Marcian*, then assessor to *Aspar*, and afterwards emperor. *Aspar*, who commanded the eastern troops, escaped with difficulty out of *Africa*, and returned to *Constantinople*. As for *Bonifacius*, he repaired with all speed to *Italy*, being called thither by the empress *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians overran all *Africa*, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of ravages; which struck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first plundered, and then set on fire by the victorious enemy<sup>i</sup>; so that *Cirtha* and *Carthage* were the only two strong places in *Africa* still held by the *Romans*<sup>k</sup>.

ABOUT the same time *Genferic* made several attempts upon *Sicily*; but was constantly repulsed by *Cassiodore*, great-grandfather to the celebrated senator of the same name<sup>l</sup>. At length a yeace was concluded on the eleventh of *February* of the year 435. between *Valentinian* and *Genferic*<sup>m</sup>, whose moderation is greatly extolled by *Procopius*<sup>n</sup>. But other writers ascribe his making peace with the *Romans*, not to his moderation, but to the apprehension he was under of being attacked anew by the united forces of both empires. We that as it will, the *Romans* yielded to him part of *Numidia*, the province *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Byzacene*<sup>o</sup>. *Præper* writes, that, for these provinces, *Genferic* was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the East<sup>p</sup>. He delivered up to the *Romans* his son *Hunzeric* by way of hostage; but so great was the confidence they placed in *Genferic*, that, some time after, they sent him back his son; of which they had soon occasion to repent, being convinced by experience, that he had either brought with him into *Africa*, or learnt there, the treachery peculiar to the inhabitants of that country; for four years after, that is, in 439. the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Goths* in *Gaul*, *Genferic*, laying hold of that opportunity, surpris'd the city of *Carthage* on the twenty-third of *October*; by the taking of which place, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Gætulæ*, and part of *Numidia*<sup>q</sup>. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the other provinces of *Africa*, though reduced to a most deplorable condition. These were the two *Mauritanias*, to wit, *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part

*Genferic concludes a peace with the Romans.*

Year of the flood 2783.

Of Christ 435.

Of Rome 1183.

He takes Carthage. Year of the flood 2787.

Of Christ 439.

Of Rome 1187.

<sup>i</sup> PROCOPIUS. *ibid.* <sup>k</sup> SALV. *gub.* l. vii. p. 141, 142. <sup>l</sup> CASSIODOR. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. <sup>m</sup> PROSP. *chron.* <sup>n</sup> PROCOPIUS. c. i. p. 386. <sup>o</sup> VICT. VITENS. l. i. p. 5. <sup>p</sup> PROSP. *chron.* <sup>q</sup> IDAT. p. 22. PROSP. *chron.* *Chron. Alex.* p. 730. VICT. VITENS. l. v. p. 5.

of *Numidia*, in which *Cirtha* stood. Thus *Carthage* fell under the power of the *Vandals*, after it had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years †.

Which occasions a great alarm in Italy.

WHEN news of the taking of *Carthage* by the *Vandals* were brought to *Rome*, *Valentinian*, not doubting but they would soon make some attempt upon *Italy* itself, ordered the walls, towers, and gates of all the cities on the coast to be repaired. The governor of *Rome* was strictly enjoined to put that city in a state of defence against any sudden attack, and impowered to oblige all the inhabitants, without distinction, to concur in the work. Levies were made, and guards placed on the walls, and at the gates, as appears from a law enacted on the second of *March*, and addressed to the people of *Rome* †. From another law dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 440. we learn, that the *Roman* people had already received intelligence of *Genseric's* being sailed from *Carthage* with a powerful fleet; but were still unacquainted with his design. Hereupon *Valentinian* published a law, granting to all ranks of people the liberty of taking arms, to defend themselves against the common enemy. By the same law he yields to them whatever they shall take from the *Vandals*, and exhorts them to act on this occasion with the courage of true *Romans*, and with that moderation and justice, that become men of honour. He adds, that an army, destined by *Theodosius* for the defence of *Italy*, was in full march; and that *Artius* would soon arrive from *Gaul* at the head of another army. Several bodies of troops were placed, at proper distances, along the coast, under the conduct of *Sigisvult*, by nation a *Goth*; and the people ordered to be in readiness to take arms upon the first alarm †.

He ravages Sicily.

But, notwithstanding all these precautions, *Genseric*, in the month of *June*, made a descent upon *Sicily*, and, meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, and even laid siege to *Palermo*; but, not being able to reduce the place, he returned to *Africa* with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives †. It was, without all doubt, on this occasion, that *Paschasius* bishop of *Lilybæum* was carried into captivity, as pope *Leo* informs us, and kept in a most miserable servitude for the space of three years; to wit, to the year 443. when he returned back to his see †.

*GENSERIC* being now become formidable to both empires, *Theodosius* resolved to assist *Valentinian* his cousin and son-in-law against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted

\* PROSP. chron.

† Novell. xx. p. 102.

‡ tom. i. p. 412.

\* Novell. xl. p. 17. & xli. p. 18.

† PROSP. IDA1. chron.

‡ LEO,

out a fleet consisting of eleven hundred large ships, and, putting on board of it the flower of his army under the conduct of *Arcovidas*, *Ansilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and, joining the western forces there, to drive *Genferic* out of the countries he had usurped. But *Genferic* pretending in the mean time to be desirous of concluding a peace with both empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coast of *Sicily* the result of the negotiations, till the season proper for action was over. The following year 442. the *Huns* breaking into *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and committing there dreadful ravages, *Theodosius* was obliged to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, which he could not obtain, but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa* which he had seized \*. Some years after, that is, in 455. *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian* III. being forced, by the usurper *Maximus*, who had murdered her husband, to marry him, in order to revenge this affront, dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genferic*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of her husband †. As the empress assured him, that he would meet with little or no resistance in *Italy*, and at the same time promised to assist him to the utmost of her power, he embraced, with great joy, so favourable an opportunity of enriching himself with the spoils of so wealthy a country; and, putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to *Rome*, which he took and plundered, as we have related at large in a former volume ‡. Amongst other persons of great distinction, *Genferic* carried with him over into *Africa* the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*. *Marcian*, who succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched embassadors to *Genferic*, earnestly intreating him to suffer the empress, and the two princesses her daughters, to return to *Rome*; but he, despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the successor of *Marcian*; but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Huneric* his eldest son, who had by her *Ililderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* § (G).

*Valentinian yields to Genferic all the countries he had seized.*

*Genferic takes and plunders Rome.*

*Year of the flood 2803. Of Christ 455. Of Rome 1203.*

#### GENSERIC,

\* Chron. Alex. p. 730. PROSP. chron. † EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7 p. 298. ‡ Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 576. § PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 9. p. 255. THEOPH. p. 93. EVAGR. p. 98.

(G) *Victor Tununenſis* tells us, went out to meet *Genferic*, and, that *Leo*, then bishop of *Rome*, with his affecting eloquence, persuaded

**GENSERIC**, upon his return to *Africa*, made himself master of the countries that were still held there by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Valentinian III.* dispatched ambassadors to him, putting him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the empire in 442 and threatening, if he did not observe the articles of that convention, to make war upon him, not only with his own forces, but with those likewise of his allies, meaning the *Vij. 93*, they were ready to embark, and pass over into *Africa*. Accordingly, he sent a numerous fleet to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Romer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in our sixteenth volume, with orders to keep themselves there until put to sea upon the first notice. But *Genseric*, without the least regard to the emperor's remonstrances or threats, sailed from *Carthage* with a fleet of sixty ships, having on board a great number of land-forces, and shaped his course toward *Corfica*, it being yet a secret, whether he designed to make a descent upon *Italy* or *Gaul*. But *Romer* no sooner heard he had put to sea, than he too weighed anchor, and, coming unexpectedly upon him near *Corfica*, utterly defeated him.

He is defeated at sea by *Romer*. Makes a descent on the coast of *Italy*.

HOWEVER, he returned soon after with a more numerous fleet; and, making a descent on the coast of *Italy*, carried off unmolested an immense booty, and a great number of captives; which *Marcian*, emperor of the East, hearing, and at the same time pitying the condition to which *Eudoxia* and her two daughters were reduced, dispatched ambassadors to *Genseric*, earnestly intreating him to send back the three princesses, and to forbear ravaging the lands of the empire, pursuant to the treaties he had concluded with the emperor of the West. *Genseric* heard the ambassadors; but dismissed them without any answer. Upon their return *Marcian*, imagining that an *Arian* might speak with more liberty to, and be more favourably received by, a prince of that persuasion, wrote a letter to him with his own hand, and charged *Blada*, a bishop

<sup>b</sup> *PRINCE* *LEGAT* p. 63. P. 34.

*VIOL VITIENS*, p. 34.

saddened him to torments, shedding the blood of the innocent citizens, and setting fire to the city (8); but, according to *Eugregius*, the *Vandals* not only pillaged the city, but set it on fire, so that several public as well as private

buildings were entirely consumed. <sup>c</sup> *Procopius* writes, upon what authority we know not, that *Genseric* spared, as *Alaric* had done, the churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the *Lateran* (1).

(8) *VIZ. TACITUS*.

(1) *Epigr* p. 93.

(1) *Baron ad ann.* 455.

of that sect, to deliver it to him. *Bleda*, finding he could obtain nothing by prayers and intreaties, told him boldly, that he ought not to let himself be so blinded by the success that had hitherto attended him, as not to reflect on the danger to which he exposed himself, by provoking such a warlike prince as *Marcian*. *Genseric* heard him with patience; but refused to comply with either of the emperor's requests<sup>d</sup> (H).

• In the year 457. *Avitus*, emperor of the West, had succeeded *Valentinian III.* being deposed after a short reign, *Majorianus* was chosen in his room. In the beginning of that prince's reign, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but the *Romans*, falling upon them while they were busied in plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genseric*, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves on board their fleet<sup>e</sup>. *Majorianus*, not satisfied with this small advantage, resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the recovery of those wealthy provinces. With this view he assembled a fleet consisting of three hundred vessels, hired a great number of troops of the barbarians, who lived in amity with the empire, and are named by *Sidonius*,<sup>f</sup> *ca.* and made other necessary preparations for so great an under-

<sup>d</sup> EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.  
Idem ibid. p. 324.

<sup>e</sup> SID. car. v. p. 231.

(11) Some writers tell us, that *Marcian*, finding he could obtain nothing of *Genseric* by fair means, resolved to make war upon him, but died before he could put his design in execution (2) *Servandus*, as quoted by other writers, supposes him to have concluded a peace with the *Vandals* (3). *Procopius*, who greatly extols *Marcian* in other respects, blames him for neglecting the affairs of *Africa*, and scrupling to make war upon *Genseric*, by reason of the oath he had been obliged to take, when prisoner in *Africa*, that he would never molest the *Vandals* (4). *Evagrius* supposes *Eudoxia*,

with her second daughter *Placidia*, to have been sent back to *Africa* (5): but he was therein certainly mistaken, for *Genseric* set those two princesses at liberty several years after, at the request of the emperor! *Priscus* writes, that *Genseric* obtained of the emperor of the East, *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, part of the estate of the deceased emperor *Valentinian*, as the portion of *Eudoxia*, that prince's daughter, married to *Huneric* the son of *Genseric* (6). But we do not well comprehend what right the emperor of the East had to dispose of what belonged to the emperor of the West.

(2) Theodor. Lect. l. ii. p. 552.  
cop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 186.  
p. 42.

(3) Prisc. p. 41. not p. 208.  
(5) Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.

(4) Pro-  
(6) Prisc.

taking; the *Gauls*, though greatly exhausted by heavy imposts, contributing with joy their share towards them <sup>c</sup>. Of these military preparations mention is made by *Procopius* <sup>h</sup>, and likewise by *Cassiodore* <sup>i</sup>, who tells us, that *Majorianus* spent the whole year 457. and the three following, in making the necessary preparations for driving the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. At length, in the year 460. *Majorianus* leaving *Arles*, where he then resided, soon after *Easter*, which that year fell on the twenty-seventh of *March*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with a design to cross over from thence into *Africa* <sup>k</sup>. *Procopius* writes, that *Majorianus*, the better to insure himself of the strength of the enemy, went in disguise to the court of *Genferic*, pretending to be an ambassador sent by the *Roman* emperor with proposals for an accommodation: he adds, that, while *Genferic* was shewing him his arsenal, all the arms moved of their own accord with a dreadful noise <sup>l</sup>. The *Romans* did not in the least doubt of success, having *Majorianus* for their leader; and the *Vandals*, dreading the issue of a war under the conduct of so renowned a commander, did all that lay in their power to avoid it. *Genferic* sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire, which he promised to observe with the utmost fidelity; but these being rejected by the emperor, he laid waste all *Mauritania*, and even poisoned the waters, being informed, that *Majorianus* designed to land there, and thence march to *Carthage* <sup>m</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2808.  
Of Christ  
460.  
Of Rome  
1208.

His fleet  
surprised  
by the Van-  
dals.

In the mean time, the *Roman* fleet being assembled in the bay of *Alicant*, and *Majorianus* ready to embark, a squadron of *Genferic's* best ships appeared unexpectedly, and, falling upon the *Roman* vessels at anchor, sunk a great number of them, disabled others, and returned with some in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which, we are told, was owing to the treachery of some on board the *Roman* fleet, disconcerted all the emperor's measure, and put a stop to the enterprise. However, *Majorianus*, persisting in his resolution of invading *Africa*, ordered the ships to be repaired, and in the mean time returned to *Arles*, to pass the winter there. *Genferic*, finding the late misfortune had not diverted *Majorianus* from his former resolution, and dreading the arms and valour of so great a general, dispatched ambassadors to him with new proposals, which he in the end accepted <sup>n</sup>. Thus a

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Vand. l vii. p. 194.

<sup>i</sup> CASSIOD. ad ann 457.

<sup>k</sup> MARC. IDAT. chron. PRISC.

p. 42.

<sup>l</sup> PROCOPI. ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> IDAT.

p. 39, 40. SID. l. i. ep. 11. p. 28. CUSP. p. 552.

peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genferic*; but *Concludes* the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to us. *a peace* Whatever they were, *Genferic* did not long observe them; *with Genferic.* for he was no sooner informed of the death of *Majorianus*, which happened the following year 461. than he sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and even made himself master of *Sardinia*°.

• THE following year 462. the inhabitants of *Italy*, being informed, that *Genferic* was making great preparations with a design to renew his ravages on their coasts, had recourse to *Leo* emperor of the East, *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had raised to the empire of the West, being no-way qualified for that high station, and altogether incapable of protecting them against so powerful an enemy as *Genferic*. They earnestly intreated *Leo* either to supply them with ships of war, or to procure for them, by his mediation, some kind of agreement with the king of the *Vandals*. *Leo* declined sending them any supplies, which, he said, would be an open breach of the treaties subsisting between *Genferic* and the emperors of the East; but dispatched ambassadors into *Africa*, with proposals for a peace with the Western empire, earnestly pressing *Genferic* at the same time to send back *Eudoxia*, and her daughter *Placidia*. *Genferic* answered, that he would hearken to no terms till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him, which he claimed as the portion of *Eudoxia*, that prince's eldest daughter, whom his son *Huneric* had married. However, he sent back to *Leo* the two princesses, declaring, that he was willing to live in peace with the emperor of the East; but under the *Genferic* above-mentioned pretences he never failed, for some years, *ravages* to make descents early in the spring on the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, pillaging the country; but ever avoiding to engage the *Romans*, and retiring as soon as their forces appeared<sup>p</sup>. *Olybrius*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, having soon after married *Placidia*, *Genferic* took from thence a new pretence to ravage *Italy* more than ever, declaring, that he would wage an eternal war with the Western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity<sup>r</sup>. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy* had recourse anew to the emperor *Leo*, who dispatched the patrician *Tatian* to *Genferic*, injoining him to conclude a peace with that prince upon any terms; but *Genferic* would hearken to none<sup>s</sup>. In the mean time the emperor *Severus* dying, the *Romans* sent deputies to

° PROCOPI bell Vand. l i. c 6. p. 192. <sup>p</sup> IDAT p 41.  
PRISC p. 42. SID. car ii. v 349. <sup>q</sup> Univ hist vol. xvi.  
p. 587. <sup>r</sup> PRISC. p 43. <sup>s</sup> Idem ibid.



and like-  
wise Pe-  
lonneus,  
and the  
Greek  
islands.

*Constantinople*, intreating *Leo* to send *Anthemius* into *Italy*, whom they designed to choose emperor. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient and illustrious family, had married the daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, and was at that time count of the East. *Leo* readily complied with the request of the *Romans*, so that *Anthemius*, arriving in *Italy*, was with one consent chosen emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genseric* in favour of *Olybrius*. Hereupon *Genseric*, highly provoked against *Leo* for contributing to the promotion of *Anthemius*, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus*, and the *Greek* islands; which they did accordingly, committing unheard of cruelties, and carrying off a great number of captives. *Leo* was no sooner informed of these ravages, than he dispatched one *Philarchus* to requint *Genseric*, that, if he did not forbear such acts of hostility, he should be obliged to make war upon him, and repel force with force. But *Genseric*, despising his menaces, answered, that, if *Leo* thought fit to make war upon him, he should not find him unprepared, and soon after, to bid him, in a manner, defiance, he sent his fleet to ravage anew the coasts of *Cyrene*, and the other maritim provinces of the Eastern empire, nay, a report was spread in *Constantinople*, that his fleet had appeared before the city of *Alexandria*, which greatly alarmed the emperor, and the whole court. But we are told, that the famous anchorit *Daniel Stylita*, to whom the emperor had recourse, removed their fears, by assuring them, that the design of the barbarian would prove abortive, and that they would soon return to *Africa*, without being able to make themselves master of *Arvandria*, or any other place. As he said all, so it happened, for the barbarians, after several unsuccessful attempts on *Alexandria*, and some other places, returned home, without either captives or booty.

Year of the flood 2816  
Of Christ 468  
Of Rome 1216  
Leo makes vast preparations

THE following year 468 *Leo* resolving, at all events, to revenge the affront offered by *Genseric* to the Eastern empire, made vast preparations for carrying the war over into *Africa*. *Procopius* writes, that on this occasion he spent a hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold. *Cassiodorus*, quoted by *Snodgrass*, tells us, that the prefects contributed forty seven thousand pounds weight of gold towards defraying the charges of the war, the prince seventeen thousand of gold, and seventy thousand of silver, out of his privy purse, that the money arising from the sale of confiscated estates, was employed

\* Chron. Alex. p. 478. PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.

THEOPH. p. 99. w PROCOPIUS. ibid.

in buying up provisions, purchasing ships, hiring troops, &c. to invade and that *Anthemius*, emperor of the West, assisted *Leo* to the utmost of his power both with men and money <sup>a</sup> (1). In this enterprize were employed the best troops of both empires; for not only *Anthemius* sent very considerable supplies both of men and ships<sup>v</sup>, but likewise *Marcellinus*, who had established a new sovereignty in *Dalmatia*, as we have related elsewhere <sup>2</sup>; nay, that prince commanded in person, not only his own troops, but those likewise that were sent by *Anthemius* emperor of the West<sup>v</sup>.

THE fame of these warlike preparations struck the whole world, says *Costantius Menasse*<sup>b</sup>, with terror and amazement: nothing, continues he, seemed capable of defeating so numerous an army, and so powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can resist. But as the time appointed by Providence for punishing the *Vandals* was not yet come, Heaven suffered *Leo* to commit the whole management of this war to *Basiliscus*, brother to his wife *Verina*. *Basiliscus* had gained great advantages over the barbarians in *Thrace*, where he had commanded the general of that province, so that, as to his military conduct, he proved sufficiently qualified for so great a command; the more assisted under him one *Johm*, a person of extraordinary courage and conduct in war<sup>c</sup>. But, on the other hand, *Basiliscus* was vitiated by two very dangerous

The command of all the forces given to Basiliscus. His character.

his first vol. 1. p. 547. <sup>a</sup> Univ. hist. vol. 1. p. 547. <sup>b</sup> CONF. MANASS. <sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 11 p. 191, & 193. THEOPH. p. 9

(1) *Celestinus* gave the charge of the fleet to have conducted in hundred thousand sail, that is, a quite incredible number, if we consider of the power, he assembled all the ships that were found in the port of his empire (8); which, according to *Theophylactus*, amounted to one hundred thousand (9). But that winter confounded, perhaps, the number of the ships with that of the men, who, according to *Procopius* (1), did not exceed that number. *Amphocritus* supposes, with

bound 4

(7) *Celestinus* p. 547. (8) *Procopius* lib. 1. c. 6. p. 191. (9) *Theophylactus* p. 99. (1) *Procopius* lib. 1. c. 6. p. 191. (2) *Nunus* p. 631. (3) *Procopius* p. 192. (4) *Celestinus* lib. 1. c. 6.

passions; to wit, avarice and ambition. The latter even prompted him to aspire to the sovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of *Aspar*, who governed under *Leo* with almost an absolute sway; but, as he professed the doctrine of *Arius*, he was himself, on account of his religion, excluded from the imperial dignity. He had lately quarreled with *Leo*; and therefore fearing, lest that prince, if he got the better of the *Vandals*, should, by his victory, be enabled to reduce his power, and punish him, as he well deserved, for his arrogance, he is supposed to have entered into a private treaty with *Basiliscus*, promising to raise him to the throne, provided he spared *Genferic*, for whom he might likewise have some regard, as for one who professed the same tenets with himself<sup>d</sup>.

Sardinia  
and Tri-  
polis re-  
covered  
from the  
Vandals.

THE island of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous<sup>e</sup>. From thence *Marcellinus* was to set sail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately seized; *Heraclius* of *Edessa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Basiliscus*, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course strait to *Carthage*<sup>f</sup>. Pursuant to this plan, *Marcellinus* landed in *Sardinia*, and made himself master of that island, while *Heraclius*, with the troops quartered in *Egypt*, in *Thebais*, and *Cyrenaica*, landing unexpectedly in the province of *Tripolitana*, reduced *Tripolis*, and the other cities in that country. From thence he began his march by land, with a design to join *Basiliscus* at *Carthage*<sup>g</sup>. That commander, sailing from *Sicily*, arrived with his fleet at cape *Mercury*, but fourteen leagues from *Carthage*, soon after *Genferic* had received the disagreeable news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*. The arrival of so formidable a fleet, and the losses he had already sustained, struck him, though a man of great intrepidity, with such terror, that, looking upon himself as irretrievably lost, he is said to have had some thoughts of evacuating *Africa*, and retiring elsewhere: and truly, if *Basiliscus* had marched directly to *Carthage*, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once, by an intire reduction of the country<sup>h</sup>. Some authors write, that he had already gained considerable advantages over the fleet of *Genferic*<sup>i</sup>; and *Jornandes*, that he attacked *Carthage* several times by sea; but either for want of skill, or because he was willing to favour *Genferic*, his attacks

<sup>d</sup> PROCOF. *ibid.* THEOPH. p. 100. THEODOR. LECT. p. 555.

<sup>e</sup> PHOT. c. 242. p. 1041.

<sup>f</sup> THEOPH. p. 101.

<sup>g</sup> PRO-

COP. p. 192. THEOPH. *ibid.*

<sup>h</sup> PROCOF. *ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> THE-

OPH. p. 100. PHOT. c. 79. p. 174. CANDID. *Isaur.* p. 18.

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were not so vigorous as the barbarians expected<sup>k</sup>. Hereupon *Genferic*, recovering from his late consternation, sent deputies to the *Roman* admiral, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions, on which he was to submit to *Leo*<sup>l</sup> (K). *Genferic* demanded the above-mentioned truce, hoping a favourable wind might spring up during that time for falling upon the *Roman* fleet; for his men were all on board the ships of war, which were to tow other light and empty vessels.

THE wind proving as favourable as the *Vandals* could wish, before the truce was expired, they weighed anchor, and, drawing near to the *Roman* fleet, set fire to the empty ships, which, being, by the wind, driven upon the *Roman* fleet, spread to many of their ships, and threw their whole navy into the utmost confusion. While the *Romans* were thus in disorder, and busied either in keeping off the fire-ships, or extinguishing the flames on board their own, the *Vandals*, falling upon them, overwhelmed them with showers of darts, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the best manner they could<sup>m</sup>. Several *Romans* distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner; but above all *John*, whom we mentioned before, who finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, attacked them one after another, and killed a great number of them on board their vessels; but, not being able to prevent their boarding his, when he saw himself overpowered, he threw himself, armed as he was, on a plank, into the sea. *Genfon*, the son of *Genferic*, admiring his courage, and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himself to despair, offering him at the same time his life and liberty; but the brave commander, answering, *John shall never fall into the hands of such dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned<sup>n</sup> (L).  
*Heracius*,

<sup>k</sup> JORN. p. 654.  
p. 194.

<sup>l</sup> PROTOP p. 192.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 192.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. &

(K) Some writers tell us, that, with the ambassadors, *Genferic* sent privately a considerable sum to *Basiliſcus*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to grant him his request; which he did accordingly, continuing, in the mean time, inactive in his camp (5).  
(L) *Theophanes* writes, that *Genferic* fell upon the *Romans* in the night; and that, finding them not upon their guard, but asleep, as they depended upon the truce,

(5) *Jorn. reg.* p. 654. *Protop.* p. 192.

*Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad success of *Basiliscus*, thought it advisable to turn back, and hasten into the territories of the empire. *Murcellinus* returned to *Sicily*, where he was assassinated by a officer who commanded under him, not without the privy consent, as was supposed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power even now still umbrage. As for *Basiliscus*, he returned to *Sicily*, with the few ship that had cleaved, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of *Sophia*. But tho' his treachery was publicly known, his life was spared, and leave granted him to retire to *Israel* in *Thrace*, the emperor's *Verina*, his sister, having employed the great interest she had with the emperor in his behalf. But *Aspar*, who had promised him the sovereignty, as the reward of his treachery, was so far from being willing to perform his promise, that he could not save his own life, being, by *Jovian's* orders, put to death soon after, as we have related at large in our *Roman* history. Such was the issue of his unhappy expedition, which is said to have cost both the parties of their wealth, and to have cost them the lives of above fifty thousand men.

Genſeric  
ridu Si  
cily, Su  
dinia, &c

*GENSERIC*, finding the *Romans* quite disheartened by the losses they had sustained, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his conquests. Accordingly, without loss of time, he put to sea, and, landing in *Sardinia*, recovered that island from the *Romans*. Thence he sailed to *Sicily*, which he likewise reduced, and he did the three following years visit the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*, the *Romans* being so weak in condition to oppose a step to his conquests, and trembling at the very name of *Genſeric*. From thence islands he sent yearly fleets to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, of *Peloponnesus*, and the *Greek* islands, equally despising both emperors, and biding defiance to their power.

At length, in the year 476 he concluded a peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, to whom he yielded the island of *Sicily*,

\* *MAURICION* PROCOPIUS l. i. c. 6 p. 193. P. PROCOPIUS  
l. i. c. 5 p. 591. I. PROCOPIUS p. 100.  
\* PROCOPIUS l. i. c. 5 p. 31. VICT. VIT. l. i. p. 5.

he easily overcame them (1) *Example*, he took himself the first to flight, which gave new vigour to the enemy, and quite and *Genſeric* writes that, distressed and heartened the *Romans* (8) of encouraging his men with his

(6) *Id. sup.* p. 100. (7) *Cyp. Mar. vi.* c. 62. (8) *Id. sup.* p. 42.

but

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But upon condition he should hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the securing of which he kept the strong castle of *Lihbaum* <sup>u</sup>. The year before, he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, the successor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of *Africa*, yielded them for ever to *Genferic*, and his descendents. The person employed by *Zeno* on this occasion was one *Severus*, a senator of an unblemished character, and highly esteemed on account of his disinterestedness, candor, and integrity. He was received by *Genferic* with all possible marks of honour and esteem, that prince, who was advanced in years, being desirous to put an end to the war by a lasting peace, that he in *Hameri* might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the conclusion of the peace upon the terms we have mentioned above, *Genferic*, greatly taken with the frugal life and modesty of the *Roman* ambassador, sent him a considerable sum of money, and very rich presents; which he refused, saying, That the only present worthy of a *Roman* ambassador would be, the delivery of the many *Romans* who were held in captivity. *Genferic* was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately sent for *Severus*, and told him, that all the *Roman* captives, who had fallen to his share, and to the share of his children, were free, and at his disposal; and gave him at the same time leave to ransom such as had been divided among the soldiers and officers of his army, provided he could prevail upon them to part with them, it not being in his power to force them to it. *Severus*, having thus obtained without ransom the liberty of all the *Roman* captives belonging to the king, and the royal family, sold publicly by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money accruing from thence, redeemed many others <sup>w</sup>. *Severus* prevailed likewise on *Genferic* to suffer the church of the catholics at *Carthage* to be opened, and to recall the ecclesiastics belonging to it, whom he had banished some time before <sup>x</sup>. *Genferic* died soon after; but the peace was religiously observed by his successors till the reign of *Iustinian*, who, espousing the cause of *Hulderic* against his brother *Gulmer*, who had usurped the crown, drove the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, and reunited those provinces to the empire. But as by this peace the dominion of the *Vandals* was firmly established in *Africa*, the *Romans* renouncing all claim to that province, we shall, pursuant to our plan, reserve a farther account of their affairs to a more proper place, and, in the mean time, deliver what we have found in the antients concerning the *Sueves*, from the earliest account of time till their settling in *Spain*.

<sup>u</sup> VICT. VICT. & PROCOPI. *ibid.* <sup>w</sup> MALC. p. 87. PROCOPI. *bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195.* <sup>x</sup> VICT. VIT. p. 16.

Concludes  
a peace  
with  
Zeno.  
Year of  
the flood  
2823.  
Of Christ  
475.  
Of Rome  
1223.

## S E C T. IV.

*The antient State, &c. of the Sueves, till their Settling in Spain.*

*The name, seats, origin, &c. of the Sueves.* **T**HE Sueves were, in *Cæsar's* time, the greatest and most warlike nation of all *Germany*<sup>a</sup>. *Tacitus* divides them into several tribes or nations, known by different names, comprehending, under the common name of *Sueves*, the following people; to wit, the *Longobardi*, the *Sempronii*, the *Rheudingi*, the *Aviones*, the *Angli*<sup>b</sup>. *Ptolemy* mentions only three nations of the *Sueves*; to wit, the *Survi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Samnones*, and the *Suevi Angili*, whom *Tacitus*, and other writers, call *Angli*. Some writers will have the *Vandals* and *Sueves* to be one and the same people, called *Vandals* from the word *Wandende*, and *Sueves* from the word *Schwachende*, both which signify *wandering*; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Suevis* often changed their seats, wandering from place to place<sup>c</sup>. In the time of the emperor *Nero*, they dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; for *Strabo*, who flourished under that prince, speaks of them thus: The *Sueves* are a great and powerful people; for their country extends from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; nay, some of that nation dwell beyond the *Elbe*. Some years after, that is, in the time of *Tacitus* the historian, they were seated between the *Elbe* and the *Vistula* or *Weisser*; for there they are placed by that writer<sup>d</sup>. From them the *Suevis*, now the *Oder*, took its name; and the *Baltic* was called the *Suevian* sea. *Solinus* is of opinion, that they were called *Suvi* from mount *Suevio*, parting *Germany* from *Sarmatia*. As to their origin, nothing has been alleged by authors, but what is very uncertain, and no-way to be depended upon; some deriving their origin from *Scandinavia*, some from *Sarmatia*, some from *Hungary*, and some endeavouring, with several arguments, and monuments of antiquity, to convince us, that they were originally a *German* nation<sup>e</sup>. Some writers tell us, they came out of *Scandinavia*, and settled on the banks of the *Albis* or *Elbe*; that they were there subdued by the *Saxons*, and thence blended under their name, as were all the other nations conquered by that people. However, the *Sueves* retained at the same time their

<sup>a</sup> CÆSAR, bell. Gall. l. i.<sup>b</sup> TACIT. de mor. Ger. c. 38.<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. vii.<sup>d</sup> TACIT. ibid.<sup>e</sup> Vide RUDBECK.

Atlant. par. i. c. 24. GROT. in proleg. PRÆTOR. in orb. Goth. l. iii. c. i. PASTORIUM in hist. Polon. c. 7.

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own name; and hence the *Angli*, who were, as we have hinted above, a *Suevian* nation, are sometimes called *Saxones Angli*, and sometimes *Suevi Angli*. *Cisnerus* supposes these to be two different nations<sup>f</sup>; but his opinion is plainly confuted by the learned *Sheringham*<sup>g</sup>. The *Sueves* were a warlike nation; and, as such, are commended both by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, of whom the former often confounds them with the *Catti*, as after him do *Strabo*<sup>h</sup>, and likewise *Seneca* the tragic writer<sup>i</sup>; for, by these writers, they are placed in the *Hercynian* forest, which was, beyond dispute, inhabited by the *Catti* or *Chatti*. The *Sueves* had kings of their own, and seem to have agreed in customs and manners with the other *German* nations. But of their affairs we know very little, till the *Romans* became acquainted with them, which happened in the year of *Rome* 742. the twenty-second of *Augustus*'s reign, and about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, when *Drusus*, the son of *Livia*, and brother to *Tiberius*, passing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, in three campaigns, reduced all the nations between that river and the *Elbe*<sup>k</sup>, and among the rest the *Sueves*.

BUT that young prince dying on his return to *Rome*, the nations he had subdued threw off the yoke; which obliged *Augustus* to dispatch *Tiberius* against them, who over-ran great part of *Germany*, and forced the barbarians to send deputies to *Augustus*, suing for peace; but the emperor would not even hear them, because the *Sicambrians*, one of the most warlike nations among them, had not sent their deputies with those of the other barbarians. The war was therefore continued, till the *Sicambrians*, no longer able to hold out, submitted to such conditions as *Augustus* thought fit to impose upon them; as did likewise the *Sueves*, the allies and confederates of the *Sicambrians*<sup>l</sup>. The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* having thus submitted, *Tiberius*, pursuant to the instructions he had received from *Augustus*, obliged forty thousand of them to pass the *Rhine*, and settle in *Gaul*<sup>m</sup>. *Suetonius* tells us, that seats were allotted to them on the banks of that river<sup>n</sup>; but *Suetonius*, says *Bucherius*, was therein perhaps mistaken, it being probable, that they were placed at a considerable distance from the *Rhine*, to prevent their passing that river, and

<sup>f</sup> CISNER. in præfat. ad Kranz. p. 3.      <sup>g</sup> SHERING. de Angli. gent. orig. c. 2.      <sup>h</sup> STRAB. l. iv. p. 134.      <sup>i</sup> SENECA. in Medea, v. 713.      <sup>k</sup> TACIT. annal. ii. c. 41. p. 53.      <sup>l</sup> SUET. l. iii. c. 50. p. 386.      <sup>m</sup> VELL. l. ii. DIO, lib. lv. p. 548.      <sup>n</sup> SUET. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178.      <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. STRAB. l. vii. p. 290.      <sup>p</sup> SUET. l. iii. c. 9. p. 336.



joining the other *German* nations; nay, that author endeavours to prove from several antient monuments, which are still extant, that the country about *Cowtray* was antiently inhabited by the *Sueves* ° (A).

They drive  
out their  
king Ma-  
robodes.

Year of  
the flood

2367.

Of Christ  
19.

Of Rome  
767.

Some  
Sueves al-  
lowed to  
settle be-  
yond the  
Danube.

IN the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Sueves*, quarreling among themselves, which was chiefly owing to his intrigues, drove out *Marobodes* their king, a prince greatly dreaded by the *Romans*, and chose *Catualdes* in his room; who, at the instigation of *Tiberius*, had stirred up the *Sueves* against him. *Marobodes* took refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and was allowed by *Tiberius* to settle at *Ravenna*, where he passed the last eighteen years of his life. *Catualdes* himself was soon after driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of *Frejus*. As both princes came attended by great numbers of *Sueves*, their friends and adherents, *Tiberius*, apprehending they might disturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the *Danube*, and appointed a *Qua lian*, by name *Vannus*, to reign over them. *Vannus* governed them for the space of thirty years, that is, to the year 50. of the Christian æra, the tenth of the emperor *Claudius*, when, being in the end become obnoxious to the nation, on account of his haughty and impetuous conduct, he was by them, with the

° BUCH. l. i. c. 20. p. 49, 50.

(A) Some are of opinion, that from these *Sueves* sprung the *Burgundians*, so called from the *boroughs*, in *Latin burgi*, in which they were placed by the *Romans*; but this opinion is generally exploded. There are no traces remaining, whence we can conjecture what country was allotted to the *Sicambrians* (1) Though some of that people remained beyond the *Rhine*, yet, in the space of about sixty years, the whole nation was extinct (2). Of them therefore is to be understood what we read in *Dio*; to wit, 'That *Augustus* having distributed into several villages the *Germans* he had taken in war, they were so grieved thereat,

that they destroyed themselves with their own hands, especially the persons of distinction among them, who were very numerous (3). Mention is made of the *Sicambrians* after this time; but it is commonly thought, that the name of *Sicambrians* was given to the neighbouring nations, who settled in their country (4), that is, in the southern parts of *Westphalia*. *Augustus* thus obliged part of the *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* to quit their own country, in order to weaken them, having found by experience that he could neither depend upon their word, nor their hostages (5).

(1) BUCH. l. i. c. 20. p. 49, 50.

(2) TACIT. ANN. xii. c. 39. p. 181.

(3) DIO, l. b. lv. p. 542.

(4) BUCH. l. i. c. 20.

(5) STRAB. l. vii. p. 91.

assistance

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assistance of their neighbours the *Hermundurians* and *Ligians*, deposed and banished P. *Claudius* refused to assist him, but nevertheless allowed him to retire into *Pannonia*, and even gave him and his followers lands in that province. *Tangio* and *Sido*, nephews to *Iamius* by his sister, but his declared enemies, divided his dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the *Roman*. *Elbo*, and *Italicus*, who had succeeded *Vaggio*, joined *Iulius* with all their forces against *Vitellius*, and on that occasion committed their troops in person. In the year 83 a colony of *Sarmatians* was settled in *Frissia*, for *Tacitus*, in the line of *Agrippa*, tells us, that some *Germans* in the *Roman* service, and quartered in *Britannia*, killed their officers, and made their escape, were driven ashore on the coast of *Germany*, and there taken and sold for slaves by the *Sueves* and *Ligians*, who believed them pirates. How, or on what occasion, the *Sueves* came to settle there, we are no where told. In the year 85 the *Sueves*, and their allies the *Ligians*, being revolted by the neighbouring nations, sent deputies to *Domitius*, earnestly intreating him to assist them in their distress. *Domitian* dismissed the embassadors with a favourable answer, but sent them only one hundred horse, and, which so provoked the *Sueves*, that, joining the *Ligians*, a *Sarmatian* nation, they resolved to pursue the *Danube*, and, by living waste the *Roman* territories, revenge the affront that had been offered them, for they thought themselves affronted and derided by the emperor. What happened after, our historian has not thought fit to tell us, but *Tacitus*, in one place, writes, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* rose in arms against the empire, and in another, that, soon after *Arminius* was returned to *Rome*, that is, in 85. the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia* (B).

P *Lactantius* ann. ii. c. 62, 63 p. 61, 62 & ann. xii. c. 20 p. 180.  
 1 Idem, ann. xii. c. 29, 30 p. 180. 1 Idem ibid. 1 Idem, l. iii. c. 7. 21 p. 63. 6- 1 Idem, vit. Agric. c. 28 p. 147.  
 2 Dio, l. lxii. p. 61. 1 *Lactantius* l. i. c. 2 p. 4. 1 *Lactantius*, vit. Agric. c. 11 p. 11.

(B) The *Sueves*, of whom *Dio* speaks here, were without all doubt those to whom *Tiberius* allotted lands beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above. That writer places them, and likewise the *Ligians*, in *Masissa*, giving to that province a far greater extent than other historians and geographers have

done, for, even according to him, these people dwelt beyond the *Deiule*, which was, according to all other writers, the boundary of *Masissa* to the north, that province extending along the south side of the *Danube*, from the confluence of that river, and the *Sarva* or *Sava*, at *Belgrade*, to the *Euxine* sea (b).

(6) Vide *P. n. l. iii. c. 26*

We find no farther mention of the *Sueves* till the year 168. when, joining the *Marcomans*, and other *German* nations, they laid waste several provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But of this war, which is compared, by the antient, to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken at large in our *Roman* history<sup>r</sup>, to which we refer our reader.

Their several  
raptors  
into the  
empire

In 268 the first of *Claudius*'s reign, the *Sueves*, entering into an alliance with other *German* nations, broke into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the lake *Benevus*, now *Lago di Garda*, in the neighbourhood of *Verona*, but were there utterly defeated by the emperor, and most of them cut in pieces<sup>a</sup>. This, perhaps, is the victory, of which *Crispius* speaks, where he tells us, that, in the reign of *Claudian*, *Aurelian* fought a great battle with the *Sueves*, and, in the final victory over them<sup>b</sup>. In 357 the twenty first of *Constantius*'s reign, the *Sueves* broke into *Rhodia*, the *Quadians* into *Belgica*, and the *Sarmatians* into *Lycaonia* and *Lycaonia*, which obliged the emperor, & no was then it<sup>c</sup> me, to quit that metropolis, and march against them<sup>d</sup>. But he returned soon after to *Italy*, and no mention is made of any engagement, we may conclude from thence, that at his approach the barbarian withdrew, and retired to their respective countries. The poet *Claudian*, in his poem against *Lutropius*, tells us, that when new were brought to *Honorius* of that minister's promotion to the consistory, the price was then busied, with *Stilich*, in receiving the soldiers of the *Alamans*, the *Sicambrians*, and the *Sueves*, in order to furnish<sup>e</sup>. This is supposed to have happened about the year 396 but these matters are not said, by any historian, to have submitted to *Honorius*, we are inclined to believe these pretended submissions to be only a poetical fiction.

*They enter* In the year 406 they entered *Gaul* with the *Alamans* and *Vandals*, and from thence passed into *Spain* as we have  
*thence pass* told above. They continued ravaging that country, putting  
*into Spain* it to fire and sword, till the year 411 when, the *Romans*

Year of  
the flood  
2759  
Of Christ  
411  
Of Rome  
1159

being quite driven out, the empire with the nation, and divided the *Spanish* provinces, bestowing among them. In this division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Sueves*, but the inhabitants of that province, refusing to submit to the barbarians, stood up in defence of their liberties, and formed a separate



<sup>r</sup> Univ hist vol xv p 221, & seq <sup>a</sup> Aur vit p 213 &  
GOLTZ p 118 <sup>b</sup> Vit Aur ibid <sup>c</sup> AMMIAN I xvi  
p 72 <sup>d</sup> CLAUDI in Eutrop I ii c 411 & l. i p 102

statq

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state in a corner of their antient country, where they were often attacked by the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, their king. But that prince, being seized with a lingering distemper, suffered them to live in peace the seven last years of his reign<sup>d</sup>.

ABOUT three years after the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, <sup>which they</sup> had divided the *Spanish* provinces among them, *Ataulphus* <sup>divide</sup> king of the *Visigoths*, quitting *Gaul*, settled in *Catalonia*, <sup>with the</sup> where he was murdered the same year, as was likewise his *Vandals* successor *Sigeric*, after a short reign of seven days, as we have <sup>and Alans,</sup> related above. But *Vallia*, who succeeded *Sigeric*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, fell upon the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans* in *Spain*, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of the *Alans*, that the few, who escaped the general slaughter, were obliged to submit to *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals*. The *Sueves* likewise sustained great losses in this war; but nevertheless maintained, against the utmost efforts of the *Goths*, that part of *Galicia*, which, in the division of the provinces, had fallen to their share. The *Goths* returning soon after, that is, in 418. to *Gaul*, where *Constans* had bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, the *Vandals* and *Sueves* began to quarrel among themselves; for, the year after the departure of the *Goths*, we find the *Sueves*, with their king *Emeric*, shut up by *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals* among the mountains of *Biscay*. But *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Maurceclus*, vicar to the *præfectus prætorio*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Vandals*, obliged them to leave the *Sueves*, and retire out of *Galicia* into *Bætica*<sup>e</sup>. Upon their retreat, the *Sueves* made themselves masters of that part of *Galicia* which had been held by them. In the year 430. a body of *Sueves* attempted to cross the *Rhine*, with a design to enter *Gaul*, and from thence to pass into *Spain*, and join their countrymen settled in *Galicia*; but *Actius*, who was then in *The Sueves* *Gaul*, falling upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, <sup>in Germa-</sup> and obliged the rest to return to their own country, between <sup>ny defeated</sup> the *Elbe* and *Wissel*<sup>f</sup>. Of this victory *Jornandes* speaks <sup>by Actius.</sup> without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Actius* overcame the *Sueves*, made a dreadful havock of that nation, and subjected them to the empire<sup>g</sup>. At the same time he defeated, with great slaughter, the *Futhongians*, whose country bordered on *Rætia*, and the *Norici*, who were subjects of the empire, but had revolted, and joined the *Sueves* and *Futhongians*<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> OROS. l. iii. c. 23. p. 163. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. IDAT. chron.

<sup>e</sup> IDAT. ibid. GREG. TUR. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. <sup>f</sup> SID.

p. 131. <sup>g</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. <sup>h</sup> TIRO

PROSP. chron.

The Sueves  
in Spain  
make war  
upon the  
natives of  
Galicia.

IN Spain the Sueves made their utmost efforts to reduce the inhabitants of *Galicia*, but that brave people still maintained themselves free, defending their strong-holds, against the repeated attacks of the barbarians, with such resolution, that *Emeric* thought it advisable to conclude a peace with them, that his people, who began to be greatly distressed for want of corn, might apply themselves to the tilling of the land, and other works of agriculture. This peace, however, was but short lived, for, the following year 431. the *Sueves* began hostilities anew, and, breaking into the territories of the natives, committed there dreadful ravages, destroying all with fire and sword. Hereupon the unhappy *Germani* dispatched *Idatius* the chronicler, their bishop, into *Gaul*, to acquaint *Aetius* with the deplorable condition to which they were reduced; and to intreat him to send what troops he could spare to their assistance. *Aetius*, who was then at war with the *Franks*, not being able to afford them the least aid, sent count *Censorius* into *Spain*, with the character of ambassador, to *Emeric*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to conclude a peace with the natives. *Emeric* received the *Roman* ambassador with the greatest marks of honour, and, at his request, began to treat with the *Galicians*; but the treaty was soon broken off, and hostilities renewed, which continued till the year 437. when *Censorius* was sent again to the court of *Emeric*, with one *Mercurius*, to bring about an accommodation between that prince and the *Galicians*, which they did in the end, *Emeric* being tired with a lingering disemper, and thereby rendered incapable of bearing the toils of war.

A PEACE being thus concluded, *Emeric* resigned the crown to his son *Rechila*, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, reckoning from the year 409 when the *Sueves* first entered *Spain* under his conduct. He lived four years after his resignation, quite retired, without ever concerning himself with public affairs. *Rechila* signalized the beginning of his reign, bys *Idatius*, with a victory gained in *Batca* over one *Andevotus*, whose rich treasures he pillaged<sup>l</sup>, but who this *Andevotus* was, we are no-where told. In the year 439. *Rechila*, entering *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Mirala*, the capital of that province<sup>m</sup>, and putting his conquests, reduced, the two following years, the city of *Sevilla*, and the two provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*. Hereupon the *Romans*, who had anew taken possession of *Bætica*, upon the departure of the *Vandals*, dispatched into *Spain* one *Ajlurus*, to drive them

Rechila  
makes him-  
self master  
of several  
places.

<sup>l</sup> IDAT. p. 21.

<sup>k</sup> Idcm. p. 25.

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Idem,

p. 22.

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out of the provinces they had seized. *Astierus* fell upon the *Bagaudæ*, who had lately settled in the province of *Tarraco*, and, cutting most of them in pieces, recovered that country<sup>n</sup>; but we do not find, that he attempted any thing against the *Sueves*. Not long after, *Vitus*, who commanded a considerable body of *Roman* troops in *Spain*, with the title of *magister militiæ*, entering the provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*, committed there great ravages; but a body of *Goths*, who came to his assistance, being defeated by *Rechila*, both he and his army were seized with such a panic, that, betaking themselves to a shameful flight, they left the *Sueves* at full liberty to pillage the country at their pleasure, and reduce several strong-holds, that, till then, had been held by the *Romans*<sup>o</sup>.

Year of the flood 2789.  
Of Christ 441.  
Of Rome 1189.

Two years after, that is, in 447. died *Rechila*, and was succeeded by his son *Rechiarus*, who took the royal ensigns at *Merida*, in the month of *August* of the present year, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from some of his own nation<sup>p</sup>. He professed the catholic faith; but began his reign by plundering his neighbours lands<sup>q</sup>. The following year, he married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*; and, immediately after his marriage, entering the territories of the *Gascens*, who were still in *Spain*, says father *Labbé* in his chronology, laid them waste far and near<sup>r</sup>. From thence he went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at *Thoulouse*, and, on his return to *Spain*, surprised the city of *Lerida*, whence he carried with him a great number of captives. He afterwards pillaged the territory of *Saragosa*<sup>s</sup>, which, according to *Isidorus*, in his chronology of the *Sueves*, belonged to the *Romans*<sup>t</sup>. The same writer adds, that in this expedition *Rechiarus* had with him a body of *Goths*; and that he likewise laid waste the province of *Cartagena*, which *Rechila*, says he, had restored to the *Romans*<sup>u</sup>.

Rechila succeeded by his son Rechiarus.  
Year of the flood 2795.  
Of Christ 447.  
Of Rome 1195.

In the year 452. the twenty-seventh of the reign of *Valentinian* III. *Manfuctus*, count of *Spain*, and count *Fronto*, were sent, by the emperor, to *Rechiarus*, with proposals for an accommodation between him, and the natives of *Spain* who still continued subject to the *Romans*. *Rechiarus* not only received the *Roman* ambassadors with the greatest marks of esteem, but concluded a peace upon the terms which the emperor had enjoined them to propose. What these terms were, we are no-where told; but they are said, by *Idatius*, to have been very advantageous to the empire<sup>w</sup>. The peace,

Rechiarus concludes a peace with the Romans.

<sup>n</sup> IDAT. p. 23.    <sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 24.    <sup>p</sup> Idem, p. 25.    <sup>q</sup> Idem, p. 26.  
<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>s</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>t</sup> IDIDOR. chron.  
<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>w</sup> IDAT. p. 29.

Theodo-  
ric king of  
the Visi-  
goths &  
spouses the  
cause of the  
Romans  
against  
him.

thus concluded, was religiously observed by *Rechiarus* till the death of *Valentinian* in 455. when, taking advantage of the general confusion occasioned by the murder of that prince, and likewise of his successor *Maximus*, he over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a design, says *Jornandes*, to make himself master of all the countries that were still held in *Spain* by the *Romans* \*. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched count *Fronto* into *Spain* to put the king of the *Sueves* in mind of the treaty he had concluded with *Valentinian*. At the same time *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, who had espoused the interest of *Avitus*, dispatched embassadors to *Rechiarus* his son-in-law, earnestly intreating him not to seize on the countries belonging to the emperor; lest he too should be obliged to treat him as an enemy, and join the emperor, whom he was bound to support against him †. What answer *Rechiarus* returned to the embassadors, our historian does not inform us: he only tells us, that he had no sooner dismissed them, than, breaking into the province of *Tarraco*, which belonged to the *Romans*, he laid it waste, without the least regard either to treaty or justice ‡. Hereupon *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that, if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he was ready to give him an account of it at *Thoulouze*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; and, having first concluded a peace with the neighbouring nations, he set out, with the consent and approbation of *Avitus*, for *Spain*, leading with him a very numerous army, consisting of his own people, and a body of auxiliary *Burgundians*, commanded by *Gondiac* and *Hisperic*, or *Chisperic*, the son, as is supposed, of *Gundarius*, king of that people, who was killed about the year 436 §. *Rechiarus* was in the mean time busied in ravaging anew the province of *Tarraco*, whence he carried with him into *Galicia* a considerable booty, and a great number of captives ¶. But, hearing that *Theodoric* was marching against him, he went to meet him at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon an engagement ensued, on the banks of the *Ullisus*, now *Oribagua*, at a place about twelve miles from *Astorga*. Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity; but in the end the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and put to flight. *Rechiarus*, who was dangerously wounded, by despatch, with difficulty, made his escape, and took refuge in a distant corner of *Galicia*. The battle was fought on a *Friday*, the

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\* JORN p 675 IDAT p 50.  
p 32. † Idem ibid ISIDOR CHION  
p 32

‡ JORN ibid.  
JORN p 676.

\* IDAT.  
‡ IDAT.

fifth of *October*; and *Theodoric*, pursuing the enemy, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers <sup>c</sup>. From *Braga* he advanced to a place called *Portugal*, whither the fugitive king had retired. *Jornandes* writes, that *Rechiarus* attempted to make his escape by sea, but was driven back by a storm <sup>d</sup>. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to *Theodoric*, by whose order he was put to death, after he had been kept some time in prison <sup>e</sup>. The *Sueves*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, submitted to the *Goths*, by whom great numbers of them were put to the sword, tho' *Theodoric* had ordered their lives to be spared <sup>f</sup>. *Theodoric* appointed one of his officers, named *Aquulphus*, to govern the *Sueves* who had submitted to him. But he, revolting from *Theodoric*, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the *Sueves*; which obliged *Theodoric* to send a powerful army against him, by whom he was defeated, taken prisoner, and, by *Theodoric's* order, soon after beheaded <sup>g</sup>. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died the following year at *Porto* <sup>h</sup>. The *Sueves*, who, refusing to submit to the *Goths*, had retired to the most distant corner of *Cilicia*, no sooner heard, that *Rechiarus* was dead, than, scorning to live in subjection either to the *Goths*, or the traitor *Aquulphus*, they chose one *Maldra*, the son of *Massilul*, in his room <sup>i</sup>.

*THEODORIC* king of the *Visigoths*, after the above-mentioned victory over the *Sueves*, had marched from *Galicia* into *Lusitania*, and there, after reducing several other cities, had laid siege to *Merida*, the metropolis of the province, which, in the end, was obliged to surrender. The king designed at first to give up the city to be plundered by his soldiers; but *St. Eulalia*, a famous martyr of that place, is said to have deterred him, by some prodigies, from putting his design in execution <sup>k</sup>. Being soon after obliged to return to *Gaul*, he left behind him part of his troops, consisting of different nations, and commanded by several generals, with orders to march into *Galicia*, and there reduce such of the *Sueves*, as had not yet submitted to him. But these troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the *Romans*, were recalled by *Theodoric*, who had occasion to employ them elsewhere, before they began to act against the *Sueves*. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from so formidable

Maldra  
chosin king  
in his room.  
Year of  
the flood  
2804.  
Of Christ  
456.  
Of Rome  
1204.

<sup>c</sup> JORN p 676 ISIDOR chron IDAT. p 33. <sup>d</sup> JORN.  
ibid. <sup>e</sup> ISIDOR chron IDAT p 34. <sup>f</sup> JORN ibid.  
<sup>g</sup> Idem, p 677 <sup>h</sup> IDAT p 37. <sup>i</sup> Idem, p 34. <sup>k</sup> Idem,  
p. 35. CUSEP p 451.



*The Sueves* an enemy, began to quarrel among themselves, some of them *quarrel among themselves.* continuing faithful to *Maldra*, whom they had lately chosen, and others setting up against him one named *Franton*. Being thus divided among themselves, they made peace with the *Galicians*, or the natives of that province, who still held several strong-holds, and maintained themselves a free people among the mountains, and in some of the fortified towns<sup>1</sup>. These are, by most authors, styled *Romans*, because they still acknowledged the *Roman* emperor, and looked upon themselves as subjects of the empire.

NOTWITHSTANDING the peace concluded between them and the *Sueves*, the putifans of *Maldra*, being unexpectedly into *Lusitania*, pillaged the country, and put to the sword a great number of *Romans*, under pretence of making war on the *Goths*. Being received into *Lisbon* as friends, they made themselves masters of the city, and kept it<sup>2</sup>. Soon after, that is, in 458. *Franton* dying, the whole nation of the *Sueves* acknowledged *Maldra* for their king, by whose orders they laid waste that part of *Galicia*, which lay on the *Douro*, without the least regard to the treaty of peace concluded the year before<sup>3</sup>. About this time *Theodoric* sent an army into *Spain* against the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Cyrila*, who, entering *Bætica*, which belonged to the *Romans*, committed there the same disorders, as the *Sueves* did in *Galicia*, without offering to molest those against whom they were said to have been sent. At the same time ambassadors were sent to the *Sueves*, both by *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, and by *Genseric* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, probably to conclude, not only a peace, but an alliance with them against the emperor *Majorianus*, whose great parts, and military genius, gave them no small umbrage. The peace, however, was not concluded; for the following year 459 *Theodoric*, having recalled *Cyrila*, and the army commanded by him, sent one *Sumieric* with another army in his room; which did not prevent the *Sueves* from pillaging *Lusitania* under the conduct of *Maldra*, and *Galicia* under that of his son *Remismund*<sup>4</sup>, by *Jornandes* called *Richmund*. Some writers speak of a battle fought this year between the *Sueves* and *Galicians*, in which the latter lost many persons of distinction<sup>5</sup>.

THE same year 459. *Maldra* killed, upon what provocation we are not told, his brother, whose name has not been transmitted to us. Soon after this murder, he surprised the

<sup>1</sup> IDAT. chron.

<sup>2</sup> IDAT. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. ISIDOR.

chron. p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> IDAT. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, p. 38. CUSP.

p. 451. ISIDOR. chron.

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Strong castle of *Portugal*, which was held by the natives. But *Maldra* he was soon overtaken by the doom his treachery and barbarity well deserved, being killed, by whom our historian does not tell us, in the end of *February* of the following year 460. Upon his death his son *Remismund* and *Frumarius* divided his troops between them. *Frumarius* was likewise, as we may suppose, the son of *Maldra*, and brother of *Remismund*; for he not only had part of the troops, but shared with *Remismund* the dominions, of the deceased prince. In the first year of their reign, the *Sueves* of *Lugo* in *Galia*, falling treacherously upon the *Romans*, who lived in that city, on *Easter-day*, which in 460. fell on the twenty-seventh of *March*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, as they were not upon their guard, thinking themselves sufficiently protected by the solemnity of a day held by all Christians in the greatest veneration. *Sumner* and *Nepotianus*, who commanded the troops of *Theodoric* in *Spain*, no sooner heard of this outrage, than they detached part of their forces to take vengeance on the traitors. The *Goths*, entering *Galicia*, laid waste the territory of *Lugo*; but a false report being spread among them by *Diastinus*, *Spinio*, and *Ascanius*, who were natives of the country, but held a private correspondence with the *Sueves*, they returned into their own territories, without daring to advance farther into the enemy's country. The same year, the three above-mentioned persons led a party of *Sueves* through byways to surprise the city of *Aquæ Flavie*, where they took *Idatius*, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-sixth of *July*, and carried him into captivity, as he himself relates. After this, *Frumarius* laid waste the territory of *Braga*, and *Remismund*, at the same time, that of *Orense*, on the *Minho* in *Galicia*.

killed, and succeeded by Remismund and Frumarius.  
Year of the flood 2808.  
Of Christ 460.  
Of Rome 1208.  
The Goths lay waste great part of Spain.

BUT the two princes, growing jealous of each other's power, began to quarrel, which gave the natives some respite; for with them they concluded a peace, that they might be more at leisure to watch each other's motions. This peace was observed for the space of four years, that is, till the year 464. when, *Frumarius* dying, the *Sueves* were again all reunited under *Remismund*, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Theodoric*, acquainting him with the death of *Frumarius*, and soliciting him to conclude a peace with the *Sueves*, which he did accordingly, sending ambassadors to *Remismund* with rich presents, and likewise arms, in token of his sincere friendship, and the confidence he reposed in him. At the

<sup>a</sup> IDAT & ISIDOR. chron.  
<sup>†</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>†</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>a</sup> IDAT p 39.

same time he sent him a young woman of extraordinary beauty, whom he married <sup>u</sup>; but who she was, our historian does not inform us. *Jornandes* writes, that *Remismund* sent the bishops of *Galicia* to *Theodoric*, hoping, by their mediation, to obtain a peace; that *Theodoric* received them with all the respect that was due to their rank and dignity; that he soon after recalled the general and troops he had in *Spain*; and that *Remismund*, by a second embassy, returned him thanks for the peace he had granted him.

His surpris-  
es Coim-  
bra.

THIS peace, however, did not hinder *Remismund* from surprising, this very year, the city of *Coimbra*, which was held by the natives, and carrying with him from thence several captives. He did not, it seems, keep this city; for, three years after, that is, in 467. he surprised it anew <sup>v</sup>. The following year 465. *Remismund* was prevailed upon by *Theodoric* to set at liberty the prisoners he had taken at *Coimbra*, and make peace with the natives <sup>x</sup>. But this peace, says *Idatius*, was attended with a greater and far more dangerous evil than the war itself. *Racharius* king of the *Sueves* from the year 447. to 456. renouncing paganism, had embraced the catholic faith, and his example had been followed by the whole nation

The Sueves  
embrace  
the tenets  
of Arius.  
Year of  
the flood  
2813.  
Of Christ  
465.  
Of Rome  
1213.

of the *Sueves*; but at this time they suffered themselves to be infected with the heresy of *Arius* by one *Ajax*, a native of *Galatia*, who, abandoning the catholic faith, had been ordained by the *Arians*. Coming into *Gaul*, he had staid some time at the court of *Theodoric*, and had been treated by that prince, who held the tenets of *Arius*, with great respect. From *Gaul* he passed into *Spain*, where he was well received by the *Sueves*, upon the recommendation of *Theodoric*. The kind reception he met with encouraged him to propagate his errors among the *Sueves*, and impugn the doctrine of the Trinity <sup>y</sup> (C).

IN the mean time, *Theodoric* being murdered by his brother *Euric*, *Remismund*, thinking himself no longer bound by the treaty of peace, which he had concluded by his mediation with the natives, broke into *Lusitania*, and, having surprised

<sup>u</sup> IDAT p. 39  
p. 43, 44.

<sup>v</sup> Idem ibid. ISIDOR. chron.  
<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>x</sup> IDAT.

(C) *Isidore* writes, that he infected the whole nation with the pestiferous tenets of *Arius*; and that they continued in their errors during the reigns of several

princes, till the time of king *Theodoric*, who, about an hundred years after, brought them back to the true faith (7).

## CXXVIII. THE SUEVES.

the city of *Coimbra*, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. <sup>They far</sup> He likewise ravaged and laid waste the territory of *Aunona* be- <sup>prise a fe</sup> longing to the *Galicians*; who thereupon sent deputies to *Euric*, <sup>second the</sup> king of the *Visigoths*, begging his mediation and good offices, <sup>and plus</sup> with the king of the *Sueves*. Accordingly *Euric* prevailed <sup>der</sup> upon *Remismund* to grant a peace or truce to the people of *Coimbra*. *Aunona*; but, in the mean time, he himself committed dreadful ravages in *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Saragosa*, and, having overcome and put to flight the nobility of the province of *Tarraco*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*, made himself master of all *Upper Spain*. Thus were the inhabitants of *Spain*, who could not prevail upon themselves to withdraw their obedience to the *Romans*, and submit to the barbarians, in a most cruel manner plundered and harassed on one side by the *Goths*, and on the other by the *Sueves*, while the *Romans* were no-ways in a condition to relieve them (D). The following year 688. they made themselves masters of *Lisbon*, which was betrayed to them by one *Lusides*, who was a native of the place, and commanded in the town. As *Lisbon* was at that time held by the *Goths*, the troops of that nation, entering *Lusitania*, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the *Sueves*, as did the *Sueves* on those of the *Goths*. However, *Euric*, being wholly bent upon driving the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*, with a design to fall afterwards upon the *Sueves*, concluded, for the present, a peace with *Remismund*, and then, turning his arms against the *Romans*, made himself master of all the <sup>The great-</sup> places that had been hitherto held by them, as we have re- <sup>er part of</sup> lated above, in the history of the *Visigoths*; but he died be- <sup>Spain re-</sup> fore he could put in execution the design he had formed against <sup>duced by</sup> the *Sueves*. *Remismund*, finding he could no longer cope <sup>the Visi-</sup> with the *Visigoths*, who were now masters of almost all *Spain*, retired into *Galicia*, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conquests, ended his days. His successors followed his example, contenting themselves with the kingdom of *Galicia*, and observing a strict neutrality in the disputes that arose

<sup>2</sup> ISIDOR. chron. p. 619.

(D) Of the calamities they part of the city in ashes, and suffered, the reader will find a carried with them into captivity full and pathetic account in *Idatius*, who tells us, that the *Sueves*, such of the inhabitants as had not the good luck to make their escape (8), when they surprised *Coimbra*, plundered the houses, laid most

(8) *Idat.* p. 45.

Galicia  
yielded to  
Remif-  
mund.

between the *Visigoths* and the *Romans*. By this means they maintained themselves in the quiet possession of *Galicia* till the year 585. when they were subdued by *Leumigild* or *Leovigild* king of the *Visigoths*, and their kingdom reduced to a province of the *Gothic* monarchy, after it had lasted an hundred and seventy-four, or, as some will have it, an hundred and seventy-seven years. But of the successors of *Remifmund*, to which prince the emperor *Anthemius* is said to have yielded *Galicia* in 468. and of the downfall of their kingdom, we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

## S E C T. V.

*The antient State of the Franks, till their settling in Gaul.*

The origin  
and name  
of the  
Franks.

AS the antients, by whom mention is first made of the *Franks*, have given us no account of their origin, and *Valesius*, a most diligent and curious inquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has prudently waved this subject, it cannot be expected we should say any thing relating thereto, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of *Buchernus* seems to us the most probable; to wit, that the *Franks* were originally a motly multitude of several antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting against the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, stiled themselves *Franks*, that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *free* \*. It is certain, that under the name of *Franks* are comprised in history several nations, whose names were known long before theirs, to wit, the *Aëtuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bruëteri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Ansvarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambrians*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, of which the far greater part was cut off by *Augustus*, and the rest transplanted into *Gaul*, as we have related above (A).

BODIN

\* BUCH. l. vi. c. 13. p. 110.

(A) As for the opinion of those writers, who derive the name and origin of the *Franks* from one *Francio*, the son of *Hector*, it is too fabulous to be seriously considered. No less ridiculous, if we

may be allowed to use that term, is the opinion of the abbat *Urspergensis*, and several others, who suppose the name of *Franks* to have been first given them by the emperor *Valentinian*. The original

BODIN will have the *Franks* to have been descended from the *Gauls*, who, being increased to such a degree, that the country was too narrow for them, sent colonies beyond the *Rhine* into *Germany*. Some of these colonies settled on the banks of that river, and, in process of time, conquered their antient country. *Cæsar* indeed tells us, that the *Gauls* sent colonies into *Germany*, but upon what authority can we suppose the *Franks* to have been descended from those *Gauls*, ra-

ginal of the *Franks*, says *Uspurgensis*, is to be fetched from the antient stock of the *Trojans*; for at the time that *Æneas*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, other *Trojan* exiles arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and, settling there, enlarged their bounds as far as *Pannonia*, and built the city of *Sicambria*, from which they took the name of *Sicambrians*. Being in process of time become a powerful and mighty nation, they drove out the *Alans* their neighbours. *Valentinian*, admiring their courage and intrepidity in war, gave them the name of *Franks*, and, for the space of ten years, exempted them from all tributes and taxes. That time being expired, the emperor sent an officer to raise the usual tribute; but they, shaking off all subjection, slew the officer, and openly declared they would no longer obey the *Roman* emperors. At that time reigned among them two, who bore the antient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The emperor, highly incensed against them, ordered all the *Roman* forces, and a great many auxiliaries, to march into their country. The *Franks* met them; but, in the battle that ensued, they were overpowered with numbers, and put to flight, their king *Priamus* being killed in the engagement. Scorning to live in subjection to the *Romans*, they abandoned their country, and, returning into *Germany*, settled in *Thuringia*, where they were governed by *Miconus* the son of *Priamus*, and *Sumo* the son of *Antenor*. Thus *Uspurgensis*. And the same account of the origin and name of the *Franks* is given by *Aimonius*, *Azo* archbishop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus*, and *Sylvius*, only the latter will suppose *Frius* to have been their leader from *Troy* to the *Palus Mæotis*, and to bring them from thence, not into *Germany*, but to the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. This account, of all others the most akin to the idle romances of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, is so far from being vouched by any antient historian, that, on the contrary, it evidently contradicts all antient history, in supposing the *Franks* to have been so called from *Palus Mæotis*, whereas it is certain, that their name occurs in history at least an hundred years before that emperor's time. *Gregorius Reckius* explodes the opinion of those, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*, but at the same time supposes them to have come from the *Palus Mæotis* into *Germany*, without being able to allege any thing to support his opinion, but a few groundless, not to say childish, conjectures.

ther than from some other of the many nations settled in *Germany*? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of *Bucherius*, which we have mentioned above, to be by far the most probable; for, as we hinted before, we find several *German* nations, whose names occur in history many ages before that of the *Franks* was known, comprised under the general name of *Franks*; a strong proof, that the *Franks* were not a new nation come from the *Palus Mæotis*, or any other country, to settle in *Germany*; but consisted of several *German* nations united, as *Bucherius* conjectures, against the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty.

*Their  
seats.*

As for the seats of the *Franks*, it appears from their constant incursions into *Gaul*, that they dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. All historians speak of them as placed there, till their settling in *Gaul*<sup>b</sup>. The orator *Eumenes*, who flourished at *Autun*, in the end of the third century, distinguishes the country, which the *Franks* held originally, and he places on the coast of the ocean, from the country which was conquered by the *Romans* beyond the *Rhine*, and afterwards seized by the *Franks*<sup>c</sup>. Their country, according to the best modern geographers and historians, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the *Rhine*; on the south by the *Lbone*, or the *Mein*; and on the east by the *Weser*<sup>d</sup>: according to which description, they possessed the present countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states. *St. Jerom* calls them a nation not so great as powerful, and places them between the *Saxons* and *Alemans*<sup>e</sup>; to wit, the *Saxons* to the east, and the *Alemans* to the south; for those were properly called *Alemans*, who dwelt between the *Rhine*, the *Mein*, and the *Danube*. The same writer tells us, that the *Saxons* received a great overthrow at *Deufon*, in the country of the *Franks*<sup>f</sup>; which place *Pontanus*, and most other writers, suppose to be the same, that, by later historians, is called *Duitsum*, and now *Duyts*, over-against *Coigne*. *Pontanus* adds, that, in his time, a stone was discovered in a monastery there, with an inscription, importing that fortress to have been placed there in the country of the *Franks* by the emperor *Constantine* (B). Upon the whole,

<sup>b</sup> Vide *VALES.* p. 2. & *COINT.* p. 25. <sup>c</sup> *EUMEN.* pan. ix. p. 193. <sup>d</sup> *VALES.* not. Gall. p. 200. & rer. Franc. p. 209. *BUCH.* p. 306. <sup>e</sup> *HIER.* vit. Hil. p. 246. <sup>f</sup> *HIER.* chron. ad ann. 389.

(B) *Beatus Rhenanus* assures us, that he saw at *Ausburg*, in the custody of *Peutingger*, a map drawn in the time of the later emperors, wherein

whole, we may conclude, that the *Franks* possessed the countries we have mentioned above, and that, in process of time, they extended their borders along the *Rhine*, as far as the mouths of that river, and the ocean.

THE *Franks* were antiently divided into several tribes, whereof the *Ansuarii* and *Salii*, mentioned by *Ammianus*, were by far the most considerable. *Pontanus* supposes the *Ansuarii* to be the same people with the *Ansinarii*, of whom mention is made by *Tacitus*. These, being driven out of their own habitations by the *Chauci*, seized on the country from which the *Frisians* had been driven by the command of *Nero*. *Tacitus* calls them a more powerful nation than that of the *Frisians*. *Pontanus* is of opinion, that they were a nation that wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation, ready to join any other, as they found their advantage therein; that, agreeable to this principle, they joined the German nations lying towards the ocean, when, uniting against the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty, they took the name of *Franks*; that they too were blended under that common appellation, but at the same time retained their antient name, being called *Ansuarii* or *Ansinarii Franci*. This name some derive from the *Teuton*: word *Hance*, signifying excellent, free; whence the free towns of *Germany* are still called the *Hance towns*. Others, and among the rest *Goropius Becanus*, will have them called *Ansuarii* or *Ansinarii*, from the German *Ansie*, signifying society, because they were ready to join any other nation in league and society; and hence, according to these writers, the free towns of *Germany* are stiled *Hance towns*, they being united in one society, though far separated from one another.

As for the *Salian Franks*, who broke into *Taxandria*, now *and Salian Brabant*, but were driven out by *Julian*, as we read in *Ammianus*, *Beatus Rhenanus* derives their name from the *Sala*, which falls into the *Mein*; *Paulus Æmilius* from another river of the same name, that empties itself into the *Elbe*; *Sidonius Apollinaris* from the Latin word *Salio*, as if they had been so called from their leaping and dancing; and lastly, *Pontanus* from the River *Sala*, now the *Iffel*, on the banks of which they dwelt. The latter opinion seems to us by far the most probable, since the other two rivers, bearing the same name,

§ AMMIAN. l. xvi.

wherein the country, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, is marked in capital letters with the word *Francia*. *Aimonius* like-

wife writes, that *Clodio*, who succeeded *Pharamond*, resided at *Dyspargum*, now *Duisburg*, at a small distance from the *Rhine*.

B b 2

flowed



flowed at some distance from the territories of the *Franks*. As for the derivation of *Sidonius*, it appears to us quite childish, though perhaps not ill adapted to the present *Franks*, a leaping and dancing people.

*The manners of the Franks.* As for their manners, *Vopiscus* paints them as a most treacherous and faithless nation, accustomed to sport with the most solemn oaths and ties, and not deeming it at all dishonourable to break their word<sup>h</sup>. *Salvianus*, mixing together their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying, but civil and kind to strangers<sup>i</sup>. *Procopius* describes them as of all nations the most faithless, and regarding the least their word and oaths<sup>k</sup>. But *Agathias*, who flourished soon after *Procopius*, extols them on account of the fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselves<sup>l</sup>; and St. *Bernard*, in one of his epistles, tells us, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness and religion; insomuch that they thought themselves bound by a public oath, even when it was sinful to take it<sup>m</sup>. This change the *French* writers ascribe to the Christian religion; but whether they may not still be taxed with their original want of faith in the observance of the most solemn oaths and treaties, let the world judge. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours; whence *Egonhardus*, chancellor to *Charles the Great*, used to say, *I should choose a Frank for a friend, but not for a neighbour*. And truly, from the earliest accounts we have of that restless and ambitious nation, it appears, that they have ever encroached upon their neighbours, till they attained the power they now enjoy, which, however great, is not capable of satisfying their boundless ambition, and preventing their aspiring to a far greater power, and grasping at universal monarchy.

*Their form of government, and kings.* As to their form of government, it was, without all doubt, monarchical, though authors have given us no account of their first kings. The *Franks* are first mentioned in history about the year 241. and yet *Tiro Prosper* tells us, that the most ancient king of that nation, whose name occurred to him in searching the records of time, was *Priam*, who reigned about the year 382<sup>n</sup>. After him reigned his two sons *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, and at the same time *Genobald*. Next to them came *Theodimir* or *Theudemir*, the son of *Ricimer*, who was consul in 384. *Theodimir* was succeeded by *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, and grandson of *Priam*. It is, however, to be observed here, that as *Fredigarius* supposes *Theodimir* to have

<sup>h</sup> VOPISC. in Procul. vit. p. 247.

<sup>i</sup> SALV. l. vii p. 172.

<sup>k</sup> PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. p. 447.

<sup>l</sup> AGATH. l. i. p.

13. <sup>m</sup> BERNARD. ep. cccxix. p. 202.

<sup>n</sup> Vide COINT.

p. 417. & VALT. p. 86.

been the son and immediate successor of *Clodio*, and ascribes to the former whatever else is by other writers ascribed to the latter, the learned *Usher* concludes from thence, that *Theodimir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, and accordingly places the defeat and death of *Pharamond* in the year 428. when *Clodio* began his reign, and the *Franks* were by *Aetius* driven out of that part of *Gaul*, that bordered on the *Rhine*, as we read in *Prosper*. In the reign of *Pharamond*, or not long before, the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, which had been the boundary between them and the *Romans* for the space of near two hundred years, settled in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families among them, and distinguished from their subjects by the length of their hair°. But whether *Pharamond* had any authority over the other princes, or was only a prince more powerful than the rest, is what we cannot gather from history. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, in *Pharamond's* time, *Henorius* concluded a treaty with them, in virtue of which they were allowed to settle in the country bordering on the *Rhine* on the side of *Cologne*¶. But what he writes is not vouched by any of the antients. *Aetius* obliged them, as we have hinted above, to repass the *Rhine*, having overcome them in battle, and slain their king *Theodimir* or *Pharamond*. However, *Clodio*, the successor of *Pharamond*, settled anew in *Gaul*; for we are told by *Gregory of Tours*, that he resided in the castle of *Disparg*, supposed by *Bucherius*, and most geographers, to have stood in *Brabant*, on the borders of *Thongria*¶. *Clodio* was succeeded by *Merovæus*, *Merovæus* by *Childeric*, and he by *Clodavæus* or *Clovis*, the first Christian king of the *Franks*, who drove the *Goths* out of *Gaul*, and fixed the royal seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since his time.

*TYRO PROSPER* tells us, as we have observed above, that *Kings of Priam*, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, is the first king of the *Franks*, whose name he found recorded in history; but mentioned by the antients. it is certain, that, by the antients, other kings are mentioned long before his time, that is, before the year 382. when *Tyro Prosper* supposes him to have reigned. These are *Atec*, *Genobald*, *Ascaric*, *Gaisus* or *Regaisus*, *Maloric*, *Mallobaudus*, or *Mellobaudus*. *Atec* and *Genobald* seem to have reigned at the same time, but over different nations or tribes of the *Franks*; for they are both named by *Mamertinus* in his panegy-

° GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii c. 3. p. 64.      ¶ BUCH. p. 450, 451.      ¶ Idem, p. 475. COINT. p. 426. CHILD. p. 7—9.

ric on *Dioclesian*, pronounced about the year 288. as reigning at that time. *Atec*, with his *Franks*, had plundered the coasts of *Gaul*; but was obliged by *Dioclesian* to sue for peace, and make great submissions to that prince, in order to appease him, and be confirmed by him in his kingdom. *Genobald* likewise was forced to submit, says our panegyrist, which was the only means of his being restored to the quiet possession of his dominions<sup>r</sup>. In the same panegyric, *Mamertinus* speaks of a great victory gained by the generals of *Dioclesian* over a fickle and deceitful nation of barbarians; which description suits no nation so well as that of the *Franks*. It was perhaps upon this victory that the two above-mentioned kings were obliged to submit to the emperor, who, in all likelihood, took on that occasion the surname of *Franciscus*, which, in antient inscriptions, is given both to him and his colleague *Maximin*<sup>s</sup>. *Ascaric*, and *Gaisus* or *Regaisus*, reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine the Great*, and were, by the latter, in the first year of his reign, that is, in 306. taken prisoners, and exposed to the wild beasts in the public sports<sup>t</sup>. *Maluric*, who lived in the reigns of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine*, of *Julian*, and *Jovian*, is called by *Marcellinus* only the governor or chief of his countrymen in the emperor's palace<sup>u</sup>; but is by *Procopius* reckoned among their kings. *Jovian*, in the year 364. the first of his reign, appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Gaul*<sup>v</sup>; but he declined that employment<sup>x</sup>. *Mallobaudus*, or *Mellobaudus*, stiled by *Marcellinus* king of the *Franks*<sup>y</sup>, commanded under *Gratian* in 377. and the following year 378. gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, and, among the rest, *Triarius* their king<sup>z</sup>. *Mallobaudus*, though king of the *Franks*, served in the *Roman* army, and thought himself honoured with the employment of *comes domesticorum* to the emperor *Gratian*. *Ricimer*, *Ricimer*, or *Richimer*, who was *comes domesticorum* to the same emperor, general of the *Roman* horse, and consul in 384. is by some reckoned among the kings of the *Franks*. His son *Theodomir* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Honorius*, and was killed by the *Romans*, with his mother *Ascula*, according to an antient chronicle quoted by *Gregory of Tours*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Panegy. x. p. 125—127. BUCH. Belg. p. 223. VAL. rer. Franc. 1. i. p. 11, 12. <sup>s</sup> Vide VAL. ibid. <sup>t</sup> EUTROP. p. 587. EUMON. panegy. ix. p. 198. <sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xv. p. 39. <sup>v</sup> Idem, l. xxv. p. 302. <sup>x</sup> Idem, p. 307. <sup>y</sup> Idem, l. xxxi. p. 454. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. p. 435. <sup>a</sup> GREG. TUR. p. 64.

*Fredigarius* supposes him to have been killed by count *Castinus*, who was sent against the *Franks*, by the emperor *Honorius*, about the year 421<sup>b</sup>. at which time all other writers suppose *Pharamond* to have reigned (C).

HAVING thus given the reader the best account we have been able to gather from the most authentic writers of the first kings of the *Franks*, without taking upon us to ascertain the order of their succession, or their descents, we shall now pass to their wars and exploits, from the time they are first mentioned in history to their settling in *Gaul*.

THE first historian, by whom mention is made of the *Franks*, is *Vopiscus*, in the life of the emperor *Aurelian*; where that writer tells us, that the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, and, though few in number, committed there dreadful ravages. But *Aurelian*, then only tribune of the sixth legion, but are quartered at that time in *Mentz*, marching against them, killed expressed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom by *Aurelian* he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire<sup>d</sup> (D).

IN

<sup>b</sup> Vide VAL. l. iii. p. 112.    <sup>c</sup> VOPISC. vit. Aur. p. 212.

(C) *Usher*, as we have hinted above, will have *Theodomer* and *Pharamond* to have been one and the same person. But why might not *Theodomer* and *Pharamond* have reigned at the same time? it being certain, that the *Franks*, in the time of *Pharamond*, had several other kings, nay, as many kings as they had cities or cantons, as we have observed above. 'Tis true, that *Fredigarius* makes *Theodomer* the father and immediate predecessor of *Clodio*, and says of him what is said by other writers of *Pharamond*. But *Fredigarius*, whom *Valesius* styles an impertinent writer (1), might have been, and probably was, therein mistaken; seeing all other writers suppose *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, or of *Sunno*, as

we read in *Vitalis* (2), to have succeeded *Theodomer*. *Tyro Prossper* is the only author that mentions *Priam*, according to him, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*. His name perhaps gave rise to the romances of those writers who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*, whose last king bore that name. Such romances were, in some degree, countenanced, not only by the name of *Priam*, but by an opinion which obtained among most writers, as *Gregory of Tours* informs us (3); to wit, that the *Franks* had dwelt in *Pannonia* before they settled on the banks of the *Rhine*.

(D) This event is placed, by *Valesius*, in the year 254. the second of the emperor *Valerian's*

(1) *Vales.* l. ii. p. 61. & l. iii. p. 125.  
(3) *Greg. Tur. hist. Fran.* l. ii. p. 64.

(2) *Vital. apud Buch.* l. xiv. c. 9.

*They break anew into Gaul; but are defeated by Gallienus.* IN the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian's* reign, they broke anew into Gaul, with several other German nations; but were intirely defeated by *Gallienus*, whom *Valerian* had taken for his partner in the empire<sup>d</sup>. For this victory *Gallienus* took the surname of *Germanicus*, as appears from a medal struck in the latter end of the present year<sup>e</sup>. However, the *Franks* and other German nations returning soon after in far greater numbers, *Gallienus*, no longer able to repress them by force, offered advantageous terms to one or their chiefs, who, readily accepting them, took upon him to guard the frontiers of the empire; which he did accordingly, often engaging the *Franks*, and other barbarians, attempting to break into the empire (E).

The following year 257. some *Franks* seem to have served in the Roman army against the *Goths*; for among the auxiliaries that marched with *Aurelian* into *Thrace*, which province the *Goths* were then pillaging, mention is made of *Hartoman*, *Haldegastus*, *Hildemon*, and *Carioviscus*<sup>f</sup>, which names bear a great resemblance to others that frequently occur in history among the *Franks*; whence *Vorburgus* concludes them to be

<sup>d</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 646. Zov. vit. Gallien. p. 235. p. 371.

<sup>f</sup> Aur. vit. p. 212.

<sup>e</sup> BIRAG,

reign (4); by *Bucherus* and *Cointius* (5), in 234. in which year it is certain, the *Germanians* made an irruption into Gaul; and *Aurelian*, say they, born in 200. and then only thirty four years old, might have attained to no higher post in the army than that of tribune. But as it appears from *Vopiscus*, that at the time *Aurelian* overcame the *Franks*, the emperor was preparing to march against the *Persians*, and *Gordian* marched against them in 242. *Vorburgus* concludes from thence, that the *Franks* were defeated by *Aurelian* the preceding year 241 (6). But at what time soever this happened, it is agreed on all hands, that the *Franks*, who afterwards proved so trou-

blesome neighbours to the *Romans*, and greatly contributed to the downfall of the Western empire, are first mentioned in history on this occasion.

(E) Thus *Zosimus* (7); but who this prince was, he has not thought fit to tell us: *Vopiscus* indeed informs us, that *Gallienus* lived in friendship with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*, to whom he yielded part of *Upper Pannonia*, taking his daughter, by name *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, as he pretended, for his wife; but by historians she is looked upon only as his concubine, he being already married to *Salonina* (8), stiled, in the antient inscriptions, *Cornelia Salonina Augusta* (9).

(4) *Palet. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 2.*

(5) *Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 13. p. 209.*

*Coint. tom. i. p. 14.* (6) *Vorburgb. bist. Roman. German. p. 474.*

(7) *Zos.*

*l. i. p. 646.*

(8) *Zov. vit. p. 521.*

*Carlovit. vit. p. 124.*

(9) *Goltz.*

*Birag. p. 380.*

the names of some chief men of that nation, who came with a body of their countrymen to assist the *Romans* in this expedition<sup>g</sup>.

THREE years after, that is, in 260. the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, taking advantage of the confusion which the captivity of *Valerian*, taken prisoner by the *Persians*, had caused throughout the empire, broke into *Gaul*, and, having ravaged the most wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy*<sup>h</sup>. St. *Jerom*<sup>i</sup> and *Orosius*<sup>k</sup> add, that the *Franks*, crossing the *Alps*, and passing through *Rhætia* and *Lombardy*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, laying waste the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Zosimus* writes, that this sudden irruption obliged *Gallienus* to take the field, in order to drive back the barbarians; but whether they were forced by him to retire, or withdrew of their own accord, he does not tell us.

*They ravage Gaul and part of Italy.*  
Year of the flood 2608.  
Of Christ 260.  
Of Rome 1008.

FIVE years after, they committed unheard-of ravages in *Spain*. *Victor* writes, that, after they had ravaged *Gaul*, they passed from thence into *Spain*<sup>l</sup>; but *Valesius* endeavours to prove, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea<sup>m</sup>; for that author writes, that they suffered themselves to be transported by their warlike armour beyond the bounds of the ocean, and struck terror into the coasts of *Spain* itself<sup>n</sup>. They passed the bounds of the ocean, according to *Valesius*, by entering the *Mediterranean*, and landing in one of the *Spanish* provinces bordering on that sea. Be that as it will, they penetrated into a country, to use the expression of *Eutropius*, so far distant from their own, and made themselves masters of it, as we are told by St. *Jerom*<sup>o</sup>. *Orosius* writes, that they held, or rather pillaged, *Spain* for the space of twelve years<sup>p</sup>; and that they took by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which was then one of the chief cities of *Spain*, and the metropolis of several provinces; but for the space of an hundred and fifty years it bore the marks, adds the same author, of what it suffered on that occasion<sup>q</sup>. Some of the *Franks*, having provided themselves with vessels, crossed over into *Africa*, with a design to enrich themselves with the spoils of that wealthy nation<sup>r</sup>; but what was the issue of that undertaking, we are not told.

*They break into Spain, which they hold for the space of twelve years.*  
Year of the flood 2613.  
Of Christ 265.  
Of Rome 1013.

THE same year 265. *Posthumius*, who had revolted in *Posthumia Gaul*, and taken upon him the title of emperor, gained great

<sup>g</sup> VORB. p. 519. <sup>h</sup> Aur. vit. p. 215, 216. DEXIF. légat. excerpt. p. 8. <sup>i</sup> HIER. chron. <sup>k</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214.

<sup>l</sup> VICT. in Gallien. <sup>m</sup> VAL. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 3, 4. <sup>n</sup> Panegy. vii. p. 163. <sup>o</sup> HIER. chron. <sup>p</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 23. p. 223. <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>r</sup> VICT. & VAL. p. 5.

*great advantages over them.* advantages over the *Franks*, attempting to break into those provinces, drove them all beyond the *Rhine*, and even built some forts in their country; whence on his medals he is stiled *the restorer of Gaul, the defender of the empire*<sup>1</sup>. On the same medals frequent mention is made of his victories over the *Franks*, chiefly in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 265. and on some he is stiled *Germanicus Maximus*, the *Franks* being distinguished in those times, as *Valesius* well observes, by the name of *Germans*, from the *Alemans*, and other nations inhabiting *Germany*. That writer is of opinion, that the medals of *Posthumus*, on which *Deuso*, now *Quitz*, over-against *Cologne*, and *Macusa*, now *Inchuse*, in *North Holland*, are mentioned, allude to the victories he gained over the *Franks*<sup>2</sup>. However they afterwards served under him against *Gallienus*, and supported him to the utmost of their power in the authority he had usurped<sup>3</sup>. In the year 273. the fourth of the emperor *Aurelian's* reign, they made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were driven back with great slaughter by that prince, who, having taken several of them prisoners, led them, with the captives of certain other nations, in triumph, when he made his public entry into *Rome*, which we have described at large in a former volume<sup>4</sup>.

*The Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals, seize on seventy cities in Gaul; Year of the flood 2623. Of Christ 275. Of Rome 1023.* AURELIAN dying two years after, the *Franks*, together with the *Lyges*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Vandals*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*; and, having reduced above seventy of the chief cities of that country in the space of two years, looked upon themselves as masters of all *Gaul*. But in the mean time *Tacitus*, who had succeeded *Aurelian*, dying, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marching in person against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, dispatched some of his best generals against the *Franks*, who gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to abandon their booty, and return home<sup>5</sup>. *Probus* himself was attended with the like success against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*; so that all *Gaul* was, by his valour, delivered, to use the expression of *St. Jerom*, from the yoke of the barbarians. The emperor, not satisfied with driving them out of *Gaul*, pursued them cross the *Rhine*, laid waste their territories far and near, and even built some forts in their country; which struck the barbarians with such terror, that nine of their kings came in person to sue for peace; which *Probus* granted them, upon their promising to supply

*but are driven out by Probus.*

<sup>1</sup> Trig. tyr. c. 4. p. 186. BIRAG. 393.

<sup>2</sup> VALES. rer.

Franc. l. i. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Trig. tyr. p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Univerf. hift.

vol. xv. p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> TACIT. vit. Aur. p. 227. Prob. vit. p.

218. VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8.

the *Romans* yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other provisions, and to send sixteen thousand men to serve in the *Roman* army<sup>1</sup>. These *Probus* divided into several companies of fifty or sixty men, distributing them among the *Roman* troops in different places<sup>2</sup>. Some of the *Franks*, who had either submitted to *Probus*, or had been taken prisoners in this war, were sent by the emperor to the coast of the *Euxine* sea, where lands were allowed them to cultivate.

THESE they continued for some time; but, growing weary in the end of living after the *Roman* manner in a country so far distant from their own, having seized on some ships, they put to sea, and, roaming about, pillaged first the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and then, passing over into *Africa*, landed in several places there; but, being constantly repulsed by the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, they quitted *Africa*, and, steering their course to *Sicily*, landed in that island, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and, having put most of the inhabitants to the sword, reembarked with an immense booty. From *Sicily* they sailed for the streights of *Gibraltar*, and, entering the ocean, plundered the coasts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and returned in the end, loaded with booty, to their native country, at the mouth of the *Rhine*<sup>3</sup>. This happened while *Probus* was making war on several tyrants<sup>4</sup>, that is, about the year 280. The same year, *Proculus* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor at *Cologne*, the *Franks* at first espoused his cause, and promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but as they scrupled no more in those days, than they have done in later times, to break their word, they not only abandoned, but betrayed the usurper into the emperor's hands<sup>5</sup>. From this time they continued quiet till the year 287. the fourth of *Dioclesian's* reign, when, in conjunction with the *Saxon* pirates, they plundered the coasts of *Gaul*, carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. But *Carausius* having, by the emperor's order, fitted out a fleet at *Boulogne*, and gained some advantages over them, they retired for a while to their respective countries<sup>6</sup>. It was, no doubt, on account of these advantages, that *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric on *Maximian*, by whom *Carausius* had been sent against these pirates, calls him the conqueror of the *Franks*; and adds, that he put an end to the piratic war<sup>7</sup>. But as *Carausius* kept, and applied to

*A small number of Franks ravage the coasts of Asia, Greece, Sicily, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> Prob. vit. p. 238, 239.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Zos. l.

i. p. 666. Prob. vit. p. 240. Panegy. x. p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Prob.

vit. ibid. <sup>5</sup> Procul vit. p. 247. Vict. epit. Eutrop.

<sup>6</sup> Eu-

trof. p. 585.

<sup>7</sup> Panegy. xi. p. 133.



his own use, the booty he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian*, suspecting, that with this view he connived at their piracies, resolved to put him to death; but he, having timely notice of his design, passed over into *Britain*, with the fleet under his command, and there caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, as we have related elsewhere<sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, *Maximian*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, having laid waste the enemy's country far and near, returned to *Gaul* with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. The fame of his name struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobald*, the first we find named in history, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms. From an antient inscription it appears, that *Dioclesian*, as well as his colleague *Maximian*, took, probably on this occasion, the surnames of *Francticus*, *Almanicus*, and *Germanicus*<sup>h</sup>.

THE following year, *Maximian* allowed lands, in the neighbourhood of *Treves* and *Cambray*, to great numbers of *Franks* and *Letes*, who had submitted to him, those territories being almost quite destitute of inhabitants<sup>i</sup>. The *Letes* were originally a *Gaulish* nation; but, having afterwards left *Gaul*, and settled in *Germany*, they were reckoned among the *German* nations<sup>j</sup> (F). A few years after, the *Franks* made themselves masters of *Batavia*, and that part of *Flanders* which is watered by the river *Escaut*; but *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, marching against them soon after he was raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*, overcame them in battle, and, having obliged them to surrender at discretion, transplanted them, with their wives and children, into *Gaul*, where they were forced to cultivate the lands which they themselves had wasted, to pay the usual tributes and taxes, as subjects of the empire, and to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Upon their submitting, their arms were taken from them;

<sup>f</sup> Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 488.

<sup>g</sup> Panegy. x. p. 125. VAL.

rer. Franc. l. i. p. 11, 12.

<sup>h</sup> VALES. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Panegy.

ix. p. 112.

<sup>k</sup> VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 32, 33. & l. iv. p. 162.

(F) Their name often occurs in history, as appears from *Velleius*, who is of opinion, that the names of the river *Lis* in *Flanders*, and of the abbey of *Liffis* in *Hainault*, owe their origin to them (1). *Ammianus* speaks of this nation as dwelling in *Germany*, on the banks of the *Rhine*, about the year 356 (2).

(1) VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 32, 33. & l. iv. p. 162.

(2) *Ammian.* l. xvi.

p. 432.

nor were they allowed any in their new settlements, that they might, by degrees, forget their native fierceness and barbarity, and accustom themselves to live after the *Roman* manner<sup>1</sup>. The emperor *Julian*, speaking of *Maximian* and *Constantius*, tells us, that they not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, which they had long held, and cultivated as their own, but built several castles on the frontiers; by which means the country, no longer infested by the barbarians, enjoyed a profound tranquillity<sup>m</sup>. It was perhaps on account of the victory which *Constantius* gained over the *Franks*, that the surname of *Germanicus* was given him on a monument erected to him by the city of *Nicomedia*, while he was consul, that is, in 294<sup>n</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2641.  
Of Christ  
293.  
Of Rome  
1041.

FROM this time they continued quiet till the year 306. the first of *Constantine's* reign, when, that prince being employed in *Britain*, they laid hold of the opportunity to break into *Gaul*. But the emperor, returning soon after, fell upon them unexpectedly, while they were busied in plundering the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and, having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Ascaric* and *Gaisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts, in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited<sup>o</sup>. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist, to review the rigour of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, by the fear of punishment, a perfidious nation, that made no account of the most sacred ties<sup>p</sup>. After this victory he crossed the *Rhine*, and, entering the country of the *Bructerians*, who were one of the several nations then known by the name of *Franks*, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise exposed to the wild beasts<sup>q</sup>. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garisons in them, kept on that river a great number of vessels well armed and manned, and by that means put a stop for some time to the incursions of the *Franks*. In memory of the advantages he had gained over them, he instituted solemn sports, called from them *ludi Franci*, which were annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth<sup>r</sup>. However, two years after, that is, in 308. they began anew to assemble in considerable bodies, with a design, as was supposed, to make an irruption into *Gaul*;

Constantine takes  
two of  
their kings  
prisoners,  
whom he  
exposes to  
the wild  
beasts.

<sup>1</sup> Panegy. i. iii. vii. viii. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. <sup>m</sup> JULIAN. orat. i. p. 12. <sup>n</sup> LACT. perf. p. 366. <sup>o</sup> Panegy. ix. p. 190, 197. v. 127. vii. 163. <sup>p</sup> Panegy. v. p. 126. ix. p. 196, 197. <sup>q</sup> Panegy. ix. p. 197. 198. <sup>r</sup> EUROPE. p. 387.

but *Constantine* marching against them upon the first news of their motions, they dispersed<sup>1</sup>. In 310. all the nations known by the name of *Franks*, taking arms, approached the banks of the *Rhine*, and there dividing their army, which was very numerous, into several bodies, attempted to break into *Gaul* at different places. *Constantine* marched in person against them, and, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in disguise into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent to them by the emperor. As he found, that, not caring to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, they designed to carry on the war, in separate bodies, which would have rendered it more tedious, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with the army; which they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and, uniting all their forces, marched against the enemy. *Constantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to flight at the first onset, and made a dreadful havock of them in the pursuit<sup>1</sup>. *Eusebius* writes, that he not only drove the barbarians out of *Gaul*, but utterly subdued those who dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, and near the ocean<sup>2</sup>, that is, the *Franks*.

They are  
defeated  
with great  
slaughter  
by Con-  
stantine;

•Year of the flood 2658.  
Of Christ 310.  
Of Rome 1058.  
~~~~~  
HOWEVER, three years after, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, who was gone to *Rome*, they began to assemble anew on the banks of the *Rhine*; which *Constantine* no sooner understood, than, leaving *Italy*, he hastened into *Gaul*. The *Franks*, who had not yet passed the *Rhine*, withdrew at his approach; but *Constantine*, giving out that the *Alemans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*, left some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, and retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; but the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine* followed them in person with his whole army, and, entering their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts. This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy is commended by his panegyrist; but it does not answer the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which is given to *Constantine* by most writers of those times. For

who pu-
nishes them
with great
severity.

¹ Paneg. ix. p. 200, 201.
p. 19.

² Paneg. vii. p. 164. SYN. reg.
³ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 25. p. 420.

this victory over the *Franks*, he took the title of *Francicus* ^v. Notwithstanding this severity, the *Franks* were no sooner informed, that *Constantine* had left *Gaul*, with a design to visit *Italy* and *Illyricum*, than they crossed the *Rhine* in great numbers, and, entering *Gaul*, laid waste several provinces. But *They break* *Crispus*, the son of *Constantine*, marching against them, obliged into *Gaul* them to quit their booty, and retire (G). *ancus; but*

• THIS happened in 320. and no farther mention of the *Franks* is made in history till the year 341. the fourth of *Constantius's* reign, when they made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Constans* marched against them, and gave them battle; but as the loss was equal on both sides, the war was not ended till the ensuing year ^x, when *Constans* either conquered or appeased them, as *Idatius* expresses *They conclude a* it, that is, prevailed upon them, with presents and money, *peace with* to retire, as may be gathered from *Libanius*, who tells us, *Constans*. though speaking as a panegyrist, that the *Franks* were not conquered by dint of arms ^y. Be that as it will, it is certain they concluded a peace with *Constans*, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them ^z. As they were the most powerful nation in those parts, the peace they concluded with the emperor prevented the others from attempting any thing against the empire; so that *Constans*, having nothing to fear on that side, passed over into *Britain*, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions ^a.

SOME years after, that is, in 355. the eighteenth of the reign of *Constantius*, *Malaric* king of the *Franks* held a chief employment in the emperor's court ^b. But, the following year, those of his nation, no longer able to live in peace, en-

^v VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23.

504. ^y LIB. orat. iii. p. 139.

l. ii. c. 12. p. 90. VALFS. p. 28.

MIAN. l. v. p. 39.

^x SOCR. p. 89. SOZ. p.

^y IDAT. p. 85. SOCR.

^z LIB. p. 140. ^a A.

A.

(G) *Optatianus* seems to insinuate, that he gained a great victory over them (3); but *Nazarius* only says, that he drove them out of *Gaul*, and obliged them to sue for peace; which he readily granted them (4). From some medals it appears, that the young prince gained a victory over the *Alimans*, who, in all likelihood, had invaded *Gaul* at the same time (5); but the *Franks*, it seems, quitting their booty, retired at his approach (6).

(3) *Optat. c. 15.*
p. 205.

(4) *Paneg. vii. p. 164.*

(5) *Bas. l. i. c. 15.*

(6) *Valef. p. 26.*

They make themselves masters of above 40 cities in Gaul. tering into an alliance with the *Alemans* and *Saxons*, crossed the *Rhine*, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and carried off an incredible number of captives. The city of *Cologne* was on this occasion taken by them, and almost intirely ruined.

Year of the flood
2703.

Of Christ
355.

Of Rome
1103.



From thence they advanced as far as *Autun*, which city they besieged; but, being vigorously repulsed by the veterans, who were quartered there, they abandoned the enterprise, and contented themselves with plundering the open places, roaming about without controul, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. *Constantius*, who was then in *Italy*, not thinking it advisable to quit that country, raised his cousin *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and at the same time appointed him governor of *Gaul*. *Julian*, without loss of time, set out for his government, and, arriving at *Vienne*, was received there with extraordinary marks of joy. As he arrived in that city in the depth of winter, he continued there the remaining part of that season, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and, taking the field early in the spring, he marched, at the head of a small body, from *Vienne* to *Autun*, and from thence to *Auxerre*. On his march, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about in great bodies; but he put them to flight with an handful of men, and opened himself a way through the midst of the barbarians to *Troies*, and from thence to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army waited his arrival. Being joined there by all the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*, he hastened from thence to *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze* on the *Seille* in *Lorraine*, with a design to fall upon the *Franks*, who were busied in ravaging the country. But the enemy, receiving timely notice of his approach, took advantage of a dark and wet night to attack his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The *Franks*, encouraged with this success, attacked him anew a few days after; but were put to flight, though not with great loss. However, this small victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after it had been ten months in their hands.

DURING his stay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but *Julian* only granted him a short truce^d. The following

^c AMMIAN. l. v. p. 50.
203. LIBAN. orat. vii p. 270. & orat. ix. p. 237.

^d Idem, l. xx. p. 168. l. xxiii. p.

year, *Julian* gained a complete victory over the *Franks*, and *But they* other *German* nations, that had invaded *Gaul*, as we have re-^{are defeat-}lated at large elsewhere *, and took by storm two castles on^{ed and} the *Meuse*, in which some *Franks* had shut themselves up,^{driven out} after having ravaged the country about *Rheims*. They de-
fended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; but, being in the end obliged to surrender, they were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops †. After this, *Julian* put his army into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*. But, in the mean time, the *Salii*, a nation of the *Franks*, breaking unexpectedly into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, settled there. *Julian*, marching against them early in the spring, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, though they declared themselves ready to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, to supply the *Romans* with troops when required, and to pay the usual taxes and tributes. *Zosimus* tells us, that they had been driven out of their own country by the *Saxons* and *Quadians*, who were by *Julian* forced to restore it to the ancient proprietors; which so gained the *Salian Franks*, that, submitting to *Julian*, great numbers of them served in his army ‡.

THE *Franks* continued quiet the whole time *Julian* reigned; but they no sooner heard of his death, than, entering into an alliance with their neighbours the *Saxons*, they began to infest *Gaul* both by sea and land. But count *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, being sent against them by *Valentinian*, obliged them to retire with great loss †. That commander is said to have overcome the *Saxons*, to have gained a victory over them off the *Orcades*, and to have defeated the enemies of the empire in *Batavia*, near the *Rhine* and the *Vahal*; which country was then held by the *Franks* † (H). At this time *Mallobaudes* was king of the *Franks*, and engaged in a war with the *Alemans*, who, having concluded a peace with

Count
Theodo-
sius gains
some ad-
vantages
over them.

* Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 206, & seq. † AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 89. ‡ Zos. l. iii. p. 561. h AMMIAN. l. xxvii p. 346.
† VAL. rer. Franc. l. vi.

(H) From an inscription of 369. or 370. it appears, that *Valentinian* styled himself the conqueror of the *Franks* (7); no doubt on account of the advantages gained over that nation by count *Theodosius*. As it appears from a law dated the thirtieth of

September (8) 368. that *Valentinian* was then at *Cologne*, some writers conclude from thence, that he marched in person against the *Franks*; but of this expedition no mention is made by any of the antients.

(7) Val. rer. Franc. l. vi.

(8) Geol. Theod. chron. p. 83, 84.

Mallo-
baudes
king of the
Franks
serves the
Romans,
and is ho-
noured by
them.

the *Romans*, had entered, upon what provocation we know not, the territories of the *Franks*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Mallobaudes* met them at the head of a considerable army, and, pretending to avoid an engagement, drew them into an ambuscade; by which means he cut great numbers of them in pieces, and among the rest their king *Macrianus*, a warlike prince, who had long infested, with continual inroads, the *Roman* dominions^k. Three years after, that is, in 377, *Mallobaudes* was raised by the emperor *Gratian* to the consulate, having the emperor himself for his colleague in that dignity^l. The following year he was honoured by the same emperor with the post of *comes domesticorum*, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the battle of *Argentaria*, in which above thirty thousand of the *Lentineses*, who had broken into the empire, were cut in pieces, with their king *Triarius*. This victory was chiefly owing to *Mallobaudes*, who, on this occasion, commanded the *Roman* troops, in conjunction with count *Nennianus*, as we have related in our history of the *Eastern* and *Western* empire^m. He was consul the second time in 383. the eighth and last of *Gratian's* reign, and commanded the army, under that prince, against the usurper *Maximus*; but was not attended on that occasion with his usual success; for *Gratian* was put to flight, soon after taken prisoner, and put to death at *Lyons* (1).

The
Franks
ravage
Gaul.

THREE years after the death of *Gratian*, that is, in the year 388. we find the *Franks* ravaging *Gaul* with more fury than ever, perhaps to revenge on the usurper *Maximus* the death of *Gratian*, who had shewn a particular kindness to their nation. However that be, *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that they over-ran all *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where unheard-of ravages, made the city of *Cologne* tremble, burnt several villages, and then returned home with their booty, leaving several parties in *Gaul* to pursue the ravages they had begun.

^k AMMIAN. l. xxx.

^l Idem, l. xxxi. p. 451. GRUT. p. 370.

^m Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 353.

(1) All authors agree, that the unhappy prince was betrayed by his own people; and *Prosper*, in his chronicle, names *Mallobaudes* among those, who kept a private correspondence with the usurper (9). But *Baronius* maintains, that *Prosper* was therein mistaken, and that *Mallobaudes* continued ever

faithful to *Gratian* (1). And truly *Pocatus* upbraids *Maximus* for hating *Mallobaudes*, and reducing him to the fatal necessity of laying violent hands on himself, for no other crime than that of an inviolable fidelity to *Gratian*, whose cause he had maintained to the last (2).

(9) *Prosper. chron.*

(1) *Bar. ad ann. 383.*

(2) *Pocatus. p. 267.*

These

These were defeated by *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, the two generals of *Maximus*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces in the province of *Hainault*. *Quintinus*, not satisfied with this advantage, passed the *Rhine* at *Nuys*, contrary to the opinion of *Nannius*, who refused to follow him; and, entering the enemy's country with the troops under his command, burnt several villages, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants. Encouraged with this success, he advanced far into the country; but being, on his return, cunningly drawn into marshes, woods, and unpassable places, by the enemy pretending to fly before him, he found himself on a sudden surrounded on all sides by great multitudes, who, falling upon his men while they were entangled in the woods and marshes, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves in the woods; where they perished with famine, only *Quintinus*, and a few more, having, with the utmost difficulty, found means to make their escape, and return to *Gaul*, after suffering inexpressible hardships in the enemy's country. The loss sustained by the *Romans* on this occasion was very great, and is, by some, compared to the disaster of *Varus* and his legions, in the time of *Augustus*.^a This happened while the *Franks* were governed by *Genobald*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*, who, being elated with this victory, broke anew into *Gaul* the year following; which obliged *Theodosius* to send *Valentinian* to make head against them. Upon that prince's arrival in *Gaul*, *Arbogastes*, general of the troops in those provinces, advised him to march into the enemy's country, and force them to restore the booty they had carried off the year before, and deliver up the authors of the war.^b Whether *Valentinian* followed his advice, we are not told. All we know is, that he had a conference with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, who delivered up hostages; and that he afterwards retired to *Treves*, and there passed the winter.^c

THREE years after, that is, in 392. *Arbogastes*, having put *Valentinian* II. to death, persuaded *Eugenius*, whom he had raised to the empire in his room, to make war upon the *Franks*. *Arbogastes*, of whom we have spoken at large in our history of the *Eastern* and *Western* empire,^d was himself by nation a *Frank*; but, as he bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, he not only induced *Eugenius* to make war upon them, but, taking upon himself the whole management of it, he passed

A Roman
army cut
off by the
Franks.
Year of
the flood
2736
Of Christ
388
Of Rome
1136.

^a GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59, 60. ^c Idem
ibid. ^b Idem ibid. p. 60, 61. ^d Univ. hist. vol. vii
p. 434, 435.

the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, in the depth of winter, and laid waste the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the least opposition, *Marcomir* only shewing himself at a distance on the hills with some parties of the *Ansvarii* and *Chatti*. But, as to the issue of this war, historians only tell us, that *Arbogastes*, after having put many of his countrymen to the sword, concluded in the end a peace with them; and that *Eugenius* himself approached the *Rhine* to renew the antient treaty with the kings of the *Franks* and *Alemans* ¹. From this account it appears, that the *Franks* had several kings at the same time, and that under the name of *Franks* were comprised several antient *German* nations. Great numbers of the *Franks* listed themselves among the troops of *Eugenius*; for *Orosius* tells us, that he led against *Theodosius* an infinite number of *Franks*, and other barbarians ².

They re-
new the
antient al-
liances
with Ho-
nori-
us.

Year of
the flood

2743.

Of Christ
395.
Of Rome

1143.



Two years after, *Theodosius* died, and, by his last will, divided the empire between his two children, bequeathing the East to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the West to *Honorius*. *Stilicho*, who was prime minister to the latter, advised him, in the first place, to renew the antient alliances with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, which they had broken, by assisting the usurper *Eugenius* against *Theodosius*. This province *Stilicho* took upon himself, and, repairing to the banks of the *Rhine*, accomplished it in a very short time ³. However, *Marcomir* and *Sunno* attempting to raise new disturbances soon after the conclusion of the peace, one of them, *Claudian*, was taken, and, after having been kept some time in prison, confined to *Tuscany*. The other was for revenging on the *Romans* the affront they had offered his brother; but his own people, unwilling to engage in a war with the empire, put him to death. *Claudian* adds, that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room ⁴. An antient historian supposes *Marcomir* to have outlived *Sunno*; and consequently that it was he, who was banished into *Tuscany* ⁵. *Marcomir*, or, as the antients call him, *Marcomer*, is supposed to have been the father of *Pharamond*, the first in the catalogue of the *French* kings ⁶.

They cut
off 20,000
of the Van-
dals at-
tempting

IN the year 406. the *Franks*, falling upon the *Vandals*, as they were attempting to break into *Gaul* with the *Sueves* and *Alans*, cut near twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king *Sodigiseles*; and would have put them all to the sword, had not the *Alans* come seasonably to their assistance. These

¹ GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61.

220. ² CLAUD. p. 128.

V. L. rer. FRANC. l. iii. p. 119.

³ OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p.

⁴ Idem, p. 129.

⁵ Vide

⁶ Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 92.

two nations, together with the *Sueves*, opened themselves a to enter way, in spite of the *Franks*; and, passing the *Rhine*, entered Gaul. *Gaul*. Great numbers of *Franks* followed them, to have some share in the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but far greater numbers of the same nation entered *Gaul* four years after, being invited thither by the usurper *Constantine*, of whose forces the commander in chief was one *Edobic*, a *Frank* by nation^a. In the year 413. they made an irruption into *Gaul*, and not only pillaged, but burnt, the city of *Treves* the second time, says *Frigerid*, an antient author quoted by *Gregory of Tours*^a. When this first irruption happened, we are no-where told; but that unhappy city was the third time plundered, and set on fire, by the *Franks* about the year 420. as *Saluvian* informs us, who was an eye-witness of the deplorable condition to which it was reduced on that occasion^b. Our author greatly complains of the insensibility and hardness of heart, which he discovered in the inhabitants, who, having lost all their effects, and escaped at the utmost hazard of their lives, instead of applying themselves to works of piety, pressed the emperor to cause the sports of the circus to be exhibited among the ashes and ruins of their demolished city^c.

ABOUT this time *Pharamond* must have reigned over the *Thi*, beginning of *Franks*. He is said by *Vitalis* to have been the son of *Sunno*; but all other writers suppose him to have been the son of *Marcomir*, the brother of *Sunno* (K). He was one of the most powerful

Year of the flood
2754.
Of Christ
406.
Of Rome
1154.

^y GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. OROS. c. 40. p. 223. ^a Soz. l. ix. c. 13. p. 814. ^a GREG. TUR. p. 63. ^b SAL. l. vi. p. 145---147. ^c Idem ibid.

(K) *Gregory of Tours*, a very accurate writer, never once mentions this prince; which is very surprising. But both *Aimonius* and *Tyro Prosper* speak of him, and place his reign at this time. In the chronicle of the latter, as published by *Scaliger*, at the twenty-fifth year of *Honorius's* reign, we read the following words; *Pharamond reigns in France*: then follows the year 26. with these words; *This year was an eclipse of the sun*. If therefore *Pharamond* reigned in the

year preceding the eclipse, he reigned in the year 417. for all authors agree, that there was an eclipse on *Friday* the 19th of *July* 418. *Philostorgius* writes, that the stars were then seen at two in the afternoon (3). The *Alexandrian* chronicle, and likewise the chronicles of count *Marcellinus* and *Idatius*, mention this eclipse; but the latter, by mistake, supposes it to have happened on a *Thursday*; whereas, in 418. the 19th of *July* fell on a *Friday*. *Tyro Prosper* likewise

(3) *Philost.* l. xii. c. 8. p. 166.

powerful princes among them; but we are not told whether he had any authority over the rest. He is supposed to have reigned from the year 417. or 418. to the year 428. in which *Clodio*, his son and successor, is said by *Tyro Prosper* to have reigned in *France*, that is, in the country of the *Franks*^d. In the year, in which he is supposed to have died, the famous *Aetius* made war upon the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and drove them from the country in which they had settled^e. Of this war *Jornandes* speaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius*, with great slaughter, tamed the barbarity of the *Franks*, and forced them to submit to the empire^f (L).

PHARAMOND

^d PROSP. p. 51.^e Vide BUCH. Belg. l. xv. c. 8. p. 471.^f JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660.

was mistaken, in supposing the year 418 to have been the twenty-sixth of *Honorius*, that year being, according to the best chronologers, only the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of his reign. Father *Le Cointe* will have *Pharamond* to have begun his reign the same year in which the eclipse happened; others, and among the rest father *Labbi* in his chronology, maintain, that he began to reign in 420. and not before (4). But it is impossible to fix, with any certainty, the precise time in which this prince began his reign, since *Prosper's* chronicle, on which we must chiefly depend, is full of mistakes, and differently read in this very place. It is even uncertain, whether it was in his reign, or some time before, that the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, first settled in *Gaul*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, about this time, *Honorius*, entering into a treaty with their chiefs, yielded to them the country bordering on the *Rhône* towards *Cologne*, and on

the same side of that river, which country was afterwards called *Ripuaria*; but he alleges only a few conjectures to support his opinion (5). *Gregory of Tours* supposes them to have settled about this time in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed, as we have hinted above, by as many kings, as they had cities, or cantons (6).

(L) The learned *Usher* is of opinion, that, in this war, *Pharamond* was killed (7). *Chiffletius*, a learned antiquary, will have *Pharamond* to have made himself master of all *Belgica Secunda*, and to have died at *Rheims*, the metropolis of that province. He founds his opinion on the authority of an old manuscript genealogy lodged in the palace at *Brussels*, in which *Pharamond* is said to have been buried at *Rheims*, according to the custom of the barbarians, without the city, towards *Laudunum*, on a little hill (8). But we can hardly believe, that all the antients would have

(4) *Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 118. Buch. de Belg. p. 453. Coint. tom. i. p. 44, 45. Childr. p. 2.* (5) *Buch. p. 450.* (6) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. p. 64.* (7) *Uss. rer. Brit. p. 402, 403.* (8) *Vide Musæi chron. Belg. p. 518.*

PHARAMOND was succeeded by his son *Clodio* in the year 428. the fourth of the reign of *Valentinian III.* *Gregory of Tours* calls him a most illustrious prince, and one to whom his people, whose interest he had at heart, were highly indebted (M). We know but very little from the antients of what happened in this prince's reign. *Idatius* tells us, that, in the year 431. *Aetius* was employed in an expedition to *Gaul*^h. This expedition was, without all doubt, undertaken against

Clodio.
Year of
the flood
2776.
Of Christ
428.
Of Rome
1176.

§ GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9 p. 64. ^h IULI. p. 19.

passed over in silence the conquest of such an extensive country; for *Belgica Secunda* comprised *Champagne*, and all the countries lying between that province and the ocean. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Salic* laws were compiled by *Pharamond*, after his settling in *Gaul*, with the assistance of four sages, named *Wise-gast*, *Lesegast*, *Widgast*, and *Solegast*. But *Valesius* thinks, that the *Franks* had no written laws till the time of *Clowis*; who, according to him, was their first legislator (9).

(M) An historian, who flourished in the time of *Charles Martel*, and after him most other writers, suppose both *Clodio*, and his successor *Mirovæus*, to have been the children of *Pharamond* (1). *Fredigarius*, in his abridgment of *Gregory of Tours*, which he compiled in the time of *Pepin*, will have him to have been the son of *Theodomer*, who was killed by the *Romans*, as we have related above. The authority of *Fredigarius* is of no great weight, but as *Gregory of Tours* too mentions the death of *Theodomer*, some are of opinion, that *Theodomer* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, as we have hinted

above. As *Gregory of Tours* begins the history of the *Franks* with the reign of *Clodio* (for he makes no mention of *Pharamond*), and derives from him the pedigree of the succeeding kings (2), several historians reckon him the first king of that nation (3). And truly he ought to be deemed the founder of the *French* monarchy in the country we now call *France*, since he established his dominion so firmly there, that the *Romans* were never after able to drive him out, as they had done his predecessor *Pharamond* about the year 428. He is commonly surnamed *The Long-haired*, as if he had been the first among the princes of his nation, who was distinguished from his subjects by the length of his hair; whereas this mark of distinction is taken notice of by several historians, as common to the kings of the *Franks* before his time (4). On this subject *Bucharius* makes a long descant (5), and to him we refer the reader. *Sidonius*, speaking of the *Franks*, describes their hair, their beard, their arms, and their whole attire (6); and from him it appears, that their hair was long before, and quite short behind.

(9) *Vales.* p. 119, 120. (1) *Idem*, p. 124, 125. (2) *Greg. Tur.*
p. 65. (3) *Buch.* p. 473. (4) *Idem*, p. 477. (5) *Idem*
ibid. (6) *Sid. cur.* v. p. 316.

Heis over- the *Franks*; for the same writer, who was then with *Aetius*,
come by adds, that, in 437. he overcame the *Franks* in a combat.
Aetius. *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, served, in all likelihood,
 under *Aetius* in this expedition; for *Sidonius* extols his ex-
 ploits on the *Rhine*, the *Vahel*, and the *Meuse*; and adds,
 that nothing was performed by *Aetius* without him¹. *Aetius*,
 after having overcome the *Franks*, concluded a peace with
 them the same year²; but upon what terms, we know not.
 (N). In the year 435. the *Franks* made, it seems, an attempt
 upon *Tours*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that *Majorianus* defended
 that city against them. Not long after, the *Franks* made an
 irruption into the country of the *Atrebatæ*, now *Artois*. But
Aetius, marching against them with all possible expedition,
 fell upon them unexpectedly, while, without the least apprehen-
 sion of danger, they were celebrating the nuptials of one
 of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them in pieces³ (O).
 This was, without all doubt, the only advantage gained by
 the *Romans* in this war, since no other is mentioned by *Si-*
donius in his panegyric on *Majorianus*, who commanded the
Roman troops, in conjunction with *Aetius*, and distinguished
 himself in the above-mentioned action. *Valesius*, who sup-
 poses the battle of *Lens* to have been fought in the year 437.
 tell us from *Gregory of Tours*, that *Clodio*, having sent spies

¹ Sid. car. v. p. 315.² Idat. p. 19.³ Sid. p. 315,

316.

(N) *Bucherius* is of opinion, that *Aetius*, being obliged to march against the *Visigoths*, and other barbarians settled in Gaul, ordered to keep the *Franks* quiet, and to detain them the country from which he had driven them in 428.

(O) The territory of *Tongres* is the place, he thinks, may be gathered from the *notitia*; but the whole is founded upon a mere conjecture. *Gregory of Tours*, speaking of *Clodio* before the conquest of *Cambray*, supposes him to have resided in the county of *Dispard*, commonly thought to be the present *Dorchester*, between *Brussels* and *London*, in the ancient diocese of

Tongres, or on the confines of that country (8); which is agreeable to what that writer adds; to wit, that the country, which the *Romans* still held, lay south of the territories possessed by *Clodio* residing at *Dispard*.

(O) This action happened at a place called *Vicus Helena*, which some take to be the village now called *Le Vieil Hesdin*, and others the city of *Lens* on the *Escaut*. The latter opinion seems the most probable to such as have examined narrowly those places, and compared them with the description, which *Sidonius* gives of the spot, where the action happened (9).

⁽⁸⁾ *Becc. Eccl.* p. 12.⁽⁹⁾ *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64.*⁽⁹⁾ *Va-*

to reconnoitre and view the country as far as *Cambray*, upon their return, set out on his march ; advanced, in spite of all opposition, to that city ; and, having made himself master of it, fixed, for some time, his residence there ^m (P). From
Cambray,

^m VALES. p. 131, 132. GREG. TUR. l. i. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

(P) The words of *Gregory of Tours* are: *Chlogio* (for so he calls him), having sent spies as far as *Cambray* to view the country, set out with his army, upon their return, and, marching through the country which they had viewed, overthrew the *Romans*, and made himself master of the city, in which residing some time, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme* (1). The author of the *gests of the Franks* adds, that *Clodio*, entering the *Carbonarian* forest, marched to the city of *Tournay*, which he took, and from thence advancing to *Cambray*, he likewise made himself master of that place, put the *Roman* garison to the sword, and, in a short time, reduced the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Somme* (2). The *Sylva Carbonaria* was part of the *Sylva Arduenna*, which extended, as we read in *Cæsar* (3), from the *Rhine* to the *Scheld*, and the country of the *Nervii*, that is, to *Tournay*. *Gregory of Tours* supposes *Clodio* to have resided at *Dispard*, or *Doefburg*, before he set out on this expedition : and truly from that place, if situated in the country of *Tongres*, the shortest route he could take was through the *Carbonarian* forest (4). By the taking of *Cambray* and *Tournay*, the *Franks* became absolute masters of the whole country be-

tween these cities and the *Rhine*, and at the same time had a free communication with *Tongria*, with the *Wabal*, and consequently with the antient *Francia* ; for the country between *Tournay* and the *Wabal*, which is now so well peopled and cultivated, was, even in the fifth century, almost destitute of inhabitants, and covered with woods and forests. It was under the successors of *Clowis* and *Charlemagne*, that the cities of *Bruxels*, *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Mallins*, *Louvain*, &c. were built, the country between the *Artois*, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, being, till their time, filled with woods and marshes. As therefore *Tournay* and *Cambray* were, in the days of *Clodio*, the only cities in that tract, by the reduction of them the *Franks* became masters of the whole country. This expedition is placed by *Petavius* in 445 (5). but by Father *Daniel* before the year 428. in which year, *Felix* and *Taurus* being consuls, the *Franks* were overcome by *Actius*, as we read in *Prosper*, driven out of *Gaul*, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*. But that writer is certainly mistaken ; for *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, who performed wonders in the battle of *Lens* or *Hesdin*, if *Sidonius* is to be credited, was still a young man in 458. since

(1) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 5.* (2) *Gest. Franc. c. 5. apud Du Ch. tom i. p. 699.*
(3) *Cæs. l. v. c. 3. & l. vi. c. 29.* (4) *Vide Val. in notit. Gal. ad uen. Syl. Carbon.*
(5) *Petav. rat. temp. l. vi. p. 343.*

Cambray, *Valerius* supposes him to have made the above-mentioned irruption into the *Artois*, and to have been surprised by *Actius* and *Majorianus* at *Lens*.

He extends his conquests as far as the Somme. NOTWITHSTANDING that overthrow, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme*ⁿ. Some add, that he took *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and several other cities^o. But we shall content ourselves with what we find in the best and most credible writers, among whom we do not reckon *De Guise*, the author of the annals of *Hainault*, tho' *Buchcrius* has copied many things from him. *Actius* is supposed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and to have left them in possession, at least, of some part of the country they had conquered, since he granted the like favour to other nations, whom he dreaded less^p. *Priscus*, who flourished in those days, tells us, that he saw at *Rome* the second son of the king

ⁿ GREG. TUR. p. 65.
i. p. 164. BUCH. p. 505.

^o VAL. p. 130, 131. DU CH. tom.
p. VAL. l. III. p. 134.

Sidonius, in the panegyric which he pronounced that year, styles him *juvenis*, or young man; and how could he be a young man then, if he had signalized himself in a battle fought at least thirty years before? Thus Father *Sirmond* (6), who rightly observes, that, in 428 *Actius* waged war with the *Franks* on the banks of the *Rhine*; whereas the battle mentioned by *Sidonius* was fought in *Artois*, near the village of *Hellina*, which some take to be *Lens*, and others place on the *Canche*, where the ruins of it are still to be seen, and known by the name of *Viel Helder*. Father *Daniel* will have *Clodius* to have possessed nothing in *Gaul*, when he came to the crown; and, to support this system, he places the irruption of the *Franks* under *Actius*, the taking of *Cambray*, and the battle of *Lens*, or *Hellina*, before the year 428. in which the *Franks* were driven out of *Gaul* by *Actius*, and obli-

ged to repass the *Rhine*. That writer was well apprised, that he could not allow the above-mentioned events to have happened after the year 428. without allowing, at the same time, the countries, which *Clodius* seized in that irruption, to have been kept by him, since no mention is made in history of the *Franks* being driven out of *Gaul* after the year 428. But against Father *Daniel's* system lie the above-mentioned, in our opinion, unanswerable objections, to which we shall add another; to wit, that we find *Clodius* possessed of *Tornay*, without being told by any historian, that either he, or his predecessors *Mirovas* and *Childevic*, reduced it; whence we conclude it to have been held by him, and the two princes who reigned before him, as the successors of *Clodius*, by whom the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Rhine* was reduced, in the manner we have related.

of the *Franks*, who had been sent thither on an embassy, tho' a youth yet quite beardless. He takes notice of his long, yellow hair; and adds, that *Atius* adopted him for his son by presenting him with his armour, and treated him with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem, friendship, and affection⁴. Upon his leaving *Rome*, he was loaded with rich and valuable presents, sent him both by *Atius*, and *Valentinian III.* then emperor⁵. This young prince was, in all likelihood, *Misovæus*, the successor of *Clodio*; for he lived in great friendship with *Atius*, and joined him against *Attila*. He went, in all likelihood, to *Rome* in 439. for in that year *Valentinian* was there.

SAUVIANUS, who wrote about the year 440. tells us, that *He destroys* the city of *Treves* had been the fourth time pillaged by the *Franks*, and utterly destroyed. This mu't have happened about the year 477 during the war between him and the *Romans*, of which we have spoken above. The same writer adds, that the *Franks* made themselves masters of another city not yielding to *Treves* in grandeur, and standing at a small distance from it⁶. This city can be no other but *Cologne*, which *Takes Co-* was held by the *Frank*, as appears from that writer, in the logne. year 440. The enemy entered the city while the chief inhabitants were feasting and reveling, without the least apprehension of danger⁷. Several of *Sauvianus's* relations were, on that occasion, taken by the *Franks*, and by them kept in slavery, and, among the rest, an holy widow, who, having ransomed herself, was reduced to such poverty, that she was obliged to earn her bread by working for the wives of the barbarians⁸. The taking of *Cologne* happened, according to the best chronologers, in the reign of *Clodio*, about the year 433 or 439⁹. It is to be observed, that this town, in the time of *Clodius*, had a king of its own, but a *Frankish* nation¹⁰ (*Q*). As the *Franks* were still pagan, the church suffered much in

⁴ PRISC. legat. p. 40. ⁵ Idem ibid. ⁶ AN. GR. l. i. vi. p. 153. ⁷ Idem ibid. ⁸ Idem, p. 113. 141. ⁹ Idem, epist. 1. p. 198. ¹⁰ COINT. tom. 1. p. 69. ¹¹ AN. GR. l. i. p. 236.

(Q) Father *Le Comte* observe, after the *Franks* became masters of the place; which induced *Hincmar*, and some others, to imagine, that the name of *Colonia* had been given it by the former was quite laid aside, (-)

the countries subject to them ; and hence it is, that we find no bishops of *Cologne* named in the ecclesiastic history, from the time of *Evergilius*, who is supposed to have died about the year 430. till the time of *Aquilinus*, who governed that church in the reign of *Clodius* ². The churches of *Tournay* and *Cambray* fared no better ; for they seem to have had no bishops from the year 407. when the *Vandals* broke into those countries, till the end of that century ². *Clodio* reigned about twenty years, that is, from the year 428. to 448. when *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that *Merovæus* reigned in *France* ^b, that is, in the countries subject to the *Franks* on either side the *Rhine* (R).

He dies.

Mero-
væus.

THERE is a great disagreement among authors about *Merovæus* (S). All we know for certain concerning him is, that upon

² COINT. tom. i. p. 63.

^a Idem, p. 70.

^b VAL. c.

3. p. 125. 144.

(R) From the words of *Prosper* some conclude, that the *Franks* held yet nothing in *Gaul*; for, by the word *Francia*, say they, is to be understood the country inhabited by the *Franks* on the *German* side of the *Rhine*. But they are therein certainly mistaken ; since it is manifest from all the antients, that both *Clodio* and *Merovæus* were masters of several places in *Gaul*.

(S) According to the opinion which to us seems the most probable, he was the second son of *Clodio*, and him *Priscus* saw at *Rome* in 439. as we have hinted above, he being then about eighteen years old. Both he and his elder brother outlived their father *Clodio*; but *Merovæus*, by the assistance of *Actius* and the *Romans*, carried the crown ; for that there were great contests between them, is certain, the elder brother having called in *Attila* to his assistance ; for this *Attila* himself alleged, among the other motives that had prompted him in 451. to enter *Gaul*. He

had a considerable number of *Franks* in his army, those, without doubt, who had espoused the cause of the elder brother. But *Merovæus* king of the *Franks* fought for the *Romans*, and distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*, which to him secured the crown, and made his elder brother give over all hopes of ever wearing it ; nay, *Attila* himself advised him, after the battle, to return home (8). The elder brother's name is commonly thought to have been *Claudebald*; who, in an antient copy of the *Salic* law, is said to have been the son of *Clude*, or *Clodio*, the son of *Pharamond*, and the brother of *Cleuo*, of whom no farther mention is made (9). *Valesius* takes *Claudebald* to be the same person with *Clodomir*, who, in the life of *St. Genulphus*, is said to have reigned between *Clodio* and *Merovæus* (1). But that life was written long after those times, and is therefore of no great authority. *Gregory of Tours* only

(8) *Sid. car.* vii. *Greg. Tur.* l. ii. c. 7. p. 56. *Du Cb.* p. 393.
Cb. lib. (1) *Val.* f. 144. *Jelland.* 17. f. 7. p. 98.

(9) *Du*

says

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upon the news of the death of *Valentinian III.* the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merovæus*, ravaged *Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*, that is, the provinces of *Mentz* and *Rheims* ^c. *Bucherius* thinks, that *Merovæus* died the year after *Valentinian III.* that is, in 456 ^d. but *Valesius* will have him to have lived till the year 458 ^e. *Rorico* writes, that he was loved, honoured, and revered, by his people, as a common father; and that from him the *Franks* in general were called *Merovingians* ^f. In a genealogical table of the *French* kings, prefixed to a manuscript life of *Charles the Great*, lodged in the royal library at *Brussels*, he is made the stock or head of the first race (T).

Year of
the flood
2796.
Of Christ
448.
Of Rome
1196.
He d.c.

MEROVÆUS

^c SID. car. vii. p. 342.
iv. p. 189.

^d BUCH. p. 526.
^f Gest. Franc. l. i.

^e VAL l.

says of *Merovæus*, that he was the father of *Childeric* (2). However, he must have been a prince of no small renown, since the authors of the seventh and eighth century, and after them many others, have given the name of *Merovingian* to the kings who reigned after him, till the time of *Pepin* the first king of the second race, as they stile it (3), the first being called *Merovingian* from *Merovæus*. *Rorico* extols him greatly, but by elogiums couched in general terms (4); and, besides, no great stress is to be laid on what that author writes. Of his exploits *Bucherius* speaks at large; but all he says is founded upon conjecture (5). *Valesius*, from what we read of *Childeric*, concludes *Merovæus* to have extended his conquests from the *Somme* to the *Seine*, probably after the death of *Actius*.

(T) It is greatly disputed among authors, whether *Mero-*

væus was brother to his predecessor *Clodio*, his kinsman, or even of a different family. *Gregory of Tours* only says, that by some it was held for certain, he was of the same race or family (6). It is past all doubt, that the king of the *Franks*, who died some time before the year 451. and could be no other but *Clodio*, had two sons, who, after his death, contended for the kingdom (7). If *Merovæus* was one of these princes, he was certainly the son of *Clodio*. But perhaps both *Clodio's* children lost what each of them strove to get, and a kinsman of theirs, or one who was no-way related to the family, possessed himself of the kingdom. *Du Chesne* seems to have been of this opinion (8). It is not unlikely, that *Merovæus* was the first of a new branch, since his successors were from him called *Merovingians* (9). But on the other hand, if we admit the authority of *Tyro*

(2) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65.*
p. 801. (5) *Buch. p. 520, 521.*
(7) *Prisc. legat. p. 40.* (8) *Du Cl. p. 14.*
Belg. p. 50.

(3) *Val p. 144, 14.* (4) *Du Cr.*
(6) *Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 9 p. 6.*
(9) *Val. p. 445. Buch*

Childeric. MEROVÆUS was succeeded by his son *Childeric*. When he was but a youth, he was taken prisoner by *Attila*, with his mother,

Prosper, we can hardly deny *Merovæus* to have reigned in 451. when *Attila* broke into *Gaul*, and consequently to have been one of the two sons of *Clodio*. For *Priscus* does not say, that a contest arose among three princes; but only, that the two brothers contended for the kingdom, and it is certain, that this contest was not ended in 451 for *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks* in favour of the elder brother (1). It appears from *Priscus*, that the king of the *Franks*, who sided with *Armin* against *Attila* in 451. fought at the same time against his brother, and the king of the *Huns* (2). The very expression used by *Priscus*, to wit, that *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks*, in favour of the elder brother, shews, that the bulk of the nation acknowledged the younger; and, since *Attila* was obliged to retire, it is not at all likely, that the elder brother, supported by him, got the better of the younger, supported by the *Romans*, by whom *Attila* was overcome, and forced to abandon *Gaul*. The king of the *Franks* had, according to *Gregory of Tours* (3), a share in the victory; and in history we find no mention made of any but *Merovæus*, who in 451. could be styled king of the *Franks*. *Gregory of Tours* knew of no other king between him and *Clodio*, who died before the irruption of the *Huns*. We must therefore either suppose *Merovæus* not to have begun his reign in

448. but only in 451. and consequently bring in another king between him and *Clodio*, for which there is not the least foundation in history, or allow *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*. Father *le Cointe* allows *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*; but will have him to have been the elder brother, and adds, that he was acknowledged king; that the younger brother had recourse to the *Romans*, and to *Attila*; and that the *Romans*, hearing *Attila* was coming with a formidable army, abandoned the younger brother, and declared for the elder, who thereupon sided with the *Romans* against *Attila* (4). But is it at all probable, that *Merovæus* would have dared to abandon, nay, to betray *Attila*, at a time when all nations, the *Romans* not excepted, trembled at his name? Besides, it is certain, that *Attila* was assisted by the *Franks*, and that several of that nation served in his army (5). The above-mentioned writer could not persuade himself, that the younger son of *Clodio*, who was a beardless youth when he came to *Rome*, was the father of *Childeric*, who, as early as the year 456. had abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery; and this is what induced him to embrace the afore said opinion. Some chronologers suppose the son of *Clodio* to have gone to *Rome* in 439. and others place his journey to that metropolis still later

(1) *Prisc.* p. 40.
(4) *Coint.* p. 72.

(2) *Idem ibid.*
(5) *Idem. car. vii.* p. 541.

(3) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 8.* p. 56.

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mother, and other persons of distinction ; but delivered from captivity by the fidelity, courage, and address, of a *Frank*, named *Wiomald*, as we read in *Fredigarius* ^c. This happened in the year 453. when *Attila*, attempting to pass the *Rhine*, in order to enter *Gaul*, was opposed by *Merovæus*, at the head of the *Franks* who had espoused his cause against his competitor. *Childeric* no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to think of enlarging his dominions, the more, as *Actius*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, was now dead. He is said to have extended his conquests as far as the *Loire*, and to have reduced the city of *Paris*, after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years ^d. In the year 470. he made himself master of *Angers*, after having killed count

Year of
the flood
2804.
Of Christ
456.
Of Rome
1204.

He extends his conquests to the Loire.

^c Du Ch. tom. ii. p. 726.

^d BOLLAND. 3. Jan. p. 140.

If in 439. he was eighteen, he might have had *Childeric* in 440. *Le Cointe* places the beginning of the reign of *Childeric* in 456. and *Valefius* in 458. when that prince, then eighteen years old, might well have been guilty of all the debaucheries, which, by historians, are laid to his charge. Besides, we are not told, that he abandoned himself to a debauched life as soon as he ascended the throne: so that the chief argument with which *le Cointe* strives to support his opinion, is of no weight. The only proof of any strength, that can be alleged in favour of the opinion denying *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*, is the name of *Mero-vigian*, which was given to his successors; for if they were descended from *Clodio*, as well as from him, why did they take their name rather from him than from *Clodio*? But that name is not given by *Gregory of Tours* to the kings of his time, nor is it to be found in any writer, till near two hundred years after *Merovæus*'s time; and some au-

thors will have it to have been common to the *Franks* in general. Those, who maintain *Merovæus* not to have been the son of *Clodio*, must at the same time suppose, with *Du Chesne*, that both the sons of *Clodio* were by him excluded from the throne; that this happened after the defeat of *Attila*, that is, after the year 451. and that the *Romans* suffered it, though they had espoused the cause of *Merovæus*, finding they could reap no advantage from a war with the usurper (6). As for the fables related by *Fredigarius* on the birth of *Merovæus*, it would be degrading our history to allow them a place in it (7); and with them are much of a piece those we read in the annals of *Hainault*, by *de Guise*, though *Buchetius* thinks them agreeable to what we find in *Priscus*. It is surprising, that a man of his learning and penetration should reason on that subject in the manner he does (8): he surely must never have perused the original *Greek* copy of *Priscus*.

(6) Du Ch. p. 14.

(7) *Vide Val.* p. 144.

(8) *Buch.* p. 506.

Paul the Roman governor of the place^l. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, without acquainting us how count *Paul* and *Childeric* came to fall out; for he had told us, a few lines before, that the Roman general, with the assistance of the *Franks*, had made war on the *Goths*, and gained some advantages over them. *Bucherius* thinks, that the *Romans* and *Franks* were overcome by the *Goths*; and founds his opinion upon the authority of *Sidonius*, who writes, without marking any time, that the *Franks* were defeated, and put to flight, by *Euric* king of the *Goths*^k. The same author adds, that *Euric*, after having overcome the *Franks*, entered into an alliance with them^l; and elsewhere, that he gave his daughter in marriage to one *Sigismer*, a barbarian prince^m, whom *Valesius* takes to have been a *Frank*ⁿ. This alliance between the *Goths* and the *Franks* induced, in all likelihood, *Childeric* to turn his arms against the *Romans*, and seize on the city of *Angers*, at that time belonging to them. He likewise made himself master of *Orleans*, after having defeated one *Odoacer*, who came with a body of *Saxons* to the relief of the place^o. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Childeric*, entering into an alliance with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, marched against the *Alemans*, who had entered that country, and gave them a total overthrow.

He dies.

SOON after his return to *Gaul*, he died at *Tornacum*, now *Tournay*, where his remains were discovered in 1653. with many gold coins of the Roman emperors, and other things of great curiosity and value; among which was the king's signet, with the inscription *Childerici regis*, and his image engraved on it, with his long hair covering both his shoulders, and a dart in his right hand. But of this discovery the curious reader will find a minute and learned account in the *Anastasis Childerici*, which *Chiffletius* wrote in 1655. by order of the archduke *Leopold*, at that time governor of the *Low-countries* for *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*^p. *Childeric*, in the beginning of his reign, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, loading at the same time his subjects with exorbitant taxes and impositions, to supply his extravagant expences. Hereupon some of those, whose wives and daughters he had debauched, revolting, drove him from the throne. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, foreseeing the storm, he prudently withdrew of his own accord, and retired into the territory of *Tongres*, where he continued, till, his subjects returning to their duty, which

^l GREG. TUR. p. 282. ^k SID. l. vii. ep. 3. p. 215. ^l Idem
ibid. ^m Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 215. ⁿ VAL. p. 219, 220.
^o DU CH. p. 697. 802. ^p Anastasis Childerici, per CHIFFLET. Antwerpæ, 1655.

was chiefly owing to his trusty friend *Wigmald*, he was recalled, and restored to the throne. During his absence, the *Franks* submitted to *Ægidius*, by nation a *Gaul*, but commander of the *Roman* troops in that country⁹, whom, upon the return of *Childeric*, they easily drove out, and received their lawful sovereign with the greatest marks of joy imaginable (U). *Fredigarius*, in his epitome of the history of the *Franks*,

⁹ GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 12. PAPIR. MASSON. annal l. i. p. 13.

(U) This event is thus related by *Gregory of Tours*: *Childeric*, by seducing the daughters of his subjects, provoked them to such a degree, that, fearing he should be assassinated by them, he thought it adviseable to abandon his kingdom, and retire. He therefore withdrew into the country of the *Thuringians*; but left behind him a trusty friend to mollify the exasperated minds of his people, and dispose them to receive again their lawful sovereign. Upon his departure he cut in two a piece of gold, whereof he took one part with him, and left the other with his friend, to be sent to him, as a token, that he might return without the least apprehension of danger. After this he withdrew, and took refuge in *Thuringia*, living as a private person in the court of king *Basius*, and queen *Bosina* his wife. *Childeric* being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* with one consent chose *Ægidius* for their governor, who had been raised by the emperor to the post of *magister militiæ*, or commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. While *Ægidius* was in the eighth year of his reign, *Childeric's* faithful friend, having privately and by degrees reconciled the minds of the *Franks* to his master, dispatch-

ed a messenger to him with the piece of gold, which he had kept. *Childeric*, understanding, from that token, that his subjects were ready to receive him, left *Thuringia*, and, returning home, was restored to the throne (9). Thus *Gregory of Tours*, who was born about sixty-three years after the death of *Childeric*, and consequently must have been acquainted with several persons, who had conversed, at least, with his contemporaries, and, probably, knew some who had seen *Childeric* himself: so that it can hardly be supposed, that he was not well informed of such remarkable events, as the deposition and restoration of the king of the *Franks*, and the choosing of *Ægidius* to reign in his room. And yet *Father Daniel* looks upon this account as altogether incredible and fabulous: he thinks, that the conduct of the *Franks*, had they chosen *Ægidius* for their king, would have been no less unaccountable than that of the *Turks* in 1687. If, after deposing *Mabomet IV.* they had raised to the throne prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, who then commanded the emperor's army in *Hungary*, and owed all his glory to the advantages he had gained over them. Is it at all likely, says he, that

Franks, tells us, that *Childeric*, being driven from the throne, fled to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of the emperor *Mauritius*,

the *Franks*, who were barbarians and pagans, should choole for their king a *Roman*, and one who professed the Christian religion? And, supposing they had to such a *Roman* offered the crown, would not he, through fear of incurring the emperor's indignation, have rejected their offer? But in those days we find several instances of pagans acknowledging and obeying Christian princes, and of pagan princes ruling over those who professed the Christian religion. As to the jealousy, which his accepting that dignity might have given to the emperor, *Majorianus* reposed an intire confidence in *Ægidius*; and besides, the crown which the *Franks* placed upon his head, was but a small addition to the power and honours he enjoyed before, as *magister militia*, which employment raised him above all the kings of the barbarians, whom he commanded accordingly in the field. The title of king was no great thing in those times, since it was given not only to all the chiefs of the barbarians, but to the different leaders of many tribes, into which each nation was divided. *Ennodius* bishop of *Pavia*, who flourished in the fifth century, speaking of the army which *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* led against the barbarians, says, that the country, in which that prince encamped, could hardly supply with provisions so many soldiers as he had kings in his army (1). The title of king, therefore, which the

Franks bestowed on *Ægidius*, could give no jealousy to the emperor: it was far inferior to that of *magister militia*, which he bore already, and with which the greatest kings among the barbarians thought themselves highly honoured. Nay, *Majorianus*, who reposed an intire confidence in *Ægidius*, must have been well pleased to hear, that the *Franks* had submitted to him, which, in effect, was submitting to the empire. The *Franks* did not then wage war with the *Romans*, but were their confederates, and had often served in their armies under the conduct of *Ægidius*, whose probity and moderation could not, by that means, be unknown to them; so that every one must be well apprised of the wide difference between their choosing him, and the *Turks* choosing *Charles* of *Lorraine*, for their king. But the circumstances, adds Father *Daniel*, attending the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Ægidius*, are evidently fabulous. This we allow to be true, speaking of the circumstances that have been added to those events by later writers; but, in the account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of them, nothing occurs that to us seems childish, to use Father *Daniel's* expression, or incredible. *Gregory of Tours* is not accountable, and much less are we, for the fables which later writers have been pleased to add to his relation. Is an event related, we may say, by a contemporary writer, to be deemed fabulous, because others, who

(1) *Ennod. in pan. Theod.*

Mauritius, and returned from thence by sea into *Gaul*. A strange anachronism! *Mauritius* having been raised to the imperial throne near an hundred years after the flight of *Childeric*. *Witthomius*, in his chronicle written in the year 810. reads *Martianus* instead of *Mauritius*; but, according to the best chronologers, *Martian* died in 457. whereas *Childeric* either fled, or was driven out, in the year 461. and restored eight

wrote after, have added to it several fabulous circumstances? How many uncontroverted events have been thus disfigured, and turned into fables? As for the silence of the cotemporary writers, on which Father *Daniel* lays great stress, there flourished at that time but two, to wit, *Idatius* and *Apollinaris Sidonius*, of whom the former, who wrote in *Spain*, at that time over-run by the barbarians, was not perhaps informed of what passed among the *Franks* in *Gaul*; or, if he was, he did not think proper to insert in his chronicle an event that no-way concerned his countrymen; for, in the affairs of *Gaul*, he is so concise, as to give, in one line, an account of the most memorable battles and sieges that happened there. As for *Sidonius*, he did not write the history of those times, but only speaks of some events occasionally; and his subject did not lead him to mention the deposing of *Childeric* by the *Franks*, and their choosing *Ægidius* in his room. The only objection of any weight, that can be brought against the account of *Gregory of Tours*, is in point of chronology. It is certain, that *Ægidius* was *magister militum*, when he was chosen by the *Franks* for their king; that *Majorianus* was then acknowledged emperor in *Gaul*; and that he was not acknowledged there before the latter-end of the year 458. On the other

hand, it is no less certain, that *Childeric* was restored before the death of *Ægidius*, and that *Ægidius* died in 464. the fifth year after the deposition of *Childeric*. *Gregory of Tours* therefore was certainly mistaken, in supposing *Ægidius* to have reigned eight years over the *Franks*. This mistake in point of chronology has induced Father *Daniel* to question the whole account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Ægidius*. But might not this mistake have crept into the text of our historian through the ignorance or carelessness of the transcribers? It is owned by all the critics, that in several other passages the numbers have been altered by the transcribers; and thus they cannot help owning, without supposing *Gregory of Tours* to have contradicted himself. Why then may not the mistake, as to the years of *Childeric's* exile, be likewise charged upon the transcribers? the more, as in all the antient manuscript copies the numbers are written in arithmetical figures, which are very liable to be altered. But, allowing *Gregory of Tours* to have been mistaken as to the years *Ægidius* reigned, can we infer from thence, that he did not reign at all? Are not the best historians sometimes grossly mistaken in point of chronology?

years after. Besides, *Gregory of Tours*, who lived in the next age, takes no notice of his journey to *Constantinople*; and *Aimarius* expressly tells us, that he kept at a small distance from his own dominions, not doubting but *Wiomald* would, by some means or other, appease his subjects, and procure his return. He was received in his own territories by the inhabitants of *Barrum*, who went out to meet him, and were, on that account, exempted from all tribute, which immunity they enjoyed for many years. This *Barrum*, *Franchette* will have to be *Barrum ducis*, or *Bar le duc*, *Belleforest* to be *Bar* on the *Seine*, while *Uredius* and *Chiffletius* take it to be a place in *Brabant*, or *Holland*, for they are of opinion, that *Childeric* took shelter, not in *Tungria*, but in *Thuringia*, as we read it in *Gregory of Tours*; but that writer, or his transcriber, often confounds these two countries (W). Whatever place he came from, he was soon followed by *Basina* the wife of king *Basinus*, by whom he had been entertained during his exile. Some *French* historians would make us believe, that she abandoned her husband to follow *Childeric*, being taken with his good qualities. But the answer she gave to *Childeric*, when asked by him for what reason she had left her husband to follow him, seems to insinuate, though related by *Gregory of Tours* in the most modest terms, that she was not so much taken with his good qualities, as with the abilities of another kind, which she had discovered in him (X). Be that as it will,

* AIMON. l. i. c. 7

(W) A modern critic (2) is of opinion, that the words *Tungria* and *Thuringia* were used, by those who transcribed the history of *Gregory of Tours*, as synonymous terms to express one and the same country, to wit, that of *Tongres*. *Morel*, who in 1561 published the second edition of the history of *Gregory of Tours*, writes, that in an ancient manuscript of that historian he found the following words: *Dispar gum, a high stands on the borders of the Tungrians or Thuringians*. And *Father Ruinart*, a most accurate writer, quotes two manuscript copies of the history of

Gregory of Tours, to wit, that which was made use of by the first editor of that history, and another lodged in the abbey of *Royaumont*, in both which the *Franks* are said to have settled in *Thuringia* after they had passed the *Rhine*, which evidently proves, that by *Thuringia* was meant *Tungria*, or the country of *Tongris*, lying on the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*, for there they settled after having crossed that river.

(X) The words of *Gregory of Tours* are these: *His ergo regnantibus simul, Basina illa, quam supra memoravimus, relicto viro*

will, *Childeric* married her, and had by her *Clodoveus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom *.

Clodoveus, called also *Hludovicus*, *Ludovicus*, *Ludicis*, *Clodo-*
and Clovis, was no sooner raised to the throne, than he began
to think of enlarging his dominions, which, according to the
best writers, extended only from the *Wahal* to the city of
Tournay. That *Childeric* was, at his death, master of *Tour-*
nay, cannot be questioned, since he was interred there; and,
on the other hand, we know for certain, that *Clovis* resided
at *Tournay* during the first years of his reign †. The kingdom,
therefore, to which he succeeded, was bounded on the north
by the *Wahal*; on the east by the city of *Tongres*, which be-
longed to another tribe of *Franks*, and was not reduced by
Clovis till the tenth year of his reign, as *Gregory of Tours* tells
us in express terms; on the south by the kingdom of *Ragna-*
charius, who held *Cambray*; on the west by the kingdom of
Chararic, commonly placed between the *Escault* and the
ocean. *Ragnacharius* and *Chararic* were likewise kings of the
Franks; but ruled over different tribes, and were quite inde-
pendent of *Clovis*, as well as of each other. The other pro-
vinces of *Gaul* were held by the *Romans*, by the *Visigoths*, and
by the *Burgundians*, who all lorded it over the unhappy na-
tives. *Clovis*, resolved to enlarge his dominions, and perhaps,
as his ambition knew no bounds, he being then but in the
twentieth year of his age, aspiring to nothing less than the mon-
archy of all *Gaul*, thought it advisable to begin with the *Ro-*
mans, who, by the downfall of the Western empire, were re-

Clodo-
væus.
Year of
the flood
2830.
Of Christ
482.
Of Rome
1230.

* GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 12.

† Vide DU CH. tom. i. p. 632.

suo, ad Childericum venit. Qui cum sollicitè interrogaret, qua de causa ad eum de tantu regione venisset, respondisse fertur: Novi, inquit, utilitatem tuam, quod sis valde strenuus; ideoque veni, ut habitem tecum. Nam noviris, si in transmarinis partibus aliquem cognovissem utiliorem te, expetissem utique cohabitationem ejus. At ille gaudens eam sibi conjugio copulavit. Is not the meaning of these words, *novi utilitatem tuam*, &c. as plain as a modest writer could well make it, and very different from that which *Dubos*, in his

critical history of the French monarchy, would obtrude upon us? to wit, "Because I know you are a man of honour, of courage, and worthy of my affections. Had there been a more deserving man in the world, I should have crossed the seas in quest of him," &c.

(3.) Is this speech consistent with the character of a woman, who had broken her conjugal faith, and abandoned her husband to cohabit with another man?

(3) *Idem ibid.* vol. xi. c. 6. p. 86.

He makes
war upon
Syagrius.
Year of
the flood
2835.
Of Christ
487.
Of Rome
1235.



duced to the lowest ebb of power. *Syagrius*, the son of *Ægidius*, of whom we have spoken above, held the city of *Soissons*. He had succeeded his father in the government of that city, and perhaps had made himself absolute master of it during the anarchy which had prevailed in *Gaul*, upon the downfall of the Western empire, since he is, by *Gregory of Tours*, distinguished with the title of king ^u. However that be, *Clovis*, being resolved to reduce that city, invited *Chararic* and *Ragnacharius* to assist him in the enterprize, which the latter readily did; but *Chararic* declining being any-way concerned in that war, with a design, says *Gregory of Tours*, to join the prince who should prevail over the other ^w.

He defeats
Syagrius,
and reduces
Soissons.

CLOVIS was no sooner joined by *Ragnacharius*, whom our historian calls his kinsman, than he set out on his march for *Soissons*, and, arriving with his army in the neighbourhood of that city, he sent a messenger to *Syagrius*, offering him battle. *Syagrius*, accepting the challenge, marched into a neighbouring plain, where the two armies engaged. The combat lasted some time; but the *Romans* being in the end put to flight, *Syagrius*, from the field of battle, fled to *Thoulouse*, and there took refuge at the court of *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; which *Clovis* no sooner understood, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Alaric*, threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith deliver the fugitive *Roman* into his hands. *Alaric*, unwilling to provoke the king of the *Franks*, commanded *Syagrius* to be immediately delivered up to the ambassadors, upon whose return he was, by *Clovis's* order, kept under close confinement till that prince had reduced *Soissons*, and then privately released ^x. *Clovis*, now master of *Soissons*, transferred his royal seat from *Tournay* to that city ^y.

He makes
himself
master of
the city
and territory of
Tongres.

HE afterwards waged several wars, says *Gregory of Tours*; and in the tenth year of his reign subdued the *Thuringians*, meaning, without all doubt, the *Tongrians*; for *Thuringia* lay on the other side of the *Rhine*, at a great distance from his dominions, and separated from them by the countries which the *Alemanni* held on one side of that river, and the *Franks*, called *Ripuarians*, on the other, who had a king of their own. It is therefore past all doubt, that the country, said by our historian to have been subdued by *Clovis* in the tenth year of his reign, was the city of *Tongres*, and its territory, which bordered on the territory of *Tournay*, and opened a free communication between his dominions, and those of *Sigebert* king of the *Ripuarians*, and his kinsman; for the *Ripuarians* held *Co-*

^u GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27.

^w Idem ibid.

^x Idem ibid.

^y HINCMAR. in vit. S. Remig.

logne, and were masters of the country between the *Lower Rhine* and the *Lower Meuse*. *Tongria*, when reduced by *Clovis*, was held, according to the most probable opinion, by another tribe of *Franks*, who had settled there some time before. The same year, *Clovis* married *Clothildis*, or *Crothechildis*; as she is called by *Gregory of Tours*, the daughter of *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, who had been murdered some years before by his brother *Gundebald*, as we shall relate in the history of that nation. Of this marriage, *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: The ambassadors, whom *Clovis* had often occasion to send to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*, during their abode there, took particular notice of a young woman named *Crothechildis*; and, being charmed with her beauty, her wisdom, and her engaging behaviour, and at the same time informed, that she was of the blood royal, upon their return home, they gave the king an high idea of her good qualities; which made so deep an impression on his mind, that, soon after, he sent ambassadors to king *Gundebald*, asking her in marriage. *Gundebald*, afraid to disoblige the king of the *Franks*, granted him his request, delivering the young princess to his ambassadors, who immediately conveyed her to their master. The king was so taken with her beauty, and amiable qualities, that he immediately married her, tho' he had already, by a concubine, a son named *Theodoric* (Y).

A

2 GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 28.

(Y) Thus *Gregory of Tours*: *newa*, where *Clothildis* then resided with her sister. The two young princesses, who spent most of their time in acts of charity and hospitality, entertaining all the poor who came to the place, received *Aurelian* among the rest, and conducted him to the place where they used to wash the feet of the poor pilgrims and beggars, according to a custom which then prevailed, as it still does in some places of *Italy*. This gave *Aurelian* an opportunity of speaking to *Clothildis*, and letting her know, that he had been sent by the king of the *Franks*, who, being informed of her good qualities by his ambassadors, begged she would give him leave to ask her in marriage. At the

The Ale-
mana
break into
Gaul.

A FEW years after, the *Alemanni*, one of the most powerful nations in *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, broke unexpectedly into *Germania Secunda*, held at that time by the *Franks* called *Ripuarians*, who had *Sigebert* for their king. That prince drew together what forces he could; but, not

the same time he delivered to her the ring, as a certain token of his embassy. The young princess received the ring with great joy, and, returning thanks to the king for the good opinion he entertained of her, and the honour he designed her, readily consented to the proposal; but, at the same time, desired *Aurelian* to acquaint his master, that unless the whole was concluded before the return of *Aridius*, who had been sent to *Constantinople* by her uncle *Gundebald*, he would leave no stone unturned to put a stop to their intended marriage. In taking her leave of the ambassador, she pulled off her ring; and, delivering it to him, desired him to present it, in her name, to the king, as a token of the affection and esteem she had for so great a prince. *Aurelian*, returning without delay to *Soissons*, delivered the ring to *Clowis*, acquainting him, at the same time, with the answer *Clotildis* had given him. Hereupon the king immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Gundebald*, demanding his niece in marriage. The king of the *Burgundians* was not inclined to the match; but nevertheless, thro' fear of disobliging so powerful a prince, granted him his request; so that *Clotildis* was immediately betrothed to *Clowis*; and, after that ceremony was over, delivered to the ambassadors, to be conveyed by them to their master. The em-

bassadors set out without loss of time; but were scarce gone, when news were brought, that *Aridius* was landed at *Musculles*. Hereupon *Clotildis*, quitting her chariot, mounted on horseback, and, pursuing her journey with all possible expedition, arrived at the place where *Clowis* waited for her. In the mean time *Aridius*, who, on his landing, had been informed of the marriage, flew to court, and, by remonstrating to the king the dangerous consequences of such a match, to wit, that *Clotildis*, mindful of the murder of her father and brothers, would, one day or other, prevail upon her husband to revenge their death, persuaded *Gundebald*, by whose orders they had been assassinated, to dispatch immediately a body of troops, with orders to bring back *Clotildis*. But she had already reached *Villers*, a place in the territory of *Troyes*, and in that city *Clowis* waited for his royal bride. However, the soldiers sent by *Gundebald* seized on her chariot and equipage. Thus the epitomizer of the history of the *Franks* (4), with whom the author of the *Gests of the Franks* agrees in the main (5); but as *Gregory of Tours*, whom we may call a contemporary writer, takes no notice of the particulars related by them, we cannot help looking upon them as doubtful, if not fabulous.

(4) *Hist. Frar. epit. c. 19, 20.*

(5) *Gest. Fran. c. 12.*

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finding himself in a condition to make head against so numerous an army with his own troops, he had recourse to *Clovis*, who readily joined him, being glad to lay hold of every opportunity that offered to signalize himself, and inure his men to the fatigues and dangers of war. The two kings, after their conjunction, marched against the *Alemans*, and engaged them at a village called *Tolbiacum*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about twelve miles from *Cologne*. The battle proved very bloody, both parties exerting their utmost efforts, but in the end, king *Sigebert* receiving a wound in his leg, of which he ever after continued lame, the *Franks* began to give ground, which *Clovis* no sooner perceived, than, lifting up his eyes to heaven, says *Gregory of Tours*, he implored the assistance of *Jesus Christ*, who, *Clothildis* had often told him, was the Son of GOD, and never failed to assist those in distress who put their confidence in him, promising at the same time to believe in him, and be baptized, if, by granting him a victory, he convinced him of his divine power. He had scarce made this *Are sub-* promise, when the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the advantage *due* by they had gained, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. *Clovis*; In this battle their king was killed, and with him most of their chief men, which so disheartened them, that they submitted to *Clovis*, and acknowledged him for their king (Z) *Clovis*, it seems,

(Z) Thus *Gregory of Tours*; whose words have induced some to believe, that the whole nation of the *Alemans* submitted to the king of the *Franks*. But that writer must be understood only of such of that nation, as had been formerly allowed to continue in the places of *Gaul*, which they had seized. For it is certain, that numbers of them had recourse to *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who took them under his protection, and permitted them to settle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, then subject to him. Nay, that prince wrote to the inhabitants of *Noricum*, injoining them to supply such of the *Alemans*, as were not willing to continue there, with fresh oxen to draw

their waggons, taking, in exchange, their oxen fatigued with so long a march (7) His letter has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, with another which *Theodoric* wrote to *Clovis*, exhorting him to give over pursuing the flying *Alemans*, especially those who had taken refuge in his dominions (8) In this letter, after congratulating the king of the *Frank* on the victory he had gained over so numerous and warlike a people, he tells him, that he had sent ambassadors to impart to him, by word of mouth, several affairs of the greatest importance, and disclose to him some secrets, which it greatly concerned him to know. These secrets, perhaps, related to the

(6) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 30.*
ibid. ep. 51.

(7) *Cassiod. var. l. ii. ep. 50.*

(8) *Itin.*

seems, at the request of *Theodoric*, who had married his sister *Audefleda*, gave over pursuing the *Alemans*; of whom part settled in the provinces of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, and part was, by *Theodoric*, transplanted into *Italy*, as appears from the panegyric of *Ennodius* on that prince, where he tells us, that, under *Theodoric*, *Italy* was guarded by the *Alemans*, who had formerly plundered it; and that unhappy nation, after having lost their king, and been driven from their native country, were become the subjects of a generous and good-natured prince, who had given them a far better country than that which they had been forced to abandon^a. Such of the *Alemans*, as settled in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, continued subject to the kings of *Italy*, till the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of that country. From what we have said, it appears, that the *Alemans* received a total overthrow at *Tolbiac*, since, after the battle, they were quite driven out of their country by the two confederate kings of the *Franks*. The *Alemans* in *Gaul*, masters of a considerable

who makes part of the present *Switzerland*, submitted to *Clovis*, as we himself have hinted above, and acknowledged him for their king. master of Some of that nation had likewise settled in *Alsace*, and of that the country too *Clovis* made himself master on this occasion, and likewise of the city of *Basle*; for, among the bishops who they possessed in *Gaul*. subscribed to the first council at *Orleans*, held by order of *Clovis* in 511. we find the name of *Adelphius* bishop of *Basle*; and it is well known, that bishops were not allowed, in those days, to assist at councils that met in places not subject to their prince.

This com- *CLOVIS* no sooner returned from pursuing the fugitives, than he acquainted the queen with the vow or promise he had made, acknowledging at the same time, that the victory he had acquired was owing to it. Hereupon *Clothildis*, without loss of time, dispatched a messenger to *Remigius* bishop of *Rheims*, acquainting him with what had happened, and intreating him to hasten to court, in order to instruct the king in the mysteries of the Christian religion. *Clovis* received the holy prelate with the greatest marks of respect and esteem; but, being informed, in the several private conferences he had with him,

^a ENNOD. in pan. Theod.

conditions of the treaty, which, about this time, the king of the *Burgundians* concluded with the emperor *Anastasius*; and it is not improbable, that *Theodoric*, who was at variance with the empe-

ror, should propose now that offensive alliance against the *Burgundians*, which they concluded three years after, as we shall relate presently.

that

that he must, in the first place, renounce the worship of the gods he had till then adored, he told the bishop, that he was ready to comply with his instructions; but, being afraid, lest the *Franks*, attached to the religion of their forefathers, might thence be prompted to revolt, he begged leave to acquaint them first with his design, and to try, whether the arguments, that had convinced him, might not be of equal weight with them. Having therefore, with this view, assembled the *Franks*, he no sooner began to speak, than they all cried out, with one voice, *We renounce the worship of the false gods, and are ready to acknowledge the GOD whom the bishop of Rheims preaches.* Hereupon the holy prelate, transported with joy, ordered every thing to be got ready for the baptizing of the king; and the ceremony was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity. When the bishop was upon the point of administering the sacrament, he addressed the king thus: *Bow your head with humility, O Sicambrian; adore what you formerly burnt, and burn what you formerly adored.* Remigius, adds Gregory of Tours, from whom we have copied this whole account, was, by all his cotemporaries, held in great veneration for the holiness of his life; nay, he was even said to have raised one from the dead ^b. With Clovis were baptized, according to the same writer, three thousand of his subjects able to bear arms, and one of his sisters, named *Albofleda*. At the same time, another sister, by name *Lantildis*, renounced the errors of Arius, and was received into the church. *Albofleda* died a few days after she had been baptized; and upon her death Remigius wrote a consolatory letter to the king, whereof the beginning has been transmitted to us by Gregory of Tours ^c, and some fragments of it gathered from other writers by Du Chesne ^d, to whom we refer the reader (A).

and baptism of
Clovis.
Year of
the flood
2845.
Of Christ
497.
Of Rome
1245.

FROM

^b GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 31.
tom. i. p. 849.

^c Idem ibid.

^d DU CH.

(A) *Clovis* was not baptized during the solemnity of *Easter*, as *Hincmar* (9) and *Floard* have written (1); but in that of *Christmas*, as is evident from the letter which *Alcimus Avitus* bishop of *Vienne* wrote to *Clovis*, congratulating him upon his conversion. The epitomizer of the

history of the *Franks* tells us, that *Remigius* having preached to *Clovis*, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour, the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, *If I had been there with my Franks, that should not have happened* (2).

(9) *Hincmar. vit. Remig. Fran. epit. c. 22.*

(1) *Floard. hist. eccl. Rem. l. ii. c. 13.*

(2) *H. A.*

*The holy
phial.*

FROM the whole account of the conversion and baptism of *Clovis*, which we have copied from *Gregory of Tours*, the reader must conclude him to have been, in religious matters, a very credulous writer; but, credulous as he is, he makes no mention of the *holy phial* said to have been sent from heaven, wherein is kept the oil with which the *French* kings are still anointed at their coronation. Of this phial *Hincmar* gives us the following account: *Clovis* and St. *Remigius* were no sooner entered into the baptistery, than all the avenues to it were so filled with the croud, that the ecclesiastic, who carried the holy oil, and was not gone in with them, could by no means find a way through the multitude. Hereupon the holy prelate, not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging with a short, but fervent prayer, that the want of what was necessary to accomplish the ceremony might be supplied by some means or other. He had scarce done, when a dove, exceeding the very snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil; which the bishop had no sooner received, than the dove disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. With this oil *Remigius* anointed the king; and the odour it spread was sweet beyond imagination or expression. Of all this, not a word in *Gregory of Tours*, tho' a great believer of miracles; which plainly shews, that in his time this fable was not yet invented (B).

BUT

* *HINCMAR.* in vit. *Remig.*

Before his conversion, he had two sons by *Clotildis*, of whom the eldest, named *Ignomer*, was baptized, by the care of his pious mother; but died a few days after; which greatly provoked the king, who ascribed his death to his being offered to the God of *Clotildis*, and not to those of his forefathers. However, the zealous queen caused the other likewise, by name *Clodomir*, to be baptized; who soon after was seized with a dangerous distemper which incensed the king anew against his consort; but the child recovered, and the queen never ceased to preach to her husband the true God, whom

she adored, till, with the miraculous assistance of Heaven, she brought about his conversion (3).

(B) It is to be observed, that *Clovis* was at this time the only catholic prince in the *Roman* world. *Anastasius*, emperor of the East, was greatly inclined to the doctrine of *Arius*. *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, master of almost all *Spain*, and of the third part of *Gaul*, the king of the *Burgundians*, and the king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, were avowed and zealous followers of that heresiarch: as for the other kings of the *Franks* settled in

BUT to return to the military achievements of *Clovis*: The year after his conversion, the *Armorici*, that is, the people dwelling on the coast of the ocean between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke, and formed themselves into a republic, submitted of their own accord to *Clovis*, and became one nation with the *Franks* ¹. Hereupon the *Roman* troops, that were still in *Gaul*, finding themselves surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the empire, and not caring to serve under the *Arians*, says *Procopius*, that is, the *Burgundians* and *Visigoths*, capitulated with the *Franks* and *Armorici*, and, surrendering to them the places they held, entered into their service. These, adds *Procopius*, still observe, both in their attire, and manner of marching and fighting, the ancient customs and discipline of the *Romans* ². Thus ended the dominion of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, after they had been masters of that country for the space of five hundred years and upwards, which was now held by three different nations; to wit, the *Franks*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Burgundians*. To the above-mentioned union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Procopius*, who flourished soon after, ascribes the great power which the *Franks* had already attained in his time (C). The

The Ar-
moric
submit to
Clovis.

The end of
the Roman
dominion
in Gaul.
Year of
the flood
2846.
Of Christ
498.
year
Of Rome
1246.

¹ PROCOPI. bell. Goth. c. 2.

² Idem ibid.

Gaul, they were still pagans. No wonder therefore, that not only *Anastasius* II. then bishop of *Rome*, but several other bishops, though subject to different princes, wrote to the king of the *Franks*, congratulating him on his conversion, and testifying their joy for so happy an event (4).

(C) The union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks* is founded chiefly on the authority of *Procopius*; but, in the text of that writer, the people, who submitted to the *Franks*, are called *Arborici*. However, all those, who have had occasion to speak of this event, read, as we have done, *Armorici* instead of *Arbo-*

rici (5); except Father *Daniel*, who, contrary to the opinion of all those who wrote before him, maintains, that in the reign of *Clovis* there was a people in *Gaul* called *Arborici*. But, in the first place, that nation was utterly unknown to *Cluverius*, who, speaking of them, expresses himself thus: Who these *Arborici* were, no writer has been yet able to discover (6). Father *Daniel*, in the map which he has prefixed to his history, places them between the *Meuse*, the ocean, and the *Escault*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for in none of the notitia's, or descriptions of *Gaul*, which have reached our times, and were composed under

(4) Vide Le Comte ann. ecclési. Fran. tom. i. p. 194. & epist. Avit. ep. 41. edit. Sirmond. p. 94. (5) Vales. rer. Fran. tom. i. p. 278. & n. t. Gall. p. 44. Pignier ancien état de la Petite Bretagne. Cluver. Germ. l. ii. c. 25. p. 226. (6) Cluver. ibid.

Clôvis on-year after the union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Theodo-*
ric king of *Italy*, being resolved to make war on the *Bur-*
gundians, in order to recover that part of *Gaul* which was held by
 them, and had been formerly subject to *Rome*, entered into
 an offensive alliance with *Clôvis*, at that time the most power-
 ful prince in *Gaul*. In virtue of this treaty, they were to fall
 upon the king of the *Burgundians* at the same time, and, if
 attended with success, divide his dominions between them :
 if either of them should fail to take the field at the time ap-
 pointed, and the other, by that means, be obliged to fight
 alone against the king of the *Burgundians*, he, who had not
 fulfilled his engagement, should pay to the other a certain sum,
 and not receive any share of the conquered king's dominions,
 till he had paid it ^h. Of this war *Gregory of Tours* gives us
 the following account : At this time *Gundebald* and his brother
Godigiselus reigned over the *Burgundians*, who were masters of
 the countries lying on the *Rhone*, and the *Saone*, and of the
 province of *Marseilles*. Both princes were *Arians*, as well as
 their subjects. However, as the two brothers were at vari-
 ance, *Godigiselus* privately concluded an alliance with *Clôvis*,

^h Idem ibid.

the last emperors, mention is made of the *Arborici*, who must have been a very numerous people, though all the other nations inhabiting *Gaul*, and *Belgica Secunda*, are there minutely described. *Apollinaris Sidonius*, *Salvianus*, and *Aristus*, frequently enumerate the various nations that, in the fifth century, were settled in *Gaul*; but no mention is made of the *Arborici* by any of them. Besides, if the *Arborici* had dwelt in the country allotted them by *Father Daniel*, on the most distant borders of *Belgica Secunda*, how could their joining the *Franks* oblige, as we read in *Procopius*, the *Roman* troops, who guarded the *Loire*, to capitulate with *Clôvis*? For these reasons, all those who have had occasion to speak of the *Ar-*

morici, even after *Father Daniel* published the first volume of his history, have read *Armorici* instead of *Arborici*; nay, *Histius* (7). *Eccard* (8), and *Father Lobineau* (9), cannot help expressing great surprize, that such an able writer as *Father Daniel* should be guilty of so gross a mistake. Had he read *Procopius*, says *Eccard*, with more attention, he would himself have been convinced of his error. In the same passage we find, in the text of *Procopius*, *Eridanus* instead of *Rhodanus*; which mistake, as well as that of *Arborici* instead of *Armorici*, ought to be charged upon the transcribers, and not upon the author, who had lived too long in *Italy* not to know, that the *Po* was a river of that country, and not of *Gaul*.

(-) Hist. notit. regn. Fran. veter. c. 3. Rsp. p. 2.8.

(8) Eccard, leg. Fran. Sal. & (9) Lobineau hist. de Bretagne, p. 26.

whose

whose troops were in great repute. The articles of this treaty were ; that *Godegiselus* should, by some means or other, get the whole power into his hands, and thereupon pay an annual tribute to the king of the *Franks*.

PURSUANT to this agreement, *Clovis* took the field, and in an hostile manner entered the dominions of *Gundebald*, who immediately dispatched a messenger to his brother, of whom he did not entertain the least jealousy or suspicion, intreating him to march without delay to his assistance, which *Godegiselus* promised to do ; but, when the two armies joined battle, instead of affording him the promised assistance, he fell unexpectedly upon his brother's troops, who, finding themselves

attacked at the same time in the front and the rear, betook themselves, after a faint opposition, to a precipitate flight. *H. defeats Gundebald*

This battle was fought at *Divio*, now *Dijon*, on the *Ouse* ; and from thence *Gundebald*, upon the defeat of his army, fled to *Avenio*, now *Avignon*, and shut himself up in that city. Year of the flood 2848.

Upon his flight *Godegiselus* seized on his dominions, and caused himself to be acknowledged at *Vienne*, the capital of his brother's kingdom¹. *Clovis* pursued the fugitive king to *Avignon*, and laid close siege to that city, with a design to take him prisoner, and afterwards dispose of him as he and *Godegiselus* should think proper. *Of Christ 500 Of Rome 1248.*

But in the mean time *Aredius*, or *Aridius*, one of *Gundebald*'s ministers, a person of extraordinary parts, and greatly attached to his master's interest, pretending to have abandoned him upon some disgust, went over to *Clovis* ; and, being received by him with the greatest marks of esteem, he prevailed upon him by degrees, with arguments drawn from the uncertainty of fortune, to raise the siege of a place which he said was impregnable, and content himself with a yearly tribute, which *Gundebald* readily agreed to pay him. *Clovis* was no sooner returned to his dominions, than *Gundebald*, having assembled what forces he could, marched with all possible expedition to *Vienne*, where *Godegiselus* then resided ; and, having got into the town, with a chosen body of men, through an aqueduct, at his first appearing, struck the king and the garrison with such terror, that, believing the enemy master of the city, they only thought of saving themselves in the churches. But *Godegiselus* was, by his brother's order, killed in his asylum, with a bishop who had there taken refuge with him. A small body of *Franks*, who had remained with *Godegiselus*, withdrew into a tower, with a design to defend themselves there ; but, being in the end forced to submit, *Gundebald* only disarmed them, and sent them thus disarmed

¹ GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 32.

to *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*. But, as for the senators, and chief men, who had declared for *Godegiselus*, he ordered them all to be put to death. *Gundebald*, continues our historian, being, by the death of his brother, become master of the whole country now known by the name of *Burgundy*, published a new code, containing several laws in favour of his *Roman* subjects, that they might be no longer oppressed by the *Burgundians*.*

GREGORY of *Tours*, in his account of this war, has omitted, as the reader must have observed, such events as belonged to the *Ostrogoths*; and, on the other hand, *Procopius* takes very little notice of those that belonged to the history of the *Franks*. The former writer thought, perhaps, an account of what the *Ostrogoths* performed in, or acquired by this war, foreign to his purpose; and the latter contented himself with a detail of those events in which the *Ostrogoths* were chiefly concerned; since, in this war, they made themselves masters of several cities in *Gaul*, which they still held, when *Justinian*, whose wars with them he describes, undertook to subdue them. The account he gives, after the conclusion of the above-mentioned treaty between the *Franks* and the *Ostrogoths*, is as follows: Pursuant to this treaty, the king of the *Franks* took the field with a numerous army, and entered the territories of the *Burgundians* in an hostile manner. *Theodoric*, on the contrary, pretending to hasten his warlike preparations, ordered them privately to be carried on slowly, with a design to wait the issue of the first engagement between his ally and the king of the *Burgundians*. When the troops were, in the end, ready to take the field, he gave private orders to his generals to advance with slow marches, till such time as they had received certain intelligence of the success that had attended the *Franks*. If the *Franks* had defeated the *Burgundians*, the *Ostrogoths* were to advance with all possible expedition; but, to halt, and wait for further orders, if the *Burgundians* had gained the advantage. While the *Ostrogoths*, therefore, were yet on their march, the *Franks* alone engaged and put to flight the common enemy, pursuing them to the farthest borders of their country, where they had several strong-holds, in which they shut themselves up, abandoning the rest of their territories to the conquerors. Upon the first news of this victory, *Theodoric's* army marched, with all possible expedition, to join the *Franks*; and, alleging the badness of the roads as an excuse for their coming so late, offered to the king of the *Franks* the sum, which, agreeable to the treaty, they had forfeited by

*Theodoric's subtil
conduct on
this occu-
sion.*

their delay. *Clowis* accepted the offer, and, upon his receiving the money, divided with the *Ostrogoths*, pursuant to the same treaty, the country he had conquered. The conduct of *Theodoric*, on this occasion, continues our historian, was a strong proof of his wisdom and prudence, since, without exposing the lives of his subjects, and only by paying a small sum, he acquired one half of his enemy's country¹; to wit, the city of *Marseilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhone* (D). *Theodoric* kept the city of *Marseilles*, and

¹ PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

(D) Some writers are of opinion, that *Gregory* of *Tours* and *Procopius* speak of different wars. *Clowis*, according to them, waged war with the *Burgundians* at two different times. In the first of these wars he had *Godegiselus* the brother of *Gundebald* for his ally, and, in the second, *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*. But this does not at all agree with what we read in *Marinus Aventicensis*, a cotemporary writer, who, speaking of the war in the year 500. in which *Gundebald* was defeated in the neighbourhood of *Dijon*, that is, of the war described by *Gregory* of *Tours*, concludes thus. *Gundebald*, therefore, having recovered, upon the death of his brother, his own dominions, and likewise made himself master of those that had belonged to *Godegiselus*, governed them with great prosperity to the day of his death (1). 'This we cannot persuade ourselves the bishop of *Auranches* would have written, had *Gundebald*, after his restoration in 500. been engaged in such an unsuccessful war as that of which *Procopius* speaks. However, we cannot help thinking it very strange, that *Proco-*

pius should not mention the alliance of the *Franks* with *Godegiselus*, nor *Gregory* of *Tours* that of the *Ostrogoths* with the *Franks*. It is true, both historians agree in some particulars; to wit, that in the very beginning of this war a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Burgundians* were utterly defeated by the *Franks*; and that, after their defeat, they took refuge in their fortified towns, situated on the most distant borders of their country. Besides, it appears, from the acts of a conference held at *Lycus* on religious matters, in the year 499. that *Clowis*, who was then preparing to make war on the *Burgundians*, had already entered into an alliance with a prince who was then at war with them. This ally could neither be *Godegiselus*, nor *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; for the alliance of the former with the king of the *Franks* was kept secret till the battle of *Dijon*, fought, according to the bishop of *Auranches* (2), and the best chronologers, the following year 500. As for *Alaric*, he was not at war with the *Burgundians*; since their king sent, as we have related above,

(1) *Marinus Aventic. chron. ad ann. 500.*

(2) *Idem ibid.*

and some adjacent places, which *Gundebald* perhaps yielded to him, in virtue of a treaty of marriage concluded this year between *Sigismund* the son of *Gundebald*, and *Ostrogotha* one of *Theodoric's* daughters.

Clovis
and Alaric
quarrel:
Theodo-
ric inter-
poses.
His letters
to several
princes on
this subject.
To Alaric.

CLOVIS had scarce concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, when, some differences arising between him and *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, both princes began to prepare for war; which *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* no sooner understood, than he interposed his good offices, and offered his mediation, sending both to them, and to the kings of the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, letters on that subject, which are still to be seen in *Cassiodore*^m. He advises *Alaric* not to be too confident on the reputation of his *Visigoths*, for the great things formerly atchieved by them; but bids him consider what an alteration long peace and idleness may have wrought in them: he tells him, that passion is a bad counsellor, and not only prompts men to take pernicious resolutions, but to make choice of the worst means to put them in execution; that war ought to be looked upon as the last resource, and never ought to be entered into by princes, till all other methods of obtaining what is due to them in justice have proved unsuccessful: he therefore exhorts him to forbear all hostilities against the king of the *Franks* till the return of the ambassadors, whom he designed to send to that prince with an offer of his mediation, in order to prevent either of the two princes, so nearly allied to him, from aggrandizing himself at the expence of the other. He closes his letter thus: It is not to revenge the blood of your fathers, or to recover part of your dominions unjustly seized and detained by either of you, that you take arms against each other, but only on account of some unguarded words: so that your differences may be easily composed, if not heightened by unseasonable hostilities. Give

^m CASSIOD. variar. l. ii. ep. 3.

the *Franks*, whom he had taken at *Vienne*, to be kept by him. As it appears, therefore, from hence, that *Clovis* had *Theodoric* for his ally in the war which he waged with the *Burgundians* in 500. we may well suppose *Procopius* to have spoken of this war without recurring to a second. To conclude; if *Gregory*, of *Tours* and *Procopius* speak of different wars, they are both highly to

blame, the former for taking no notice of the second war, and the latter for being quite silent as to the first. *Clovis* was so far from revenging the death of *Godegiselus* his friend and ally, that, on the contrary, he restored to *Gundebald*, no doubt in virtue of some treaty unknown to us, that part of his dominions which had fallen to his share.

me leave, therefore, to acquaint *Clovis*, before you come to an open rupture, that he shall have me too for his enemy, if he makes war upon you. When justice speaks to princes with a sword in her hand, they readily hearken to her. We have therefore dispatched ambassadors to you, who will farther acquaint you, by word of mouth, with our intention. We have ordered them to repair afterwards to the courts of the king of the *Burgundians*, and of such other princes as you shall think proper, and to act there pursuant to the instructions they shall receive from you. Above all things, take care you be not the first in committing hostilities; lest you should incur the hatred which all men bear to the violators of treaties. Persuade yourself, that we are so far from sowing the seeds of discord among our neighbours, in order to take advantage of their misfortunes, that we shall look upon those, who fall upon you, as a common enemy, and act accordingly ^a.

In his letter to *Luduin* (for so he calls *Clovis*) he tells that *To Clovis*. prince, that he cannot but wonder he should be so easily provoked, and, upon so slight an occasion, make war upon *Alaric*, being uncle to his wife *Theodogotha*; that their common enemies wished for nothing so much as to see the *Franks* and *Visigoths* weakening and destroying each other: he bids him consider, they are both kings of powerful nations, and in the flower of their age; and therefore that they ought the more to be upon their guard against evil counsellors, lest they should, by rashly entering into a war, bring their kingdoms to the brink of ruin. He proposes the mediation of the neighbouring princes, and advises him to sheath his sword, which he could not in honour see drawn by either of them: he concludes by threatening to make war upon the first, whether *Luduin* or *Alaric*, who should commit hostilities against the other; and by assuring both, that the advice he gave them proceeded from the most sincere friendship, since none but a true friend, who was far from envying their prosperity, would advise them as he had done.

In his letter to *Gundebald*, he tells that prince, that he *To Gundebald*. thinks himself bound in duty to moderate the ardour of two young princes, whose conduct is condemned by all men of experience and prudence; that they ought to hearken to those, who, by their age and experience, are intitled to advise them; that he cannot suffer two princes, who are both nearly allied to him, to destroy each other; and therefore is resolved to declare against him, who shall first commit hostilities: he adds, that he has dispatched ambassadors to him, with orders to re-

pair afterwards to the court of the king of the *Franks*, with the deputies of the other princes his friends and allies, to negotiate an accommodation between the contending parties. He closes his letter with advising the king of the *Burgundians* to act in concert with him, and do all that lies in his power to prevent a war, which, should they be remiss in their good offices, the world will believe to have been underhand kindled by them.

And to
other prin-
ces.

IN these letters *Theodoric* pretends to stand quite neuter, and to have taken no other resolution, but that of declaring against the aggressor, whether *Clovis* or *Alaric*; but in the letter he wrote to the three brothers, *Hermanafrei*, *Baderic*, and *Berthier*, who at that time reigned jointly over the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, he betrays great partiality for *Alaric*, and no small prejudice against *Clovis*. It was couched in the following terms: The proud are detested by Heaven, and it is incumbent upon every man to curb their arrogance. He who seeks to oppress a people, whom every nation would be glad to have for neighbours, shews but too plainly, that he only wants an opportunity of treating all other princes in the like manner. A prince, who pays no regard to the laws of equity, thinks every thing lawful, when he has been once attended with success in an unjust attempt: such a prince ought to be abhorred by all mankind. It behoves therefore you, whose valour is capable of stemming the most unbounded ambition, to prevent the execution of such iniquitous projects. Begin with joining your ambassadors to those whom king *Gundebald* and we have dispatched to the king of the *Franks*, in order to divert him from falling upon the *Visigoths*, and persuade him to pay due regard to the laws of equity, and right of nations. If he refuses to submit to the arbitration of so many powerful princes, let him be deemed the common enemy of mankind. And, truly, what else can a prince, who is actuated by good principles, wish for, than to have such mediators, who readily take upon them to see justice done him, if he has been wronged? To speak my sentiments openly; a prince, who pays no regard to the law of nations, must necessarily be hatching dangerous projects, which may end in the ruin of other states. Let us therefore stem the torrent at its source, and cover the countries that are exposed to his ravages, lest they should feel, before they are aware, the direful effects of his fury. You remember, without all doubt, the many favours you have received at the hands of *Euric*, the father of *Alaric*, the magnificent presents he often sent you, the efforts he made, and the vast charge he was at, to prevent the neighbouring nations from making incursions into your terri-

territories. It is now time to repay to the son the good offices of the father. If the king of the *Franks* is suffered to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours, the most distant nations will be no longer safe. These are the motives that have induced us to dispatch ambassadors to you, who will farther inform you of our sentiments by word of mouth, and to whom, after seeing their credentials, you may give intire credit. We exhort you, therefore, to enter into the measures we have taken to secure the public tranquillity, and to concern yourselves in what passes in the neighbouring countries, that you may not have a war in your own^a.

FROM these letters it appears, that *Theodoric* entertained no small jealousy of *Clovis*, and was greatly prejudiced against him. But the king of the *Franks*, not thinking it advisable to break with the *Visigoths* at this juncture, forbore all hostilities till five years after, that is, till the year 507. and in the mean time probably consented to that interview with *Alaric*, which *Gregory* of *Tours* speaks of : for, according to that historian, *Alaric*, alarmed at the conquests *Clovis* was daily making, dispatched ambassadors to him, inviting him to an interview. With this invitation *Clovis* readily complied ; so *An interview* that the two princes met in an island formed by the *Loire*, *view between* over against *Amboise*, a place in the territory of *Tours*. There *Clovis and Alaric* they conferred, and, having dined together, they parted, promising to live in friendship and amity with each other^b. This is all we find in *Gregory* of *Tours* concerning this interview. But to his account historians, who came after him, have added several particulars, which we look upon as fabulous, since they have not been mentioned by him ; namely, that *Alaric* laid snares for *Clovis*, which he happily escaped ; a circumstance that seems to have been invented to justify the war which *Clovis* made a few years after on *Alaric*, that is, in 507.

OF this war *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account : *Clovis* In those days most people in *Gaul* were desirous of living under the dominion of the *Franks*, and, among the rest, *Quintianus* bishop of *Rhodés* ; which the *Visigoths* being well apprised of, they resolved to dispatch him, lest he should betray that city to them. But the holy prelate, receiving timely notice of their design, made his escape in the night, and retired into *Auvergne*. When *Clovis* heard of the treatment *Quintianus* had met with from the *Visigoths*, It grieves me, said he, turning to his people, that these *Arians* should hold any thing in *Gaul* : let us march against them, and, with the assistance of

^a Idem ibid. ep. 3. ^b GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 35. VALES. rer. Fran. l. vi. p. 291.

Heaven, make ourselves masters of the fine country they possess. His speech being received by all with loud acclamations, he began his march without loss of time, bending his route to *Poitiers*, where *Alaric* then was. On his arrival at the *Vienna* he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, and that river so swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen for several days together, that it was not then fordable, nor could he attempt to lay bridges over it, or convey his men in boats to the opposite bank, without exposing them to the greatest and almost inevitable dangers, the other side of the river being all along lined with the enemy's troops. This gave *Clovis* great uneasiness, who thereupon continued all night in prayer; and the next morning an hind of an extraordinary size was seen by the whole army to enter the river, and ford it, as if sent by Heaven on purpose to point out to the *Franks* the place where the *Vienna*, notwithstanding the depth of its waters, was fordable. The whole army followed their guide, and, having crossed the river without the loss of a man, encamped in sight of *Poitiers*.

whom he
defeats,
and kills
their king.

Year of
the flood

2855.

Of Christ

507.

Of Rome

1255.



WHILE he lay there, he observed, one night, a globe of fire over the church of *St. Hilarius*, in the city of *Poitiers*, darting rays towards his camp, and, as it were, inviting him to engage, without loss of time, the king of the *Visigoths*, who had his head-quarters in that city. Accordingly *Clovis* immediately set out anew on his march, and, coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Vouglé*, about ten miles from *Poitiers*, he gave them a total overthrow. In this battle most part of the enemy's troops were cut off, and the rest obliged to take refuge in their strong-holds and fortified towns. *Clovis* distinguished himself on this occasion in a most eminent manner, and killed, as all writers agree, the king of the *Visigoths* with his own hand; but was himself in the utmost danger, two of *Alaric's* guards having attacked him while he was engaged with their king; but, his breast-plate being proof against their lances, he happily escaped¹. *Gregory of Tours* does not mention the number of the dead; but only tells us, that most of the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, under the conduct of *Apollinaris*, came to the assistance of *Alaric*, were cut off, and that among the dead there were many senators and persons of distinction (E).

¹ GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37.

(E) *Apollinaris*, who commanded the troops of *Auvergne*, was the son of the celebrated *Apollinaris Sidonius* by *Papianilla* daughter to the emperor *Avitus*. Most of his men were killed in

the battle of *Vouglé*; but he had the good luck to escape the general slaughter. He was a few years after chosen bishop of *Auvergne*, but lived only three months after his election.

Of

Of this battle *Procopius* gives us a very succinct account. That writer, after relating what we have inserted above of the war which *Clovis* and *Theodoric* made jointly on the *Burgundians* in the year 500. continues thus : The power of the *Franks* being considerably increased, they no longer paid any regard to *Theodoric* ; but, free from all fear, made war upon *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*. That prince was no sooner acquainted with their design, than he had recourse to *Theodoric*, who immediately put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the assistance of his son-in-law. In the mean time the *Visigoths*, upon intelligence that the enemy began to appear on the frontiers of *Poitou*, posted themselves under the walls of *Poitiers*, and kept some days within their trenches, waiting the arrival of the *Ostrogoths*. This highly affronted the *Visigoths*, who, thinking themselves a match for the *Franks* without the assistance of any other nation, forced *Alaric* in the end to engage the enemy before he was joined by *Theodoric*. But the *Visigoths* were defeated, and great numbers of them killed on the spot, and, among the rest, their king^r. We are told by several writers, who lived in those times, or soon after, that *Clovis* had for his ally in this war *Gundebald* king of the *Burgundians*^s ; and from *Gregory of Tours* it appears, that a body of *Riparian Franks* joined him before the battle, under the conduct of *Chlodéric*, the eldest son of *Sigebert* king of that tribe^t. The battle of *Vouglé* was fought in the year 507. the emperor *Anastasius* being consul the third time in the East, and *Venantius Decius* in the West. As *Clovis* was chiefly prompted by his zeal for the catholic faith to make war upon *Alaric* an *Arian* prince, no wonder that *Gregory of Tours*, an ecclesiastic and credulous writer, should believe, and gravely relate, the miracles that were said to have been wrought by Heaven in his favour, but were utterly unknown to *Procopius*.

CLOVIS, taking advantage of the consternation the *Visigoths* were in on the defeat of their army, and the death of the *Franks* king, dispatched his son *Theodoric*, with part of his forces, to make them reduce the *Albigeois*, *Rouergne*, and *Auvergne* ; which he did *selves masters* accordingly, making himself master of all the places in that tract between the confines of the *Visigoths* and those of the *Burgundians*^u. *Clovis*, with the rest of the army, advanced to *Carcaffone*, and laid close siege to that place ; but being informed, that *Theodoric* was drawing near at the head of the *Ostrogoths*, he thought it advisable to retire. However, he

^r PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. c. 12.^s DU CH. tom. i. p. 231.^t GREG. TUR. ibid.^u Idem ibid.

They lay
siege to
Arles;

made himself master of that part of *Gaul* which lies between the *Rhone* and the ocean, that is, of the two *Aquitains* *. After this he took up his winter-quarters in *Bordeaux*, whither he caused great part of the treasures of *Alaric* to be conveyed from *Toulouse*. Early in the spring he took the field, and laid siege to *Engoulême*, which he soon reduced. Our credulous historian tells us, that the walls of that city fell as soon as *Clovis* appeared before them; and that thereupon the *Visigoths* evacuated that place, and the inhabitants, with great joy, took the oath of allegiance to the king of the *Franks* *. From *Engoulême* the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*, their allies in this war, advanced to the city of *Arles*, which it was of the utmost importance for them to reduce; since, by the reduction of it, all communication would be cut off between the province which the *Ostrogoths* possessed in *Gaul*, and that part of the province of *Narbonne*, which was still held by the *Visigoths*. The *Franks*, upon their arrival before the place, attempted to make themselves masters of a bridge on the *Rhone*, and, by that means, of an island named *Camargue*, which is formed by the *Rhone*, on which *Arles* stands, dividing itself there into two arms.

which they
are obliged
to raise
with great
siege.

THE *Visigoths* made a vigorous resistance, and in the end obliged the *Franks* to retire, who thereupon crossed the river in boats, and joined the *Burgundians* encamped on the opposite bank. The siege, of which we know but very few particulars, must have lasted some time; for, from several ancient records and letters, it appears, that the inhabitants suffered greatly by famine, and that the city was reduced to the utmost extremity †. But in the end the *Franks* were obliged, by the troops which *Theodoric* sent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. Of this event *Cassiodore* speaks thus: In the consulship of *Venantius* the younger and *Celer*, our sovereign *Theodoric* sent an army into *Gaul*, where the depredations of the *Franks* had occasioned great confusion. By this army the enemy was defeated, and put to flight, and great part of the country reduced ‡. From the life of *Cæsarius*, at that time bishop of *Arles*, which was written soon after the siege, it appears, that the *Franks* and *Burgundians* were closely pursued in their retreat by the *Ostrogoths*, who cut many of them in pieces, and took an incredible number of captives §. In this war, *Theodoric* made himself master of *Avignon*, and some other places belonging to the

* PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

* GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37.

† DU CH. tom. i. p. 234.

‡ CASSIOD. fast. ad ann. 508.

§ Idem ibid.

Burgundians^b. But no mention is made by any of the antients of his making himself master of any town or country subject to the *Franks*.

THE following year 509. *Hilba*, one of *Theodoric's* gene-
rals, gained a memorable victory over the *Franks*, of whom
thirty thousand, if *Jornandes* is to be credited^c, were killed
upon the spot. Soon after, a peace was concluded between
• *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the
Franks should keep the countries which they had taken from
the *Visigoths*^d; which inclines us to question the truth of what
Jornandes writes concerning the memorable victory of the
Ostrogoths over the *Franks*, the more, as no mention is made
of it by *Procopius*; nay, that writer tells us in exprefs terms,
that *Theodoric* yielded to the *Franks* the countries they had
seized, after he had attempted in vain to drive them out of
them. *Amalaric*, the grandson of *Theodoric*, was, at this
time, king of the *Visigoths*; but, as he was yet under age,
Theodoric, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority
in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. By
this peace, the power of the *Visigoths* was greatly impaired;
for nothing now remained to them in *Gaul* but the city of
Narbonne, and five or six other cities within the district of that
metropolis. As for the *Ostrogoth*, they continued masters of
the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the
Mediterranean, the *Rhone*, and the *Durance*; and appropriated
to themselves the city of *Arles*, for the charges they had
been at in this war.

A PEACE being thus concluded, *Clovis* repaired to *Tours*, *Clovis* ho-
and there received the embassadors, who had been sent to him
by the emperor *Anastasius*, with the ensigns and ornaments of
the consulship; for that prince, hearing of his great exploits,
thought it adviseable, by such a kind of empty respect, to
gain his favour, the rather as *Theodoric* and the emperor were,
at this time, at variance; for the *Ostrogoths* had seized on
Pannonia, and the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Romanus*,
were ravaging the coasts of *Italy*. *Clovis*, having received the
presents sent him by the emperor, and the rescript of his
election, appeared first in the great church of *St. Martin*,
with the *tunica trabeata*, the *chlamys*, and the other ensigns of
his new dignity; and from thence rode, with a diadem on
his head, to the cathedral, throwing gold and silver to the po-
pulaçe, who, in great crouds, attended him. From that
time forward he was acknowledged, concludes *Gregory* of

^b CASSIOD. var. ep. 38.
cor. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

^c JORN. de reb. Get.

^d PRO-

He fixes
his royal
seat at
Paris.

Year of
the flood
2858.
Of Christ
510.
Of Rome
1258.



Tours, as consul and emperor ° (F). From *Tours*, where *Clovis* had taken the ensigns of consul, he repaired to *Paris*, which city he chose for the usual place of his residence, and fixed the royal seat there †. This metropolis was deemed of such importance, that the grandchildren of *Clovis*, in dividing his dominions among them, agreed, that it should not be comprised in any lot, but remain common to all; and that none of them should enter it without the express consent of the rest, on pain of forfeiting his whole share. *Paris* has been the seat of the *French* monarchy ever since the time of *Clovis*, who first resided there. The kingdoms, over which his grandchildren reigned, after the division of his dominions, had each its particular metropolis; but *Paris* still continued to be the metropolis of the whole monarchy.

CLOVIS had hitherto greatly enlarged his dominions at the expence of the *Visigoths*, as we have related above; but now he formed a design of causing himself to be acknowledged king by the other tribes of the *Franks*, who were governed by their own princes, and, by adding their dominions and forces to his own, to establish his kingdom so firmly in *Gaul*, that it should be out of the power of any other prince to overturn it. This he accomplished, and in the following manner, which

GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 38.

† Idem ibid.

(F) From which words *as consul*, and from his name not being found in the *fasti*, some authors conclude, not the real and ordinary, but only the titular and honorary consulship to have been conferred upon him. In all the *fasti*, that have been transmitted to us, *Boetius* alone is marked as consul of the year 510. *Boetius* was one of *Theodoric's* ministers, and is no less known by his writings, than by his misfortunes. To this objection some answer, that, in *Gaul*, all the public registers were kept at *Arle.*, at that time subject to *Theodoric*; who, envying the king of the *Franks* his new dignity, would not suffer his name to be registred in the *fasti*. But this answer is of no weight, since the

name of *Boetius* alone is to be found, not only in the *fasti* written in *Gaul*, but in all others. *Baronius* is of opinion, that only the titular or honorary consulship was offered him by *Anastasius*; and that he, thinking it below him to accept of such a dignity, refused the emperor's offer. But this opinion evidently contradicts *Gregory of Tours*, who lived soon after *Clovis*, and must have been acquainted with several persons, who had seen that prince. Besides, even the honorary consulship was often conferred on the kings of the barbarians, and other very deserving and eminent persons, as is manifest from innumerable instances in history.

no-way redounds to his glory, though related by *Gregory of Tours*, his panegyrist rather than historian. While he resided at *Paris*, says that writer, by his emissaries he represented to *Chloderic*, the son of *Sigebert*, that his father was now advanced in years, and moreover lame of the wound he had received at the battle of *Tolbiac*, assuring him at the same time, that he was resolved to espouse his cause, and maintain him on the throne after the death of his father. *Chloderic*, depending upon the promises of *Clovis*, suffered himself to be so blinded by his ambition, as to commit a parricide; for one day, while *Sigebert*, who had passed the *Rhine* to take the air in the forest of *Buchovia*, was sleeping after dinner, he was dispatched by two assassins hired for that purpose by his son. A few days after, *Chloderic* was overtaken by the like fate; for, having acquainted *Clovis* with the death of his father, and desired him at the same time to send proper persons to take possession of the deceased prince's treasures, which were at his disposal, one of those, who were sent to view the treasures (for *Clovis* declared he did not want them), bid *Chloderic* thrust down his hand, and search one of the deepest chests to the bottom; but the prince had no sooner inclined his body, in compliance with his request, than, with his battle-ax, he gave him a blow on the head, which dashed out his brains. *Clovis*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place where the murder had been committed; and, having assembled the subjects of *Sigebert*, he assured them, that he was no-way privy to the death either of the father or the son; but that the father had been barbarously assassinated by the son, and the inhuman parricide, by a just punishment from Heaven, put to death by persons to him utterly unknown. He concluded his harangue by advising them, since they were destitute of a prince and leader, to choose him for their king, assuring them, that he was ready to defend them against all their enemies at the expence of his own life.

His speech was received with loud shouts of joy; and he had scarce done, when he was, with one voice, proclaimed by the multitude king of their tribe*. Thus *Clovis* made himself master of the dominions and treasures of *Sigebert*, adding the subjects of that unfortunate prince to his own. *Gregory of Tours* closes his account of the murder of *Sigebert*, and his son *Chloderic*, with the following words: Thus were the enemies of *Clovis* delivered daily up into his hands by Providence, because his intention was upright, and his conduct

Clovis
causes *Sigebert* and
his son
Chloderic
to be murdered.

He is proclaimed king of the Ripuarian Franks.

and be-
comes ma-
ster of the
whole
country.

pleasing to Heaven ^b (G). *Clovis*, by the death of those two princes, became master of the whole country held by the *Riparian Franks*, which, according to the most probable opinion, extended west of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Fuld*, and on the east to the city of *Chalons* on the *Marne*, having *Cologne* for its metropolis. The country, lying west of the *Rhine*, was part of antient *France*, which the *Riparians* had defended against the efforts of the *Thuringians*, attempting to drive them from thence (H).

GREGORY

^b GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 40.

(G) Some writers, to excuse *Clovis*, and indeed *Gregory of Tours*, for speaking thus of a prince guilty of such enormities, suppose *Sigebert*, and his son *Chlodovic*, to have been the aggressors, and to have made some attempt upon the life of *Clovis*. But of this not a word in *Gregory of Tours*, who would not, as we conceive, have passed over in silence such an attempt; since it might, in some degree, have extenuated, in the eyes of the world, the guilt of *Clovis*, in whose favour that writer was greatly prejudiced. Besides, let the provocation be ever so great, the stirring up a son to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father, must be highly criminal. We cannot, therefore, conceive what could induce our historian, after relating the murder of the father by the son at the instigation of *Clovis*, and of the son by the emissaries of that prince, to add what we have inserted above; to wit, that Providence delivered his enemies into his hand, because his intention was upright, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven. By his upright intention the bishop meant, perhaps, his intention of gaining the *Riparian Franks* over to the

Christian religion; for both they, and the two princes, were still pagans, whereas *Clovis* was a zealous professor of the catholic faith. This alone, as we apprehend, could excuse, and, in the opinion of our historian, even sanctify, the most inhuman and unnatural murders.

(H) Some time before the invasion of *Attila*, they crossed the *Rhine*, and, being allowed to settle in the parts of *Gaul* bordering on that river, they extended, by degrees, their territories to *Chalons*. In the life of St. *Mesmin*, the second abbat of *Mici*, in the diocese of *Orleans*, and cotemporary with *Clovis*, which was written soon after his death, and likewise in a chronicle of the twelfth century, by one *Hugo*, we find a long account of the siege and reduction of *Verdun* by *Clovis*; which, according to the best chronologers, happened at this time, the inhabitants of that city, who were highly provoked at the treacherous murder of their princes, refusing to acknowledge him for their king, as we read in the aforesaid chronicle. However, they were in the end obliged to submit, as were several other cities, which had belonged to *Sigebert*,

Clovis in-
wades the
dominions
of Ragna-
charius
king of
Cambray;

whom he
puts to
death, and
the other
kings of the
Franks;
and seizes
on their do-
minions.

fall upon him, being well apprised, that, if he were once re-
moved, the kings of the other tribes would be no ways in a
condition to make head against him, even with their united
forces. *Ragnacharius*, as *Gregory of Tours* takes care to tell
us, was a most wicked prince, abandoned to all manner of
lewdness, not sparing his own relations, and intirely governed
by a favourite minister named *Faro*, whom he treated rather
as his equal than his servant. His debauched life, and the
exorbitant power he allowed to his wicked favourite, who was
the object of the public hatred, raised an universal discontent
among his subjects. This *Clovis* resolved to improve to his ad-
vantage, and, in order to gain over the discontented party,
he sent to the leading men among them bracelets of gilt bras,
pretending they were of pure gold. When he found he could
depend upon those, who had received his presents, he entered
unexpectedly the dominions of *Ragnacharius* at the head of a
powerful army; which *Ragnacharius* no sooner understood,
than he took the field with what troops he could assemble, in
order to oppose the attempts of his rival. When *Clovis* drew
near the place where he was encamped, he sent out some par-
ties to reconnoitre the enemy; but these, being gained over
by *Clovis*, assured him on their return, that the troops he dis-
covered at a distance were his own subjects, coming, pursuant
to his orders, to join him. In the mean time *Clovis* advanced,
and, falling upon *Ragnacharius* before he could draw up the
few troops he had with him, put him to flight. The unhappy
prince attempted to make his escape; but was taken, together
with his brother *Richarius*, by the traitors he had about him,
and both delivered up, with their hands tied behind their
backs, to *Clovis*, who thus addressed *Ragnacharius*: *It was*
base and scandalous in you to suffer one of our illustrious race to
be thus bound, like a public malefactor. You ought to have
avoided, at the expence of a thousand lives, such an ignominious
treatment. He had scarce uttered these words, when, with a
blow of his battle-ax, he cleft his head, and laid him dead at
his feet. In the same manner he treated *Richarius*, after up-
braiding him with cowardice, for not defending his brother
with that courage and resolution, which became one of his
blood. In the mean time those, who had betrayed *Ragna-*
charius, discovering that their bracelets were not of gold,
complained thereof to *Clovis*, who is said to have returned
them the following answer: *You well know what you have*
done; and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great
favour, that I suffer you to live. *Clovis*, continues our historian,
was nearly related to *Ragnacharius* and *Richarius*, who had
another

another brother named *Regomer*, king of the *Franks* settled at *Mans*; and him too *Clovis* caused to be murdered, making himself master of the dominions and treasures of the three brothers. By the murder of these, and several other princes, of whom, as they were his kinsmen, he entertained some jealousy, he extended his dominion all over *Gaul*. Having thus dispatched all the princes, who were any-way related to him, he one day, in the presence of his nobles, bemoaned his condition, saying, That he was, in a manner, a stranger among his own people, having no kinsman to stand by him, in case he wanted his assistance. But this he said, not because he was concerned for their death, but to try whether any one would own himself for his relation, that he might dispatch him, as he had done the others^k. This is the account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of the manner, in which *Clovis* caused himself to be acknowledged king of all the tribes of the *Franks* in *Gaul*. Whether his intention could be upright, as that writer is pleased to express himself, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven, we leave our readers to judge.

He is acknowledged king of all the tribes of the Franks.

CLOVIS did not long enjoy his new conquests; for he died soon after the reduction of the several tribes of *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. *Clovis*, says *Gregory of Tours*, having transacted these things, that is, having forced all the tribes of the *Franks* in *Gaul* to acknowledge him for their king, died soon after at *Paris*, and was buried there in the church of the holy apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which had been built by him and queen *Clothildis*, or, as our historian styles her, *Crothildes*. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, five years after the battle of *Vouglé*, having reigned thirty years. After his death, *Clothildis* retired into *Touraine*, and there passed the remaining part of her life at *St. Martin's* tomb^l. This is all we find in *Gregory of Tours* concerning the death of *Clovis*. He left four sons behind him, to wit, *Theodoric*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*. The three last he had by *Clothildis*, and the eldest by a concubine before his marriage with that princess. *Theodoric*, at his father's death, had already a son named *Theodbert*, a youth of great expectation^m. As to the age of the other three, all we know is, that *Clodomir* the eldest was born before the battle of *Tolbiac* in 496. so that, at the time of his father's death, he must have been about seventeen. The four brothers divided their father's dominions equally among them. *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*; *Clodomir* at *Orleans*;

He dies.
Year of the flood 2859.
Of Christ 511.
Of Rome 1259.

His issue.

^k GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 42.
l. iii. c. 1.

^l Idem ibid. c. 43.

^m Idem,

Clotharius at Soissons; and Childebert at Paris. Though these four kingdoms were rather members of one and the same monarchy, than four different monarchies, yet the princes were quite independent of each other, in the same manner as the kings of the different tribes had been of *Clovis*.

S E C T. VI.

The antient State of the Burgundians, Alemans, Heruli, Gepidæ, &c.

The origin of the Burgundians. **T**HE *Burgundians*, who, upon the decline of the empire, seized on a considerable portion of *Gaul*, and founded a new kingdom there, were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*^a, originally descended from the *Romans*. *Orosius*, who wrote about the year 420. was of the same opinion: We are told, says that writer, that *Drusus Nero*, and his brother *Tiberius*, the adopted sons of *Cæsar Augustus*, having subdued the inner parts of *Germany*, left several camps in the country, and part of their army, to keep the neighbouring people in subjection. From the *Roman* soldiers, who were on this occasion left to guard the camps, are descended the *Burgundians*. The castles and strong-holds, built for the defence of a country, are by the *Germans* called *burgts*; and hence the *Romans* who guarded them, and their descendents, were stiled *Burgundians*. Their conquests in *Gaul*, continues our historian, speak them both a numerous and warlike nation. As they have embraced the catholic faith, our ecclesiastics, whose spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledge, have rendered them mild and tractable; for, in the countries where they have settled, they treat the natives, not as strangers whom they have subdued, but as brothers in Christ^b. Thus *Orosius*, who, had he lived thirty years longer, would not have commended the *Burgundians* on account of their gentle treatment of the natives; for, upon their embracing the tenets of *Arius*, which happened about the year 450. the natives, who professed the catholic faith, were treated by them more like slaves than brethren. But to return to their origin: *Pliny* the elder supposes them to be a *German* nation, descended from the *Vindili*, whom most writers take to be the same people with the *Pandals*^c. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundians* of *Germany* from the of the same name who dwelt more to the east, on the banks of the *Danube*^d.

^a AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 375.^b OROS. l. vii. c. 19.^c PLIN. l. iv. c. 14. p. 85.^d VALES. rer. Franc. p. 48.

THE *Burgundians* of *Germany* were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at war, with the empire; but never had the reputation of a warlike nation: for the writers who flourished in those times speak of them as far inferior in courage and bravery to the other *German*s, and observe, that the *Burgundians* dwelt in castles, and fortified places, whereas the other *German* nations scorned any other fence but their arms^e: and truly most of them were mechanics, and, before they settled in *Gaul*, they used in great numbers to flock into that country, to earn a livelihood by their respective professions. As to their government, they were divided into several tribes, each governed by their own chief or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not even during life. The kings of this nation whom we find mentioned in their history are *Gundicar*, *Gundiac*, *Bilimer*, *Gundebald*, *Sigismund*, and *Godemar*. These princes reigned after the *Burgundians* had entered *Gaul*, that is, after the year 407. but they had, without all doubt, kings or chiefs long before that time, tho' not named by the historians whose works have reached us. The kings of the *Burgundians*, as well as those of the other barbarians, did not think it below them to serve in the *Roman* armies, to discharge some of the chief offices of the empire, and to receive, at the hands of the emperors, such dignities as they used to confer on their subjects. Thus *Gundiac* was, in the reign of *Anthemius*, *magister militiæ*, or general of the *Roman* armies; and *Gundebald*, his eldest son, patrician. *Chilperic*, the brother of *Gundebald*, had been likewise *magister militiæ*, and was afterwards created patrician^f. His son *Sigismund*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, received from *Anastasius* the same dignity of patrician, on which occasion he wrote to the emperor the following letter: "My predecessors and I have been ever so attached to the *Roman* empire, as to think ourselves more honoured by the dignities the emperors have conferred upon us, than by the titles which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors. We command at home; but think it a greater honour to serve abroad in your armies^g."

THE use of legal duels, or duels ordered by the magistrates or judges, to discover, from the event, the truth of contested facts, was first introduced into *Gaul*, where it long obtained, by the *Burgundians*. *Gundebald* was the first who established by law this maxim, that the best champion is the best man, and ought to be believed; a maxim which has so often proved

^e SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 30.
^g AVIT. ep. lxxxiii p. 137.

^f ENNOD. vit. p. 404.

fatal to innocence ! This unjust and sanguinary law was couch-
 ed in the following words: “ Being fully convinced, that
 “ many of our subjects suffer themselves to be corrupted by
 “ their avarice, or hurried on by their obstinacy, so as to
 “ attest by oath what they know not, nay, and what they
 “ know to be false ; to put a stop to such scandalous practices,
 “ when two *Burgundians* are at law, if the defendant shall
 “ swear, that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that
 “ he is not guilty of the crime that is laid to his charge ; and
 “ the plaintiff, on the other hand, not satisfied therewith,
 “ shall declare, that he is ready to maintain, sword in hand,
 “ the truth of what he advances ; if the defendant does not
 “ acquiesce, it shall be lawful for them to decide the contro-
 “ versy by dint of sword. This is to be likewise understood
 “ of the witnesses of either party, it being just, that every
 “ man should be ready to defend with his sword the truth
 “ which he attests, and to submit himself to the judgment of
 “ Heaven. If one of the plaintiff’s witnesses shall be killed,
 “ all the others shall be condemned to pay immediately three
 “ hundred *solidi*. If the defendant is overcome, the plaintiff
 “ shall receive three times the sum which he demanded. It
 “ is our will and pleasure, that this law be strictly observed
 “ and executed, that our subjects may conceive an utter
 “ aversion to the detestable sin of perjury. Given at *Lyons*
 “ the twenty-seventh of *June*, *Abienus* being consul ; ” that
 is, in 501^h. This law was no sooner published, than *Avi-*
tus bishop of *Vienne* wrote a letter to the king, remonstrating,
 with equal zeal and learning, the injustice of it ; but could
 by no means prevail upon that prince to repeal it ; nay, how-
 ever unjust and sanguinary, it prevailed by degrees among the
Franks, and all the other nations dwelling in *Gaul*.

As to the history of the *Burgundians*, we find nothing wor-
 thy of notice concerning them till the year 275. the first of
 the emperor *Tacitus*’s reign, when, in conjunction with the
Lugians, the *Franks*, and the *Vandals*, they crossed the *Rhine*,
 over-ran all *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of seventy
 cities and upwards in that country, which they held for the
 space of almost two years¹. But in the mean time *Tacitus*
 being murdered, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marched
 against them, and, having gained a complete victory over the
Burgundians and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, obliged
 them to sue for peace ; which was granted them, upon their
 promising to restore the booty, and set at liberty the prisoners

The Bur-
 gundians
 break into
 Gaul ; but
 are driven
 out by Pro-
 bus.

Year of
 the flood
 2623.
 Of Christ
 275.
 Of Rome

1023.

¹ Lex Burg. tit. xlv.
 Franc. l. c. p. 7, 8.

¹ Tacit. vit. p. 227. VALES. rer.

they had taken. But, as they did not faithfully comply with this condition, *Probus* fell upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took many prisoners, whom he afterwards sent into *Britain*, where they proved very serviceable to the *Romans* in all seditions and insurrections^k.

In the year 287. the fourth of the emperor *Dioclesian*, they broke into *Gaul* anew with the *Heruli*, the *Alemans*, and the *Chaibbns* or *Cavions*, a people on no other occasion mentioned in history, and of whom all we know is, that their country, as well as that of the *Heruli*, lay at a great distance from *Gaul*^l.

Year of
the flood
2635.
Of Christ
287.
Of Rome
1035.

WE are told, that the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* were destroyed by their own numbers; which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a plague; so that they were easily overcome by *Maximian*, whom *Dioclesian* had taken for his partner in the empire, and dispatched against them. Of such vast multitudes of barbarians, a very small number is said to have returned home, the rest being swept off by the plague, or cut in pieces by the *Romans*^m. For the advantages gained

They are
defeated
anew in
Gaul by
Maximi-
an.

over the barbarians on this occasion, the two emperors were decreed a triumph, as appears from a medal of this yearⁿ. Some years after, that is, in the year 291. a war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alans*, in which the former seem to have gained considerable advantages over the latter; for we are told, that they reduced great part of their country, and that the *Alemans* were striving to recover what they had lost^o: and this is all we know of that war. In the year 370. the seventh of *Valentinian* I. the *Burgundians* appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their chiefs, and had promised to pass the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon *Macrian* king of the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance. But the emperor, who was then busied in building forts on the *Rhine*, not caring to interrupt the work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they returned home, highly incensed against *Valentinian*, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded^p; but we do not find they committed any hostilities against the empire.

IN the year 407. they followed the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, and *Alans*, who had entered *Gaul* the last day of the preceding

^k Prob. vit. p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 664. ^l Panegyr. xi. p. 131. BUCH. Belg. p. 221. ^m Idem ibid. p. 133. & Panegyr. x. p. 125. ⁿ NORIS. de Dioclef. c. 4. p. 18. ^o Panegyr. xi. p. 138. ^p AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 377.

The begin-
ning of
their king-
dom in
Gaul.

Year of
the flood
2761.
Of Christ
413.
Of Rome
1161.



Gundica-
rius their
king killed
by the
Hunns.
They are
removed
into the
present
duchy of
Savoy.

year, in order to share with them the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but they did not settle, it seems, in that country till the year 413. for in that year, *Prosper* tells us, they obtained that part of *Gaul*, which borders on the *Rhine*, that is, according to *Buchorius*, the present *Alsace*, and the remaining part of *Germania Prima*, which, in the opinion of that writer, were yielded to them by *Honorius*, not able, by any other means, to put a stop to their ravages¹. Such was the beginning of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. They continued quiet in the seats allotted them till the year 435. when, in conjunction with the *Heruli*, the *Hunns*, and the *Franks*, they entered *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in *Gaul*, promised to assist the *Romans*, and serve in their armies as subjects of the empire. Hereupon *Aetius* marched against them, and, having overcome them with great slaughter in a pitched battle, reduced them to such streights, that *Gundicarius* their king was obliged to sue for peace; which in the end he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being, in the beginning of the following year 436. attacked by the *Hunns*, perhaps at the instigation of *Aetius*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his subjects² (A). They continued on the banks of the *Rhine* till the year 438. or, as others will have it, 443. when they were removed from thence by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. During their abode there, *Gundiak*, who succeeded *Gundicar*, and is thought to have been his son, joining *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* about the year 456. against the *Sueves*, marched with him into *Spain*, and signalized him-

¹ BUCH. Belg. p. 440.
l. iii. p. 136. 138.

² IDAT. p. 25. VAL. rer. Franc.

(A) *Socrates* tells us, that the *Hunns* made frequent irruptions into their territories, putting all to fire and sword; that the *Burgundians*, no longer able to withstand them, had recourse to Heaven, and, repairing to a city in *Gaul*, embraced there the Christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism; which ceremony was no sooner over, than, full of courage and confidence, they marched against the enemy, and, finding them with-

out a leader (for we are told, that *Uptar* their king died suddenly the night before), cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight, tho' the *Burgundians* were in all but three thousand men. Thus *Socrates* (1). But *Orosius*, who wrote in 417. assures us, that they had, at that time, already embraced the Christian religion (2).

(1) *Socrat. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372.*

(2) *Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 219.*

self in the battle, that was fought that very year on the banks of the *Orbegua*, in which the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and their king *Recharius* wounded, and afterwards taken prisoner*.

GUNDIAC, upon his return from *Spain*, seized on part of *Gaul*, dividing, according to an antient chronologist, the lands themselves with the *Roman* senators†. *Valesius* is of opinion, that he made himself, then master of the city of *Lyons*‡. In 463. *Gundiac* wrote to *Hilarius* bishop of *Rome* concerning an affair of *Dié* in *Dauphiny*§; whence we may conclude, that he was then in possession of that city. Some are of opinion, that both *Dié* and *Vienne* were yielded to him by the emperor *Avitus*, whose cause he had espoused*. Others think, that *Gundiac*, taking advantage of the disturbances that were occasioned by the deposition of *Avitus*, enlarged his dominions, and seized on the above-mentioned cities†. It is certain, that, in the war between the *Romans* and *Visigoths* about the year 470. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of their king *Gundiac*, and his son *Chilperic*, fought for the *Romans*; for we are told, that they defended the province of *Auvergne* against *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*, being jealous of the growing power of that prince‡. Besides, both *Gundiac* and *Chilperic* were at that time *magistri militiæ*, and commanded the *Roman* troops§; whence it is probable, that the *Romans* either yielded to them the above-mentioned countries, or suffered them to seize them, not caring to quarrel at the same time with the *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*. Before the year 490. the *Burgundians* were masters of all *Lugdunensis prima*, which *Sidonius* styles *Germanica Lugdunensis*, saying, it was then subject to *Chilperic* the son of *Gundiac*¶. The same writer tells us elsewhere, that, when he left *Lyons*, and retired to *Auvergne*, a *Burgundian* king resided in that city with his queen*. *Sidonius* withdrew from *Lyons* about the year 470. finding himself obnoxious to the *Burgundians*, who suspected him of privately favouring the *Franks*. *Chilperic* was likewise master of the country in which stood the abbey of *St. Claudius*§; that is, of the country of the *Sequani*. When *Sidonius* died, *Aprunculus* bishop of *Langres*, finding the *Burgundians* suspected him as if he maintained a private correspondence with the *Franks*,

* JORN. p. 676.

† MARC. chron. p. 210.

‡ VALES.

rer. Franc. p. 186.

§ CONCIL. tom. iv. p. 1043.

* BUCH.

p. 525.

† VALES. ibid.

‡ JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p.

678. SID. l. iii. ep. 4. p. 68.

§ ENNOD. vit. p. 404.

¶ SID.

l. v. ep. 6, 7. p. 134. 137.

* Idem, l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168.

† BOLLAND. Mart. 21. p. 265.

made his escape from the castle of *Dijon*, and withdrew to *Auvergne*^e. In 494. *Epiphanius* bishop of *Pavia* went to the court of *Gundebald* at *Lyons*, and to that of *Godigisles* at *Geneva*^f; so that the *Burgundians* were then masters of all these places (B).

IN

^e GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 23. p. 284.
vit. Epiph. p. 402. 408.

^f ENNOB.

(B) On the other hand, we do not find they made war upon the *Romans*; nay, on the contrary, they assisted them against the *Visigoths*, and are stiled, by the writers of those times, the friends and allies of the empire. We may therefore conclude, that they thus enlarged their dominion with the consent, or at least with the connivance, of the emperors, willing to yield to them, or to wink at their seizing, part of the country, which they could not maintain without them. *Chilperic*, who is often mentioned by *Sidonius*, and stiled by him a *virtorious prince* (3), was not, as some have imagined, the brother, but the son, of *Gundiac*, and grandson of *Gundicar*; for *Gundiac* married the sister of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in the course of this history, and had by her *Gundebald*, *Godigisles*, *Chilperic*, called also *Hilperic*, and *Godemar* (4). They divided, in all likelihood, among them the countries then subject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is stiled by *Sidonius* tetrarch (5), and by *Jornandes* king (6). *Sidonius*, speaking elsewhere of these four princes, calls them *tyrannopota*, intimating thereby, that they acted more like tyrants

than kings. Father *Sirmond* tells us, that *Chilperic* and *Godemar*, joining against *Gundebald*, drove him out, and seized on his dominions; but that *Gundebald*, having in the end recovered his dominions, found means to dispatch his two brothers, with their issue male (7). But this is vouched only by the chronicle of *Burgundy* written by *Vigner*, to which we do not give intire credit. *Gundebald* was in *Italy* in 472, and there raised by the emperor *Olybrius* to the rank of patrician. However, he might have returned from thence to *Gaul*, and there caused his brother *Chilperic* to be put to death, and his wife to be drowned, as we read in *Gregory of Tours* (8). *Sidonius* stiles her a *Tanaquil*, either on account of her prudence, or because she had a great ascendant over her husband (9); for she is said to have tempered, with her address, and engaging behaviour, the severity to which her husband was naturally inclined, and to have saved the lives of several persons unjustly accused (1). *Chilperic* left two daughters behind him, who were both banished by *Gundebald*, or rather kept under confinement in a castle at some distance from the court (2). *Murcuruna*, the elder, embraced the

(2) *Sid. l. v. ep. 6.* (4) *Ennod. vit. p. 403. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. p. 285.* (5) *Sid. p. 55.* (6) *Jorn. rer. Gotb. c. 44.* (7) *Sirmond. p. 57.* (8) *Greg. Tur. p. 285.* (9) *Sid. l. v. ep. 7. p. 137.* (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. p. 285.*

IN the year 473. *Gundebald* was at *Ravenna*; for he is said to have induced *Glycerius* to take upon him the title of emperor in that city^e. After the deposition of *Glycerius*, *Gundebald* espoused the cause of *Nepos*, who was raised to the empire in his room, joining the *Romans* in *Gaul* against the *Visigoths*, who, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, attempted to make themselves masters of *Auvergne*^h. In the year 480. *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having yielded *Provence* to the *Visigoths*, *Gundebald*, jealous of the growing power of that nation, claimed part of the country that had been granted them. This gave rise to a war between the two nations, in which the *Burgundians* were subdued, says *Jornandes*ⁱ, by the *Visigoths*, who made themselves masters of all *Gaul*. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since the *Burgundians* were, in the year 514. and 528. still masters of above twenty-eight cities, and, among the rest, of *Lions*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun*, as appears from the acts of the councils of *Agde* and *Epaune* held in those times^k. In the year 490. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gundebald*, entering *Italy*, with a design, as they pretended, to assist *Odoacer* against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, committed unheard-of ravages in *Liguria*, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off with them, upon their return home, such numbers of captives, that, in most places, there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. They met with no opposition, the *Romans*, who had always looked upon them as their friends and protectors, being no ways upon their guard against them^l. *Gundebald* afterwards declared, that he had acted as an open enemy, to be revenged on the king of *Italy*, who had deceived him by a false alliance^m; but whether he meant *Theodoric*, or *Odoacer*, is uncertain (C). About this time *Gundebald* sent one *Laurentius*, a person of great distinction among the *Burgundians*, with the character of ambassador to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*ⁿ; but with what commission he was charged, we are

^e JORN. c. 45. p. 654. ONUPH. p. 57. ^h SID. car. xii. p. 368. & l. vii. ep. 3. p. 172. ⁱ JORN. p. 680. ^k Vide VAL. not. Gol. p. 105. ^l ENNOD. vit. Epiph. p. 398---405. ^m Idem ibid. p. 406. ⁿ AVIT. ep. xli. p. 97.

state of virginity; the other was *Clothildis*, who was married to *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, as we have related in the foregoing section.

(C) Authors observe, that, on

this occasion, bishops first fortified their mansions, that, on any sudden irruption of barbarians, they might serve as a place of refuge for those who dwelt in the country (3).

no-where told. Two letters have reached us, both written in 497. the one by the emperor *Anastasius* to *Clovis*, intreating him to prevail upon *Gundebald* to allow one of *Laurentius*'s sons to repair to his father at *Constantinople*; the other by *Clovis* to *Gundebald*, who readily complied with the emperor's request and his°. In the history of the *Franks*, we have spoken of the war which *Gundebald* waged with *Clovis*, and his brother *Gedagisles*, whom in the end he overcame, and put to death. Being restored to his dominions, he reigned, without disturbing his neighbours, or being disturbed by them, till his death, which happened in the year 516². Some years before his death, he was for renouncing privately the errors of the flood *Arius*; but could by no means be prevailed upon, says *Gregory of Tours*, to acknowledge publicly the mystery of the Holy Trinity³.

He dies.

Year of the flood

2864.

Of Christ

516.

Of Rome

1264.

Sigismund.

He ac-

knowleges

himself a

subject of

the empire.

GUNDEBALD was succeeded by his son *Sigismund*, who had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*, acquainting him with his accession to the crown. In the letter he wrote on this occasion to the emperor, he styles his father one of *Anastasius*'s most faithful subjects; and adds, that the nation which he governed had ever acknowledged *Anastasius* for their liege lord; that he himself deemed it a greater honour to obey his commands, than to be obeyed by a whole nation; that these sentiments were hereditary in his family; that his ancestors had ever had hearts truly *Roman*, thinking themselves more honoured by the titles, which the emperors had been pleased to confer upon them, than by those, however specious, which they had received by birth; that the country, which it was now his lot to govern, though lying at a great distance from the capital of the empire, was was not, on that account, less subject to the imperial crown, than those that lay near it, &c. He closes the letter thus: "The East is governed by your presence, the West under your auspices. By this letter, therefore, I offer my duty to the greatest of princes, and wait, with submission, your august commands" (D). *Sigismund* wrote a second letter

° Idem, ep. xlii. p. 98. & ep. xliv. p. 99.

Franc. l. vi. p. 328.

ep. xciv. p. 139.

² GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 34.

³ VALES. rer.

AVIT.

(D) From this letter it is manifest, that the princes of the barbarians who reigned in *Gaul* acknowledged themselves subjects of

the empire. *Theodoric* king of *Italy* refused a passage through his dominions to the ambassadors who were dispatched with the letters.

ter to *Anastasius*, returning him thanks for the honours to which he had raised him, and acquainting him, that, upon his father's death, he had immediately written to him; but that his ambassadors had been stopped on their way to *Constantinople*. In this letter, as well as in the former, and in a third, which he wrote to the emperor *Justin*, he owns himself a subject of the empire, and uses all along the language of a subject to his sovereign.

THERE was, without all doubt, at this time a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Sigismund*, which however did not come to an open rupture. *Sigismund*, in the sixth year of his reign, caused his son *Sigeric* to be inhumanly murdered. Of this murder *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: *Sigismund*, says our historian, had to his first wife the daughter of *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, and by her a son named *Sigeric*. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her household, who, looking upon *Sigeric* with the eyes of a stepmother, did all that lay in her power to incense his father against him. The young prince indeed, with his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, heightened the aversion which the new queen bore him as a stepmother; for the queen having one day appeared in the robes of his mother, he publicly upbraided her for pretending to shew herself in the apparel of one, whose menial servant she had been. This bitter reproach galled her to such a degree, that, transported with rage, she resolved at all events to make *Sigeric* pay dear for it. Accordingly, as she had a great ascendant over her husband, she persuaded him, that the young prince had formed a design of assassinating him, and joining his dominions to those of his grandfather *Theodoric*. *Sigismund* gave intire credit to these false and malicious insinuations, and, without further inquiry, to be beforehand with his son, caused him to be strangled, while he was reposing after dinner. He was scarce dead, when *Sigismund*, stung with the remorse of so heinous a crime, threw himself upon the dead body, and, bathing it in tears, called himself of all men the most unhappy; which one of his servants hearing, “ You have but too much reason, *said he*, to bewail your own fate; but, as for your son, he died free from all guilt, and is now hap-

He causes his son Sigeric to be put to death.

• *AVIT. ep. xciv. p. 139.*

letters. However, *Anastasius* wrote to *Sigismund*, without waiting till he received letters from him, adding to them the patriciate (4). confirming to him the dignities

which he had conferred upon him in his father's life-time, and adding to them the patriciate (4).

(4) *Avit. ep. xliii. p. 98.*

“ py.”

“py.” Thus *Gregory of Tours*: A few days after, *Sigismund* retired to the monastery of *St. Mauritius* in *Valais*, to do penance for the crime he had committed; and there founded what is called by our historian *laus perennis*, that is a service to be celebrated night and day without intermission, by several ecclesiastics relieving one another. After a short stay in the above-mentioned monastery, he returned to *Lyons*, and there married a daughter, which he had by his first wife *Ostrogotha*, to king *Theodoric* or *Thierry*, the eldest son of *Clovis*.

War between the Franks and Burgundians.

As the *Ostrogoths*, and their king *Theodoric*, were highly provoked against *Sigismund* for the murder of his son, whom they looked upon as a prince of their own blood, *Clothildis* thought this a favourable conjuncture to be revenged on the posterity of *Gundebald*, since he was no more, for the death of her father *Chilperic*, of her mother, and her brothers, all massacred by that prince's order. Having therefore first put the three kings her children, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, in mind of the cruel and inhuman treatment, which her father and mother had met with at the hands of *Gundebald*, she exhorted them not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of revenging it on his posterity. As this advice was intirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the young princes, they readily hearkened to it, and began to make the necessary preparations. They pressed *Theodoric*, whom their father *Clovis* had by a concubine, as we have related above, to join them in the enterprize; but, as he had married the daughter of *Sigismund*, and had not been any-ways injured either by him or his ancestors, he declared, that he would take no part in a war between his brothers and father-in-law, but observe a strict neutrality. The three princes therefore, finding they could not prevail upon him to join them, took the field without him, and, entering the dominions of *Sigismund*, began to lay them waste.

Sigismund defeated and taken.

Year of the flood 2871.
Of Christ 523.
Of Rome 1271.

HEREUPON *Sigismund*, having drawn together what troops he could, marched out against them; but, in the battle that ensued, he was utterly defeated, and obliged to take refuge in a monastery, where he lay some time concealed in the habit of a monk; but his own subjects, by whom he was abhorred on account of the murder of his son, discovered him to the *Franks*, who immediately seized him, and delivered him to *Clodomir*, who had already in his power his wife and children. *Clodomir* sent both the prince and his unfortunate family to the city of *Orleans*, where they were kept under close confinement. Upon the news of his captivity, the far

greater part of the country which he held submitted to the *Franks*^u. This happened, according to the bishop of *Auran-*
ches, in the year 523. In the consulship of *Maximus*, says
 that writer in his chronicle^w, *Sigismund* was by the *Burgun-*
dians delivered up to the *Franks*, who carried him away in
 the habit of a monk, in which they had found him; and after-
 wards threw him, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned. *Maximus* was consul, ^{Sigis-}
 as appears from all the antient chronologers, in the above- ^{mund put}
 mentioned year. What our chronologer relates of the un- ^{to death}
 happy end of *Sigismund* and his family, did not happen till the ^{by Clodo-}
 following year, when the *Franks* retiring to their own coun- ^{mir.}
 try, the *Burgundians*, who had submitted to them, revolting,
 proclaimed *Godemar*, the brother of *Sigismund*; and, in order ^{Godemar}
 to induce the *Ostrogoths* to assist them, at least underhand, ^{king of the}
 yielded to them four cities, to wit, *Carpentras*, *Cavaillon*, ^{Burgun-}
Tricastinum, now *St. Paul-trois-chateaux*, and *Apt*^x. ^{dians.}
 No mention is made of any succours sent them by the *Ostrogoths*.
 It is not, however, to be doubted, but that *Theodoric*, then
 king of that nation, and greatly alarmed at the growing power
 of the *Franks*, assisted them so far as he could, without openly
 declaring in their favour.

News were no sooner brought to the three princes of the
Franks, that *Godemar* had been proclaimed king of the *Bur-*
gundians, and acknowledged even in those countries which
 had submitted to them, than they resolved to take the field
 anew. But *Clodomir*, before he set out on his march, ordered
Sigismund, with his wife and children, to be put to death in
 the city of *Orleans*, in the manner we have related above, not-
 withstanding the remonstrances and threats of *Avitus*, abbat
 of *Mici*, a person highly esteemed and revered all over *Gaul*
 for the sanctity of his life. *Gundebald* had caused the father,
 mother, and brother, of *Clothildis* to be thrown into a well,
 as we have related above; and in the same manner, by way
 of retaliation, *Clodomir* ordered *Sigismund* to be dispatched,
 with his wife and children. Soon after, *Clodomir* led his troops
 against *Godemar*; and the two armies meeting at *Veseronce* in
 the territory of *Vienn*, not far from the city of *Belley*, a
 bloody battle ensued, in which the *Burgundians*, after a long
 and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight. But
Clodomir, pursuing the enemy with more ardour than cau-
 tion, was surrounded by them, and cut in pieces^y. The
Burgundians, says *Agathias*, concluding from *Clodomir*'s long
 hair, which covered his shoulders, that he was one of the

^u Idem ibid. c. 9. ^w AVENT. chron. ad ann. 523. ^x Vide
 COINT. annal. ecclef. Franc. tom i. ^y GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 5.
 kings

Peace be-
tween the
Burgun-
dians and
Franks.

kings of the *Franks*, struck off his head, and, carrying it upon the point of a spear, returned to the charge; but were repulsed by the *Franks*, and a second time put to the rout^a. However, the *Franks* being destitute of a leader (for the children of *Clodomir* were yet very young), they readily concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, whereof one of the articles was, that they should restore to *Godemar* all the countries they had seized during the war^a; which they did accordingly. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that *Godemar*, having raised a new army, pursued the war with great vigour, and in the end recovered the kingdom of his ancestors^b. According to the chronicle of the bishop of *Auranches*, the battle of *Vesefrance* was fought the same year, in which *Godemar* had been proclaimed king, that is, in 524.

A new
war be-
tween
those two
nations.

Year of
the flood
2880.
Of Christ
532.
Of Rome
1280.



THE peace concluded between the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, lasted for the space of eight years, that is, till the year 532. when the two surviving brothers *Childebert* and *Clotharius* broke anew into the dominions of *Godemar*. What gave rise to this new war, we are not told; but, so far as we can conjecture from *Procopius*, they were prompted merely by their ambition, and that lust of conquests, which seems hereditary to the princes of that restless nation, to invade a kingdom, which, they were well apprised, they could easily reduce; for, a few years after the conquest of *Burgundy* by the *Franks*, an ambassador from the emperor *Justinian* to the *Ostrogoths*, with whom the *Franks* were at that time negotiating an alliance, addressed them thus, as we read in *Procopius*: The *Franks* pique themselves upon standing faithfully to their engagements; but, to say nothing at present of the manner in which they have observed the treaties concluded with the *Thuringians* and *Burgundians*, you cannot have forgot the little account they have ever made of the most solemn engagements they have, from time to time, entered into even with you^c. Of this war, which ended in the ruin of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, *Gregory of Tours* gives us the following account: *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, having made the necessary preparations to invade the kingdom of *Burgundy*, solicited their brother *Theodoric* to join them in the enterprise; but he openly declared, that he would take no part in that war. This gave great offence to the *Franks*, who were subject to him; nay, they were displeased with his conduct to such a degree, that they openly threatened to revolt from him, and acknowledge the other two princes, if he did not assist them with all his forces,

^a AGATH. de reb. Justin 1 i.
TUR. ibid.

^b Idem ibid.

^c GREG.

PROCOF. bell Goth c. 28.

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440

and look upon their cause as the common cause of the *Franks*: *Theodoric*, to quiet his mutinous subjects, told them, that, without him, his brothers were well able to cope with the king of the *Burgundians*; that, however, he would not fail to join them, if they should stand in need of his assistance; but that, in the mean time, he designed to lead them against the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, during the war he had lately made on the *Thuringians*, had given strong proofs of their disaffection to his person and government; that he designed to lay waste their country; and that those who followed him thither should have free-quarters, and be at full liberty to plunder, and carry off what slaves, cattle, money, furniture, &c. they thought fit. The subjects of *Theodoric*, allured by these promises, gave over all thoughts of joining the other two princes in their expedition against the *Burgundians*. *Childebert* therefore and *Clotharius*, hoping to compass their design without the assistance of *Theodoric*, took the field, and, entering the territories of the *Burgundians*, laid siege to *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, obliged *Godemar* to save himself by flight, and made themselves masters of his kingdom^d.

Thus, in a few words, *Gregory of Tours* gives us an account of the reduction of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, one of the most remarkable events in the history of the *Franks*. And *Marius Aventicensis* is no less concise in relating the same events: In the consulship of *Paulinus* the younger, says that writer, *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodebert*, kings of the *Franks*, reduced *Burgundy*, and, having put *Godemar* to flight, divided his kingdom among them^e. From this writer it appears, that the war lasted two years, that is, from 532. to 534. and that *Theodoric* dying in the mean time, his son *Theodebert* joined the other two princes. From other writers we learn, that, in this war, the *Burgundians* were assisted both by the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*^f; that, in several encounters, the *Franks* were defeated by those two nations^g; but that, upon the death of *Athalaric*, the *Ostrogoths* having withdrawn their troops, the *Burgundians* were in the end obliged to submit to the conquerors^h. *Procopius* tells us, that *Godemar* was taken prisoner by the *Franks*, who kept him under close confinement in one of their castles; that, upon his captivity, the *Burgundians* agreed to serve the *Franks* in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with such taxes and

The king-
dom of the
Burgun-
dians re-
duced by
the Franks
Year of
the flood
2882.
Of Christ
534.
Of Rome
1282.

^d GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 11.

^e MAR. AVENT. chron. ad ann

534.

^f CASSIOD. var. l. xii. ep. 28.

^g Idem ibid. lxi.

ep. 1.

^h Idem ibid.

customs, as they had paid to *Godemar*, and his predecessors¹. One of the conditions, on which they submitted to the *Franks*, was, though not mentioned by *Procopius*, that they should live according to their own laws; which they actually did to the reign of *Lewis* surnamed *the Debonair*, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Franks*, prompted by their boundless ambition, extended their dominions at the expence of their neighbours, till they became masters of all *Gaul*.

¹ PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13.

The Alemans.

The Alemans.

Their origin.

Their country.

THE *Alemans*, a nation, which, in process of time, became so famous in history, made their first appearance about the year 214. the fourth of the emperor *Caracalla's* reign^a. *Agathias*, upon the authority of *Asinius Quadratus* a *Roman* historian, who wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, about the year 247. tells us, that the *Alemans* were originally a motly multitude, consisting of several nations, as appears, adds that writer, from their very name^b; so that, according to *Asinius Quadratus*, the *Alemans* were so called, because they consisted of *all men*, that is, of men of all nations. Some *German* writers, displeased with this etymology, derive the name of *Alemans* from the word *Atelman*, signifying a *man of distinction*^c. But the other derivation is both more natural, and better grounded. The *Alemans*, according to the most common opinion, consisted chiefly of *Sueves*, who, in process of time, were joined by several other *German* nations, and some *Gauls*; for we are told by *Tacitus*, that a considerable number of *Gauls*, abandoning their own country, went to settle beyond the *Rhine*, in the country which had formerly belonged to the *Sueves*^d. The *Alemans* are placed by *Aurelius Victor*, *St. Jerom*^e, and other writers, between the *Danube*, the *Upper Rhine*, and the *Mein*, that is, in the present duchy of *Wurtemberg*. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and are chiefly commended for fighting with great skill and dexterity on horseback^f. They had such an aversion to slavery, that even their women, some of whom were taken prisoners by *Caracalla*, chose rather to die, than to be sold for slaves. *Caracalla*, however, ordered them to be sold; but, preferring death to slavery, they laid violent hands

^a VAR. p. 473. ^b AGATH. l. i. p. 17. ^c LUDEWIG. vit. Justin. p. 501. ^d Vide BUCH. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. p. 199, 200. ^e HIER. vit. Hilar. p. 246. ^f AUR. VICT.

on themselves, some of them having first dispatched their children^s. Their government was monarchical; for we find several of their kings mentioned in history, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. As to their religion, they worshipped the same deities as the other German nations.

Their government and religion.

We shall now acquaint the reader with what we have been able to gather from the antients concerning this nation. In the year 214. *Caracalla* is said to have made war upon the *Genni*, or, as some read it, the *Chatti*, the *Alemans*, and other German nations. The *Alemans*, it seems, had joined the *Chatti* or *Catti*; and *Caracalla*, under pretence of succouring another nation, with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is said to have defeated the *Alemans* on the banks of the *Mein*^a. He afterwards concluded a peace with them, distributed large sums among them, listed great numbers of them in his army, and even among his guards, choosing rather to trust his life to them, than to the *Romans*¹. *Aurelius Victor* adds, that he often appeared in the dress peculiar to those barbarians, wearing false hair of the same colour with theirs^k. For the victory he gained over the *Alemans*, he took the surname of *Alemannicus*^l. In the year 234. the thirteenth of the emperor *Severus Alexander*, the *Alemans*, and other German nations, having passed the *Rhine*, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and, entering *Gaul*, committed dreadful ravages there. *Alexander*, who was just then returned from *Persia*, where he had gained great advantages over *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* king, upon the news of this irruption, hastened into *Gaul*, and advanced, without loss of time, to the banks of the *Rhine*. But the enemy having repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be laid over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field.

They are overcome by Caracalla.
Year of the flood
2562.
Of Christ
214.
Of Rome
962.

BUT he being in the mean time assassinated by the mutinous soldiery, *Maximinus*, who had stirred them up, and was chosen in his room, entered *Germany* early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. We are told, that several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the

country ravaged by Maximinus.

^s Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876. ^a Caracal. vit. p. 87. DIO VAL. p. 749. & l. lxxvii. p. 876. ¹ Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 891. ^k AUR. VICT. de Cæsarib. ad ann. urb. 965. ^l SPART. in Caracal. c. 70. p. 731.

enemy with his own hand^m. For the signal advantages he gained in this expedition over the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations, the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*, which is still to be seen on several of his medalsⁿ. The *Alemans* continued quiet from this time to the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian's* reign, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Gaul*, they laid waste that country, while the *Futhongians*, that is, the *Alemans* who dwelt on the banks of the *Danube*, made an irruption into *Italy*. In *Gaul* they were defeated, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*, by *Posthumus*, governor of those provinces. In *Italy* they advanced as far as *Milan*, destroying all with fire and sword; but their numerous army, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, by *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thousand men^o (A). *Gallienus* is said to have gained a great victory over them.

Great numbers of them cut off by *Claudius*, Year of the flood 2616. Of Christ 268. Of Rome 1016. and by *Aurelian*.

We find no further mention made of them till the year 268. the first of the emperor *Claudius*, when the *Futhongians*, breaking into *Italy*, advanced without opposition as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda* near *Verona*. *Claudius* had no sooner suppressed the rebellion of *Aureolus*, who had assumed the purple, than he marched against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and, having cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitate flight into their own country^p. This victory was not known, it seems, to *Pollio*, since he does not mention it; but it is confirmed by several medals, on which the title of *Germanicus* is given to *Claudius*, before that of *Gothicus*, which he took the year after, that is, in 269^q. Notwithstanding this overthrow, they no sooner heard of the death of *Claudius*, than joining the *Marcomans*, they resolved to invade *Italy* anew. But *Aurelian*, who succeeded *Claudius*, having timely notice of their march, left *Pannonia*, where he then was; and, meeting them with the flower of his army in

^m Maximin. vit. p. 142. HEROD. l. vii. p. 590. ⁿ GOLTZ. p. 101, 102. BIRAG. p. 329. ^o ZON. l. i. p. 650. ^p AUR. VICT. in epit. ^q GOLTZ. p. 118.

(A) But of this victory no mention is made either by *Pollio* or *Eutropius*; and *Zosimus* writes, that the *Alimons*, and other barbarous nations, having ravaged *Illyricum*, and great part of *Italy*, returned home, without meeting with the least opposition (1). *Eutropius* (2), *St. Jerom* (3), and *Orosius* (4), suppose the *Alemans* to have first ravaged *Gaul*, and from thence passing thro' *Rhaetia*, to have entered *Italy*.

(1) Zos. l. i. p. 646. (2) Eutrop. l. ii. p. 67. (3) Hier. chron. (4) Oros. l. i. c. 22. p. 114.

Vindelicis,

Vindelicia, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria*, and a great part of *Swabia*, gave them a total overthrow, and, pursuing them close, cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent embassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with the empire, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. But the emperor refusing to hearken to any terms, the *Alemans*, by this means reduced to despair, after various debates and consultations, resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for the emperor thought only of cutting off their retreat), they advanced as far as *Placentia* before *Aurelian* could come up with them, committing every-where unheard-of ravages.

As the emperor drew near, they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods, whence falling out upon him the night, they gained a complete victory; which threw all the *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation. The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted on this occasion by the emperor's orders, and several ceremonies performed to avert the impending storm, which, they apprehended, might be attended with the total ruin of the empire. But in the mean time *Aurelian*, having received strong reinforcements from *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escaped from the first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man^r. About four years after, the *Alemans* who dwelt near the *Rhine* made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were forced by *Probus*, who was afterwards emperor, and then commanded in those parts, to repass that river, and return home^s. They continued afterwards quiet, without molesting either their neighbours or the *Romans*, for the space of eleven years, that is, till the year 285. the third of *Dioclesian's* reign, when they attempted, it seems, to break into the empire; for *Dioclesian* is said to have made war upon them, and to have gained some advantages over them^t. In 287. they broke into *Gaul* anew, with the *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Cavians*, and several other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut

who is afterwards
defeated by them

but in the end cuts off their whole army.

Year of the flood
2618.
Of Christ
270.
Of Rome
1018.

Their several irruptions into the empire.

^r Aur. vit. p. 215. Vict. epit.

^s Prob. vit. p. 237.

^t NORIS. de Dioc. c. 14. p. 19, 20.

busied in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned home loaded with booty. Elated with this victory, they assembled in great numbers under the banners of *Chnodomarius*, and six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straßburg*. Being informed there by a deserter, that *Julian's* army was only thirteen thousand strong, *Chnodomarius* had the arrogance to send a messenger to him, commanding him to quit a country which the *Alemans* had acquired by their courage and valourⁿ. *Libanius* adds, that the messenger produced letters from *Constantius*, in which he yielded to him. that country^o.

The battle
of Straß-
burg, in
which the
Alemans
were in-
tensely de-
feated

Year of
the flood
2705.
Of Christ
357
Of Rome
1105.

JULIAN, however, paying no regard to them, detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy, having passed the *Rhine*, were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, interrupting the work, he marched directly against them; and, engaging the same day, though his men were tired with their long march, gained a complete victory over them. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and several other persons of great distinction. The victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to return to the charge; but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the barbarians, that, despairing to be able to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity; which the *Romans* perceiving, made a last effort, and, charging the barbarians, already quite spent, put them in the end to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. Vast numbers of them were drowned in the *Rhine*, in attempting to cross that river. *Chnodomarius* himself was taken prisoner, and presented to *Julian*, who sent him to *Constantius*, by whose order he was conveyed to *Rome*, where he died soon after a natural death. In this battle *Julian* lost only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Alemans* six, or, as some write, eight thousand men were killed in the field; but a great many dead bodies were seen floating on the river^p. *Zosimus* writes, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and an equal number drowned; but he must certainly have been mistaken. *Julian* himself styles the battle of *Straßburg* a successful action,

ⁿ AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 76, 77 Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 199, & seq. ^o LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269 273. ^p AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 75. & l. xvii. p. 86. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 237. & orat. xii. p. 274, 276.

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which restored *Gaul* to its ancient liberty^a. *Mamertinus* says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined^b. It is at least certain, that the barbarians were entirely driven out of *Gaul*. *Julian*, from the field of battle, returned to *Saverne*; and, having finished the works there, advanced with his whole army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and, entering *Germany*, continued ravaging the countries of the *Alemans*, and their allies, till after the equinox, when the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he returned to *Gaul*, after having repaired the castle of *Trajan*, which stood at a small distance from the present city of *Frankfort*, and granted to the *Alemans*, and their allies, a truce for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort that was building in their country^c. The truce no sooner expired, than *Julian*, passing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered anew the country of the *Alemans*, and obliged two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, to sue for peace; which he granted them, upon their sending back all the *Roman* captives, and furnishing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had ruined^d. We are told by *Zosimus*, that, in this expedition, *Julian* got two thousand *Romans* set at liberty^e.

SEVERAL other very considerable advantages were gained over them by *Julian*, of which we have spoken at large elsewhere^f. Having been often defeated by him while he was yet *Cæsar*, they continued quiet the greater part of his reign; but they no sooner heard of his death, than they renewed their ravages in *Rætia* and *Gaul*. Hereupon *Valentinian* I. then emperor, dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, one of his best generals, against them; and, leaving *Italy*, hastened in person into *Gaul*, in order to make head against the numerous forces which the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations, were said to be raising with a design to invade *Gaul*. The emperor advanced as far as *Rheims*; but the *Alemans* retiring at his approach, he returned back, and took up his winter-quarters at *Paris*^g.

Upon the death of *Julian* they ravage *Gaul*.

IN the mean time the *Alemans*, having in the depth of winter passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated in a pitched battle^h the *Romans*, who attempted to oppose them, took the stand-ⁱ Romans;

^a AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 160. ^b Panegy. xi. p. 223. ^c AMMIAN. p. 88. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 277. ^d Idem, orat. xii. p. 279. ^e In *Julian*. p. 514. ^f See Univerf. hist. vol. xvi. p. 207, 208. 223. ^g AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 315.

ards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, killed count *Charistia*, and wounded count *Severianus*, who had the command of a body of troops¹. *Zosimus* supposes *Valentinian* himself to have been present at this battle. But it is plain from *Ammianus*, that he was then at *Paris*; whence, upon the first news of the defeat of his troops, he dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the late overthrow. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the horse, sent in his room; who defeated the *Alemans* in three battles, whereof the first was fought at a place called *Scarponna*, now *Charpeigne*, between *Toul* and *Metz*; the second in the neighbourhood of the *Moselle*; and the third near *Chalons* on the *Marne*. In the last of these three engagements, the enemy fought with much resolution and intrepidity, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and in the end to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand were killed on the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed on the spot, and as many wounded². The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by *Jovinus* for that purpose; insomuch that few of them had the good luck to make their escape. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by those who took him; which base action provoked *Jovinus* to such a degree, that he would have punished with death the tribune who commanded the party, had he not found, upon a strict inquiry, that he had done all that lay in his power to restrain the fury of the incensed soldiery³. Of this victory *Idatius* must, without all doubt, be understood, where he writes, that the *Alemans* were utterly defeated by *Valentinian*⁴.

IN the close of the following year 367. the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained the year before, pass-

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 334. Zos. l. iv. p. 740. ² AMMIAN. ibid. p. 334, 335. Zos. ibid. ³ Zos. ibid. ⁴ Idat. fast. ad ann. 366.

ed unexpectedly the *Rhine*, and, having taken and plundered the city of *Mentz*, while the emperor was employed, says *Ammianus*, in some other expedition, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rbando*, one of their princes. The *Romans*, to be revenged on the *Alemans*, had recourse to treachery; and caused *Vithicabius*, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. *Vithicabius* was the son of *Vodomarius*, and a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution^c. *Valentinian*, having spent the following winter at *Treves* in making vast preparations, with a design to attack the *Alemans* in their own country, took the field on the seventeenth of *June*; and, having assembled all his troops, crossed the *Rhine*, entered the enemy's country, and advanced, without the least opposition, to a place called *Solucinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*. The *Alemans* had posted themselves there on an high and steep mountain; but the *Romans*, notwithstanding their advantageous situation, attacked them with great intrepidity, and, tho' several times repulsed, dislodged them in the end, and pursued them with great slaughter. Some of the enemy made their escape by favour of the night; but the far greater part were put to the sword, their retreat being cut off by count *Sebastian*, at the head of a strong detachment. After this battle, which was fought at a small distance from the head of the *Neckar*, in the present duchy of *Wirtemberg*, the emperor returned to *Treves*, as the season was already far advanced, and there gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Alemans* suing for peace; which, it seems, he granted them^d, but upon what terms we are not told. This peace, however, was not long-lived; for two years after, that is, in 370. there appeared on the banks of the *Rhine* eighty thousand *Burgundians*, whom *Valentinian* had invited to join him against *Macrianus* king of the *Alemans*. But the emperor being then busied in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine*, and unwilling to interrupt that work, the *Burgundians* returned home, without offering to molest the *Alemans*. However, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemans* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of prisoners, to whom

cause one of their kings to be treacherously murdered.

Valentinian gains a signal victory over them.

Year of the flood 2716.

Of Christ 368.

Of Rome 1116.



^c AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 349. l. xxviii. p. 352.

^d Idem ibid. p. 350, 351. &

the emperor allowed lands and settlements on the banks of the *Po*®.

He in-
wades
their coun-
try.

THE following year *Valentinian* broke unexpectedly into the country of the *Alemans*, hoping to surprize *Macrianus* their king, whom he chiefly dreaded, but *Macrianus*, having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor returned to *Treves*, after having laid waste the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemans* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, named *Fraomarius*, for king. But, the country being intirely ruined, *Fraomarius* was glad to quit his new dignity for the command of a body of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*®. The following year, *Valentinian*, passing the *Rhine* in the beginning of the summer, committed some ravages in the country of the *Alemans*, and undertook the building of a fort in the neighbourhood of *Basse*, to serve as a curb upon the *Alemans* on that side. But in the mean time the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* having broken into *Pannonia*, and cut in pieces two *Roman* legions there, the emperor resolved to march against them in person. As he could not leave *Gaul* without concluding a peace with the *Alemans*, who, he was well apprised, would not fail to break into those provinces upon his departure, he invited *Macrianus* to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. The king of the *Alemans* readily complied with the invitation; and though at first he betrayed a great deal of haughtiness in seeing his friendship thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet, in the end, he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered

He con-
cludes a
peace with
*Macria-
nus* their
king.

Year of
the flood
2722. *Alemans* and *Franks*, *Macrianus*, having invaded the enemy's
Of Christ country, was killed in an ambuscade by *Mullobaudes*, a war-
374- like prince of that nation^h.

Of Rome
1122.

IN the year 378. the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, having revolted, and defeated several *Roman* armies sent against them, *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened the Eastern provinces, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of his forces to set out on their march from *Gaul*, where he then was, to *Illyricum*. Of this notice being immediately given to the *Alemans*, called *Lentenses*, by a countryman of theirs,

® Idem, p. 377

® Idem, l. xxix. xxx. p. 397, 398.

h Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418.

h Idem Ibid.

who was in some employment at the court of *Gratian*, with-^{*They break*} out the least regard to the treaty they had concluded with ^{*the treaty;*} *Valentinian*, they passed the *Rhine*, and began to lay waste ^{*but are*} the neighbouring provinces. They were repulsed at first by the ^{*defeated*} *Roman* troops quartered in those parts; but, returning soon ^{*with great*} after, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, *Gratian* ^{*slaughter*} was obliged to recal the troops that were already on their ^{*by Gra-*} march into *Illyricum*, and to send them, reinforced with those ^{*tian*} that were left in *Gaul*, under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mellobaudes* king of the *Franks*, to oppose the at- ^{*Year of*} tempts of the enemy, and to oblige them to repass the *Rhine*. ^{*the flood*} The two generals gave them battle at a place called *Argen-* ^{*2726.*} *taria*, now, as is commonly believed, *Colmar*, and, though ^{*Of Christ*} greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory, thirty ^{*378.*} thousand of the enemy being killed on the spot, and the rest ^{*Of Rome*} either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king ^{*1126.*} *Triarius*, and several other persons of great distinction, were in the number of the dead^l. After this victory, *Gratian* ^{*~~~~~*} passed the *Rhine* at the head of his army, and, entering the enemy's country, obliged them to take refuge among their barren mountains, where he kept them shut up, till they were forced by famine to submit to such terms as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon them, one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the *Roman* army; which they did accordingly^k.

OF the *Alemans* no further mention is made in history till the year 388. when we are told by *Orosius*^l, that, dreading the arms of *Maximus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, they submitted to him of their own accord, paying him a ^{*They sub-*} yearly tribute, and supplying his army with such quantities of ^{*mit to*} corn, and other provisions, as he thought fit to demand. In ^{*Maximus.*} the reign of *Honorius*, which began in 395. a colony of the *Alemans* was allowed to settle in that part of the present *Swit-* ^{*They settle*} *zerland*, which is separated by mount *Jura* from the *Franche* in *Helve-* ^{*tia.*} *Comté*, and by the lake of *Geneva* and the *Rhone* from the present *Savoy*, and province of *Vienne*^m. *Servius*, who wrote his comment upon *Virgil* about the year 411. tells us, that, in his time, the country bordering on the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, was inhabited by the *Alemans*ⁿ. We find no farther mention made of the *Alemans* till the year 477. when *Audoacrius* king of the *Saxons*, and *Childeric* king of

^l Idem, l. xxxi. p. 453, 454.^k Idem ibid. p. 455.^l Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.^m VAL. L. V. p. 237.ⁿ SERV.

in post. ad iv. georg. p. 158,

the *Franks*, marching against those of that nation who had settled among the *Alps*, and made frequent inroads both into *Gaul* and *Italy*, put great numbers of them to the sword, and stripped them of the booty, which they had a little before brought with them from *Italy*°.

UPON the downfall of the Western empire, the *Alemans* made themselves masters of that part of *Gaul*, which is now known by the name of *Alsace*, and settled there^p. These *Alemans*, being joined by their countrymen in *Germany*, and those who dwelt between mount *Jura* and the lake of *Geneva*, in the year 496. entered *Germania Secunda*, which then belonged to the *Riparian Franks*, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon *Sigebert*, king of the country, not able to make head against them with his own forces alone, had recourse to *Clovis* king of the *Salian Franks*, who immediately joined him. The two kings, after their conjunction, engaged the *Alemans*, and gained a complete victory over them at *Tolbiac*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about four leagues from *Cologne*. After this defeat, such of the *Alemans* as had settled in *Alsace*, and in the neighbourhood of the lake of *Geneva*, acknowledged *Clovis* for their king. Others took refuge in 2844. *Rætia* and *Noricum*, being allowed to settle there by *Theo-*
Of Christ *doric* king of *Italy*, as we have related above^q. The same
496. prince transplanted great numbers of them into *Italy*, and suf-
Of Rome ferred the rest to settle in the countries between the *Alps* and
1244. the *Danube*, which were subject to him. From this time the
~~~~~ *Alemans* had no king of their own (for their last king was killed in the above-mentioned battle); but continued, as they were dispersed in several countries, subject partly to the *Ostrogoths*, who were masters of *Italy*, and partly to the *Franks*, who were lords of *Gaul*. When the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of *Italy*, all the *Alemans*, except those whom *Theodoric* had transplanted into that country, submitted to the *Franks*, as we shall relate in our history of the modern nations.

° GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 19.      p PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.      q Vide supra, p. 410, 411.

*The Gepidæ.*

THE *Gepidæ* were, without all doubt, a Gothic nation. *The Ge-  
Jornandes*, speaking of them, gives us the following ac-  
count of their name and origin : The *Goths*, says that writer, *Their ori-  
leaving Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berith*, put to *gin and  
sea* with three ships only. One of these, sailing slower than *name.*  
the other two, was thence called *Gepanta*, signifying in the  
*Gothic* tongue *slow* ; and hence the name of *Gepantæ* and *Ge-  
pidæ*, which was first given to that people by way of re-  
proach <sup>a</sup>. *Procopius* likewise tells us in express terms, that  
the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Gepidæ*, were  
originally one and the same nation ; that they had the same  
customs, manners, religion, and language ; and that they  
only differed in names, borrowed perhaps, says he, from their  
different leaders <sup>b</sup>. And *Paulus Diaconus* ; “ The *Goths*, the  
“ *Gepidæ*, and the *Vandals*,” says he, “ agree in language,  
“ manners, and religion, and differ only in name <sup>c</sup>.” They *Theircoun-  
entered Scythia*, according to *Jornandes*, with the other *Goths*, *try.*  
and settled in the neighbourhood of the *Tanais*, and *Palus  
Maotis* <sup>d</sup>. There they continued till the reign of *Arcadius* and  
*Honorius*, when their numbers, being greatly increased, they  
approached the *Danube*, and, having some time after crossed  
that river, they settled in the neighbourhood of *Singidunum*  
and *Sirmium*, about the year 400. where they still were when  
*Procopius* wrote his history <sup>e</sup>. They had kings of their own,  
and formed a separate and distinct nation both from the *Ostro-  
goths* and *Visigoths* ; but perhaps not from the *Lombards*, who  
were afterwards masters of *Italy* <sup>f</sup>.

As for what we find of them in the antient writers, *Jor-  
nandes* tells us, that, under the conduct of their king *Fastida*, *They defeat  
they* gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* about the *the Bur-  
year* 245 <sup>g</sup>. The *Burgundians* whom they overcame, and al-  
most utterly extirpated, were, according to *Valesius*, as we  
have observed above, a different nation from the *Burgundians*  
who afterwards settled in *Gaul*. Be that as it will, *Fastida*,  
elated with his success against the *Burgundians*, dispatched a  
messenger to *Ostrogotha* king of the *Goths*, acquainting him,  
that as the *Gepidæ* were greatly streightened for want of room,  
he must either grant them lands, or prepare for war. *Ostro-  
gotha* answered, That he should be very unwilling to make

<sup>a</sup> JORN. de reb. Goth. p. 89. <sup>b</sup> PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. i.   
c. 2. <sup>c</sup> PAUL. DIAC. misc l. xiv p. 429. <sup>d</sup> JORN. ibid.   
p. 84. <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>f</sup> Vide GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth.   
p. 53. <sup>g</sup> JORN. l. xvii p. 635.

but are de-  
feated by  
the Goths.

Year of  
the flood  
2596  
Of Christ  
248.  
Of Rome  
996.

war upon his kinsmen ; but was determined to part with no land. Hereupon *Fastida*, entering the territories of the *Goths*, began to lay them waste ; which *Ostrogotha* no sooner understood, than, leaving *Mæsia*, which he was then ravaging, he hastened back to the defence of his own country, and, meeting *Fastida*, gave him a total overthrow ; but, contenting himself with the victory, did not so much as pursue the flying *Gepidæ*, looking upon them rather as his kinsmen, than an enemy <sup>g</sup>. The *Gepidæ* joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, in the famous irruption which they made with their united forces into the empire in 269. the second of the reign of *Claudius* ; but they were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at large elsewhere <sup>h</sup>.

Great  
numbers of  
them cut off  
by Probus.

Year of  
the flood  
2627.  
Of Christ  
279.  
Of Rome  
1027.

They are  
subdued by  
Attila.

In the year 279. the emperor *Probus* granted to them, and likewise to the *Juthungi*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*, lands in *Thrace*, upon their promising to live as the other subjects of the empire. But while the emperor was engaged in war with *Saturninus*, who had revolted in the East, they laid hold of that opportunity to ravage the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Probus*, having successfully ended his other wars, marched against them in person, and, in several encounters, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that only a small body of *Franks* had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, and return home <sup>i</sup>. In 291. a war broke out between them and the *Goths*, in which the *Gepidæ* were assisted by the *Vandals* ; and the *Goths* by the *Tarfale*, another Gothic nation. But all we know of this war is, that both parties were greatly weakened, and put out of a condition of disturbing, for some years, the peace of the empire <sup>k</sup>. The *Gepidæ* are mentioned by *St. Jerom* among the other nations of barbarians, that in 407. broke into *Gaul*, and over ran those provinces <sup>l</sup>. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and in 451. served under him in his famous expedition into *Gaul* ; on which occasion the *Franks* and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with each fury, that above fifteen thousand were left dead on the spot <sup>m</sup>.

Defeat the  
Hunns.

UPON the death of *Attila*, the *Gepidæ* shook off the yoke under the conduct of their king *Ardaric* ; which occasioned a bloody war between them and the *Hunns*. But at length *Ardaric* having gained a complete victory over the *Hunns*, of whom thirty thousand were killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, the *Gepidæ* not only recovered their antient liberty,

• <sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 636, 637.

vol. xv. p. 447, 448.

xi. p. 131, 138.

Goth. c. 46. p. 664.

<sup>h</sup> Claud. vit. p. 207. & Univ. hist.

<sup>i</sup> Prob. vit. p. 240.

<sup>j</sup> Hier. ep. xi. p. 93.

<sup>k</sup> Panegy.

<sup>l</sup> JORN. rer.

but the country whence they had been driven by *Attila*, that is, all antient *Dacia*, lying north of the *Danube* <sup>a</sup>. This memorable battle, which, in a manner, put an end to the empire of the *Huns*, was fought on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, about the year 480°. The *Gepidæ*, thus settled in *Dacia*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was thenceforth called, from its new inhabitants, *Gepidia*, as we read in *Jornandes* <sup>p</sup>. Some years after, part of *Illyricum* was likewise granted them, with the city of *Sirmium*; whence their kings are by *Theophanes* stiled kings of *Sirmium* <sup>q</sup>. There they continued quiet till the year 537. when, joining the *Heruli*, they began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Justinian*, then emperor, having ended the war in *Italy* with the *Goths*, dispatched his best generals against them, who, having overcome them in several encounters, obliged them to abandon what they held in *Illyricum*, and content themselves with *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* <sup>r</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2828.  
480.  
Of Christ  
1228.

They are  
driven out  
of Illyri-  
cum by  
Justinian.

In the year 550. a contest arose between the *Gepidæ*, and the *Lombards* descended from them, says *Paulus Diaconus* <sup>s</sup>, about their confines; for the *Lombards* held part of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, having been allowed to settle there by the *Roman* emperors, who indeed had abandoned that province, but claimed a right of disposing of it to whom they pleased. Both the *Gepidæ* and *Lombards*, before they came to an open rupture, dispatched ambassadors to *Justinian*, soliciting succours, in virtue of their alliance with the empire. The emperor, after hearing the ambassador of both nations, declared, that, in case of a war, he was determined not to suffer the *Lombards* to be oppressed by their encroaching neighbours, ordering, at the same time, ten thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, to march to their assistance, under the command of *Constantianus*, *Buzis*, *Aretius*, and other generals; which the *Gepidæ* soon understood, and they concluded a peace with the *Lombards* <sup>t</sup>. But the *Roman* troops were scarce returned home, when the *Gepidæ*, refused to stand to the articles of the treaty, took the field anew, under the conduct of their king *Therisimus*.

They quar-  
rel with  
the Lom-  
bards.  
Year of  
the flood  
2898.  
Of Christ  
550.  
Of Rome  
1298.

*AUDUINUS*, then king of the *Lombards*, having drawn together what troops he could, went out to meet the enemy; but both armies, seized with a panic while they were ready to

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. p. 133, 134.      <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>p</sup> Idem, p. 93, 94.  
<sup>r</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Justin. 13.      <sup>s</sup> PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 33.  
<sup>t</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. xiii. p. 439.      <sup>u</sup> PROCOPIUS. ibid. c. 34. 39.



*The Gepidae receive a greater overthrow from the Lombards*

Year of the flood 2900.  
Of Christ 552.  
Of Rome 1300

engage, betook themselves at the same time to a precipitate flight; which both kings looking upon as a prodigy, they concluded a two years truce; which was no sooner expired, than the *Gepidae*, calling in the *Heruli* to their assistance, broke unexpectedly into the territories of the *Lombards*, destroying all with fire and sword. But the *Lombards*, receiving a timely reinforcement from *Justinian*, fell upon the *Gepidae*, and gave them a total overthrow. We are told, that *Justinian* had promised to observe a strict neutrality in this war, and that his promise was confirmed by the oath of twelve senators; but nevertheless, as the *Gepidae* had not kept their word with him, he did not think himself bound, either by his own promise, or the oaths of the senators, who had sworn in his name. His defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, which was concluded by the mediation of *Justinian*, unwilling that either should aggrandize themselves at the expence of the other. *Thorisfinus* was at this time king of the *Gepidae*, and *Audunus* of the *Lombards*; but neither had any right to the crown he wore. The lawful heir to *Elamund* the late king of the *Gepidae* was *Ustirigotus*, that prince's only son, but *Elamund* king while he was yet under age, *Thorisfinus* had caused himself to be acknowledged in his room. In the same manner *Audunus*, king of the *Lombards*, had excluded *Ildigefal* the lawful heir from the crown, and placed it upon his own head. The above mentioned peace between the two nations was scarce concluded, when *Ildigefal* took refuge among the *Gepidae*, and *Ustirigotus* among the *Lombards*. Both princes were demanded with great earnestness and threats by their respective nations, but, neither caring to comply with the request of the other, they both began to prepare for war. However, the two kings, or rather usurpers, before hostilities were committed on either side, agreed to dispatch each other's rival, which they did accordingly, deeming it less dishonourable to assassinate than betray those, who had put themselves under their protection. Not long after, the two kings dying, *Thorisfinus* was succeeded by *Cunimundus*, and *Audunus* by *Alboinus*.

*CUNIMUNDUS* had scarce ascended the throne, when, reviving some ancient claims upon the *Lombards*, which they refused to comply with, he took the field at the head of a very numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Lombards*, committed there unheard-of ravages. On the other hand, *Alboinus*, having drawn together a no less numerous army, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; which

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPI. l. iv. c. 18.  
ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. c. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.  
mundus

was not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury *are de-*  
hardly to be expressed. The victory continued long doubt-<sup>seated by</sup>  
ful; but, in the end, the *Gepids* were put to flight, and pur-<sup>the same</sup>  
sued by the victorious *Lombards* with such slaughter, that <sup>nation</sup>  
scarce one was left alive of so numerous a multitude. *Alboinus* <sup>with great</sup>  
killed *Cunimundus* with his own hand, and, cutting off his <sup>slaughter.</sup>  
head, turned his skull into a cup called by the *Lombards*, says  
*Paulus Diaconus*, *sehata*, and by the *Latins* *patera*. This  
cup or cup he ever afterwards used at all public banquets and  
entertainments. After this victory, the *Lombards* seized on *The end of*  
all *Dacia*, obliging the *Gepids* either to submit to them, or *their king-*  
retire elsewhere. Thenceforth they had no king of their own; *dom.*  
but lived in subjection either to the *Lombards*, who were ma-  
sters of their country, or to the princes of the neighbouring  
nations, especially of the *Hunns* settled in *Pannonia*. Thus  
*Paulus Diaconus* in his history of the *Lombards*. *Lazius* adds, *Year of*  
that, among the present *Hungarians*, the descendants of the *the flood*  
*Gepids* are easily distinguished from those who are sprung *2920.*  
from the *Hunns*. The ruin of the kingdom of the *Gepids* is *Of Christ*  
placed by *Pagi* in 553. while *Justinian* was still living; but by *572.*  
others more rightly in the year 572. *Justin*, the successor of *Of Rome*  
*Justinian*, being then emperor; for we are told, that the *1320.*  
treasures of the deceased king were conveyed to *Justin* at *Con-*  
stantinople by *Trassacus* an *Arian* bishop, and by *Reptilanes*,  
the late king's grandson. *Alboinus* afterwards married *Rosa-*  
mund the daughter of *Cunimundus*; which made the *Gepids*  
bear the yoke more patiently (A).

\* PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longibard. l. i. c. 27.      \* LAZ. de  
mignot. gent. l. xi. p. 183.      b Abbas BICLAR. p. 12. edit.  
Scalig.      c PAUL. DIAC. ibid.

(A) *Theodebert*, one of the  
kings of the *Franks*, reproaches  
the emperor *Justinian* for as-  
suming the title of *Gepidicus*, to  
which he had no claim, since  
that nation was never overcome,  
or conquered, by him (1). Some  
writers think, that the king of  
the *Franks* was therein mistaken,  
since the surname of *Gepidicus*  
is not to be found on any of the  
innumerable monuments  
or coins of *Justinian*, which  
have reached our times. Others  
are of opinion, that *Justinian*

took the surname of *Gepidicus*,  
not on account of his conquest-  
ing that nation, but because the  
*Gepids*, by putting themselves,  
as they did, under his protec-  
tion, were deemed his subjects,  
which, say they, intitled him to  
the surname of *Gepidicus*. It is  
certain, that he took, and, ac-  
cording to the most probable  
opinion, on this account, the ti-  
tle of *Franciscus*, before he had  
gained any advantages over that  
nation, nay, several years before  
he made war upon them.

(1) *Agath. l. l. p. 14.*

## The Heruli.

The Heruli.

Their origin.

Their different seats.

THE Heruli, by *Zosimus* called *Eruli*<sup>a</sup>, by *Syncellus* *Airuli*<sup>b</sup>, but commonly *Heruli*, were originally, according to *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, a Gothic nation. The former writer tells us, that they first dwelt in *Scandinavia*; and that, being driven from thence by the *Dani*, they wandered eastward as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and settled in that neighbourhood<sup>c</sup>. *Procopius* speaks of them as inhabiting, in antient times, the countries lying beyond the *Danube*<sup>d</sup>, agreeing therein with *Jornandes*. There they continued, making frequent irruptions into the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, who succeeded *Zeno* in 491. when great numbers of them were cut off by the *Lombards*, and the rest driven from their antient habitations. Some of them, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the *Rugians*, the present *Pomerania*, which they found uninhabited, the antient proprietors being gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. Some time after, they removed from thence into *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, being allowed by the *Gepidæ*, then masters of that country, to settle among them. But, being oppressed and ill used by the *Gepidæ*, they had recourse to the emperor *Anastasius*, who, in 511. allowed them to pass the *Danube*, and settle in *Thrace*, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required<sup>e</sup>. Great numbers of them, upon their being driven out of their own country by the *Lombards*, as we have mentioned above, under the conduct of several princes of the blood royal, took their route westward, and passing, without opposition, through several barbarous nations, came to the ocean, and, embarking there, set sail for *Thule*, where they settled<sup>f</sup> (A).

Their government.

THE Heruli had kings of their own; but their kings, says *Procopius*, were such only by name; for they scarce had any authority, and were almost upon a level with every private

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 652.

<sup>b</sup> SYNC. p. 382.

<sup>c</sup> JORN. rer.

Goth. c. 3. p. 613.

<sup>d</sup> PROCOP. de bell. Goth. l. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Idem

ibid. c. 14. p. 42.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

(A) By *Thule* *Procopius* meant, without all doubt, the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which he calls ten times as big as *Britain*; and adds, that great part of it was destitute of inhabitants; but in that, which was inhabited, were seated thirteen populous nations, each of them being governed by their own kings and laws (1).

(1) *Procop. de bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14. p. 42.*

man <sup>s</sup>. Hence some think they were called *Heruli* from the ancient *Gothic* word *herra*, signifying *free*. But others, and, among the rest, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes*, will have them to have been called *Heruli*, from the *Greek* word *hele*, signifying *marshy grounds*, such as those were in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, where they dwelt <sup>h</sup>. The *Heruli* *manners; customs,* had some laws peculiar to themselves, and differing from those of all other nations; for, among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were not to live, but intreat their relations to dispatch them; which they did accordingly, by placing them on a pile of wood, where they were put to death by one, who was a stranger to them in blood, and their bodies reduced to ashes, it being the duty of the nearest relation to set fire to the pile. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on her husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous, and looked upon as one, who had no value for her husband. They were given to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They adored the same gods as the other *Gothic* nations, and *religion.* used, on some extraordinary occasions, to appease them with human sacrifices <sup>i</sup>. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the antients for their swiftness and agility, all other nations choosing their light-armed soldiers out of them. The *Heruli* began first to invade the empire about the year 526. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian's* reign; but were soon driven back by *Gallienus*, the son of *Valerian*, and his colleague in the empire <sup>k</sup>.

ELEVEN years after, the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* sea with five hundred vessels, under the conduct of one of their chiefs named *Naulobatus*, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryopolis*, now *Scutari*. At the latter place they were met and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. The *Heruli*, somewhat discouraged with the loss they had sustained, reembarked, and began to retire to the mouth of the *Euxine* sea; but the very next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned anew before *Byzantium*, and, having crossed the *Bosporus*, surprised and plundered the city of *Cyzicus*, with great part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Thence they steered their course towards *Greece*, and, landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, without meeting with the least opposition, till the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian, waiting for them in the streights, and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great num-

*Great ravages committed by them in Asia and Greece.*

<sup>s</sup> Idem, c. 14.

<sup>h</sup> JORN. ubi supra.

<sup>i</sup> PROCOR. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> ZONAR. vit. Gallien. p. 253.

bers of them in pieces. However, in their retreat they committed great devastations in *Bæotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. In the mean time *Gallienus*, returning from *Gaul*, hastened into *Illyrium*, hoping to meet the *Heruli* there on their return home. He met them accordingly, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them with great slaughter as far as the *Nessus* in *Mæsia*, and there cut three thousand of them in pieces, as they were attempting to cross that river. *Naulebat* himself was taken prisoner, but treated with great humanity by *Gallienus*, who, to gain the affection of the barbarians, honoured him either with the consulate, or the consular ornaments<sup>1</sup>. The *Heruli*, however, two years after, that is, in 269. joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, against the emperor *Claudius*; but were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at large elsewhere<sup>m</sup>.

In the year 287. the fourth of *Dioclesian's* reign, the *Heruli*, joining the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, entered *Gaul*, and laid waste the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*. But *Maximian*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with such slaughter, that, if his panegyrist may be credited, out of so great a multitude not one was left alive to carry home the news of their defeat<sup>n</sup>. All we know of the *Chaibons* and *Cavions* is, that their country lay at a great distance from *Gaul*, as well as that of the *Heruli*<sup>o</sup>. In the year 366. the third of *Valentinian's* reign, we find a body of *Heruli* serving in the *Roman* army on the *Rhine*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>p</sup> and *Zosimus*<sup>q</sup> tell us, that the *Alemans*, crossing that river on the ice, defeated the *Romans*, and took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*. About the year 370. *Ermenric*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Ermanaric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, after having subdued the neighbouring nations, fell upon the *Heruli*, and obliged them to submit, to pay him a yearly tribute, and to supply his army with their youth, when required<sup>r</sup>. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and served in his army, when in 451. he invaded *Gaul*. Upon the death of *Attila*, they recovered their ancient liberty, and, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, served in their armies, under commanders of their own nation, but named by the emperors<sup>s</sup>.

Year of the flood 2635.  
Of Christ 287.  
Of Rome 1035.

Subdued by the Ostrogoths and Hunns.

Serve in the Roman armies.

<sup>1</sup> Gallien. vit. p. 181—184. Zos. l. i. p. 651. SYNCER. p. 382. <sup>m</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 247, 248. <sup>n</sup> Panegyri. x.

p. 125. <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. p. 124. <sup>p</sup> AMM. MARCEL. l. xiv.

p. 334. <sup>q</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 740. <sup>r</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. p. 645.

PROCOR. de bell. Goth. l. i. sub init. <sup>s</sup> AGATH. l. i. p. 22.

In the year 456. they made a descent on the coast of *Galicia*; but, finding the inhabitants on their guard, they re embarked, and, landing in *Biscay*, committed great ravages there <sup>1</sup>. *Idatius*, who speaks of this descent, does not tell us whence these *Heruli* came, who, according to him, were but four hundred in number. When *Odoacer* made himself master of *Italy* in 476. such of the *Heruli*, as served at that time in the *Roman* armies, obtained of him lands in *Italy*, the third of that country being by him divided among the barbarians, who were in the *Roman* service, under the name of *fœderati*, or allies, and had joined him against *Orestes*, and his son *Augustulus*, as we have related elsewhere <sup>2</sup>. In the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, which began in 491. they made war on several barbarous nations, says *Procopius* <sup>3</sup>, and subdued them; but, having obliged their king *Rodolphus* to make war upon the *Lombards*, without the least provocation, they were overthrown by them with Over- great slaughter, and obliged to live either in subjection to the thrown conquerors, or abandon their country. Most of them chose with great the latter, some settling in the country of the *Rugians*, as we slaughter have hinted above, others returning into *Scandinavia*, and by the some, with the permission of the emperor *Anastasius*, taking Lom- up their abode in *Thrace* and *Illyrium* <sup>4</sup>, where they had not bard's been long, ere they began to oppress and abuse, in a most barbarous manner, the *Romans*, among whom they lived. Hereupon *Anastasius* ordered the troops quartered in the neighbouring provinces to march to the assistance of the oppressed *Romans*, who, taking arms upon their arrival, fell, in conjunction with them, on the *Heruli*, and cut most of them in pieces. Such of them as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the clemency of the emperor, who, upon their promising to serve the empire like faithful subjects, not only ordered them to be spared, but suffered them to continue in the countries, which he had formerly granted them <sup>5</sup>.

In the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, which began in 526. *They mur- the Heruli* having murdered their king, and no other remain- der slain ing among them of the blood royal, they dispatched embassa- king, and dors into *Thule* or *Scandinavia*, with orders to bring a prince send for from thence of the same family, if it was not extinct likewise another there. The ambassadors, pursuant to their directions, pitched from upon one (for there were many of the royal race there); but, *Thule*. he dying on the way, they went back, and chose another named *Todasius*, who immediately set out on his journey to *Thrace*, attended by the ambassadors, by his brother *Aordas*,

<sup>1</sup> *Idat.* p. 32.    <sup>2</sup> *Univ. hist.* vol. xvi. p. 595, 596.    <sup>3</sup> *Procop.* bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.    <sup>4</sup> *Idem* *ibid.* p. 420.    <sup>5</sup> *Idem* *ibid.* & *PAUL. DIAC.* Lang. c. 20. p. 759.

and by a guard of two hundred men. But in the mean time the *Heruli*, having long waited the return of their ambassadors, and suspecting they had met with some misfortune, had recourse to *Justinian*, begging he would give them a king. The emperor readily complied with their request, and appointed one *Suartuas* to reign over them, who was of the same nation, but had lived long at *Constantinople*. The *Heruli* received their new king with the greatest demonstrations of joy; but, a few days after his arrival, news being brought, that the ambassadors, on their return from *Thule*, had already reached the confines, with a prince of the blood royal, they immediately revolted from *Suartuas*, who was thereupon obliged to save himself by flight, and return to *Constantinople*. *Justinian*, highly provoked at their conduct, resolved to force them to acknowledge the prince he had given them; but the *Gepidæ* espousing the cause of the new king, the emperor, whose troops were then employed against the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, did not think it adviseable to engage in a new war. But the war in *Italy* was no sooner ended, than, turning his arms against the *Heruli*, and their allies the *Gepidæ*, he drove both nations quite out of the empire <sup>a</sup>. He was afterwards reconciled to the *Heruli*, who assisted him in his other wars, supplying his armies with numerous bodies of troops, of which one served with great reputation in *Italy*, and the other in *Colchis* <sup>a</sup>. In the reign of *Justinian*, great numbers of them embraced the Christian religion; but the change of religion wrought no change in their manners, being of all nations, says *Procopius*, the most wicked, the most treacherous, avaricious, and the most addicted to drunkenness, and all manner of lewdness and debauchery <sup>b</sup>. They were, soon after the death of *Justinian*, subdued by the *Lombards*, and lived partly subject to them, partly to the neighbouring nations.

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14, v. 5.<sup>a</sup> AGATH. l. i. c. 22.<sup>b</sup> PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 144.

### *The Marcomans.*

*The Marcomans.* **T**HE *Marcomans* are, by all the antient writers, reckoned among the *German* nations. They dwelt originally near the springs of the *Danube*; but removed from thence, under the conduct of their king *Maroboduus*, into the country which was then held by the *Boians*, and is still called from them *Bohemia*, as it was by the antients *Boiohemia* and *Boioheimia*, that is, the country of the *Boians*. The *Boians* were, according to *Cæsar*, a *Gaulish* nation, but from *Gaul* passed into  
Germany,

Germany, and, settling in the present *Bohemia*, continued there till they were driven out by the *Marcomans*<sup>a</sup>. The migration of the *Marcomans*, from their original country into that of the *Boians*, is mentioned by *Velleius Paterculus*<sup>b</sup>. *Ptolemy*, in describing the country of the *Marcomans*, mentions a city there called *Marobudum*, which name it took, without all doubt, from its founder *Maroboduus* (A). The *Marcomans* agreed in customs, manners, religion, &c. with the other *German* nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery. Of all the *German* nations they alone made use of the *Runic* letters in their charms and incantations; whence *Laxius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* conclude them to have come originally from *Scandinavia*<sup>c</sup>; but, in every thing else, they agreed with the *German* nations, and are reckoned among them, as we have hinted above, by the antient writers.

As for their history; in the reign of *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, having crossed the *Rhine* at the head of a very numerous and powerful army, gained great advantages over them, and the other *German* nations; which obliged them to send deputies to *Augustus*, and sue for peace. The emperor received the *The Mar-*embassadors of the *Marcomans* with particular marks of distinction, and granted them their request; but obliged the *obtain a* other *German* nations to retire beyond the *Elbe*, and the *Si-*peace of *cambrians*, with such of the *Sueves* as were not subject to *Ma-*Augustus.  
*roboduus*, to abandon their native country, and people some places in *Gaul*, that were destitute of inhabitants<sup>d</sup>. In the year 17. the fourth of *Tiberius*, a war broke out between the *They wage* *Marcomans* and the *Cherusicans* dwelling between the *Elbe* and *war with* the *Wefer*. The former were commanded by *Maroboduus*, the *Cher-*rusicans. and the latter by the celebrated *Arminius*, who, a few years before, had cut off the legions of *Varus*. But all we know of this war is, that the *Cherusicans* gained considerable advantages over the *Marcomans*<sup>e</sup>. Two years after, *Tiberius* having, by his emissaries, stirred up the subjects of *Maroboduus*

<sup>a</sup> CÆSAR, l. vi. c. 24.<sup>b</sup> VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 108.<sup>c</sup> GOLDAST. Alam. antiq. tom. ii. par. 1.<sup>d</sup> SUET. l. ii. c. 21.

p. 178. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 26. p. 47. STRAB. l. vii. p. 29.

<sup>e</sup> TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 42. p. 53. & c. 44. 46. p. 54, 55.

(A) This our modern geographers take to be the present city of *Prague*. *Strabo* calls the city, *Boiaum*. fided, *Boviasnum* (1); but *Cluverius* thinks we ought to read *Boiaum*. where *Maroboduus* usually re-

(1) *Strabo*, l. vii. p. 201.



against him, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna*. *Maroboduus* was succeeded by *Catualdus*, who was likewise driven out soon after, and obliged to take refuge in *Gaul*<sup>f</sup>.

In the year 86. the emperor *Domitian*, provoked against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, because they did not assist him in the war, which he was then waging with the *Dacians*, entered their country in an hostile manner. Both nations earnestly sued for peace; which *Domitian* was so far from granting, that he caused their ambassadors to be put to death. Hereupon the *Marcomans* flew to arms, and, having drawn together a considerable body of troops, they engaged the emperor, and put his army to the rout<sup>g</sup>. However, the emperor, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed both over them and the *Dacians*, of whom, after his defeat by the *Marcomans*, he had purchased a peace with large sums, which he had refused before upon most advantageous terms<sup>h</sup>. But the triumphs of this emperor were looked upon as certain tokens of his having been defeated<sup>i</sup>. In the year 93. *Domitian* marched in person against the *Sarmatians*, who, according to some, had cut in pieces one, according to others, several *Roman* legions<sup>k</sup>; and, at the same time, made war upon the *Marcomans*<sup>l</sup>. But all we know of this war is, that *Domitian* pretended to have gained great advantages over both nations, and, on that account, took the title of *imperator*<sup>m</sup>.

WE have spoken elsewhere at large of the memorable war, which, in conjunction with several other *German* nations, the *Marcomans* made on the empire<sup>n</sup>; and therefore shall only observe here, that, in one of the battles that were fought in this war, the *Romans* were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men; and that, on another occasion, the emperor *Aurelius* was in great danger of being cut off with his whole army<sup>o</sup>. Though the whole strength of the empire was employed against them, yet they held out for the space of fifteen years, and in the end obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms, one of which was, that they should not, for the future, settle within six miles of the *Danube*. Some of the *Marcomans*, who submitted to the emperor, were transplanted into *Italy*; but these, having attempted to make themselves masters of *Ravenna*, were by him sent back to their own country. This war lasted from the year 165. to the year 180.

<sup>f</sup> TAC. ann. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61, 62.

<sup>g</sup> DIO, l. lxvii. p. 764.

<sup>h</sup> SÆT. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788, 789. EUSEB. chron. <sup>i</sup> SÆT. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> STAT. sylv. iii. ver. 398. SÆT. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788.

<sup>l</sup> STAT. ibid. <sup>m</sup> SÆT. ibid. p. 789. <sup>n</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xv.

p. 218—223. <sup>o</sup> DIO, l. lxxi. p. 807.

In the year 214. a war was kindled between them and the *Vandals*, by means of the emperor *Caracalla*, who used to boast, that he had set at variance those two nations, which, till his time, had lived in friendship and amity<sup>2</sup>; but what was the issue of that war, we are no-where told. In the year 256. the emperor *Gallienus* entered into an alliance with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*; and, upon the captivity of his father *Valerian*, taken prisoner by the *Persians*, he yielded to him part of *Upper Pannonia* for his daughter *Pipa* or *Pipara*, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was already married to *Salonina*, stiled in the antient inscription *Cornelia Salonina Augusta*<sup>3</sup>, *Pipa* is called by the writers of those times his concubine<sup>4</sup>.

THE *Marcomans* joined the *Alemans* and the *Juthungians* in the war, which those nations made on the emperor *Aurelian* about the year 270. but were in the end cut off almost to a man<sup>5</sup>. Both *Idatius* and *Victor*<sup>6</sup> mention a victory gained over the *Marcomans* in the year 299. the sixteenth of *Dioctesian's* reign. About the year 396. *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, having embraced the Christian religion, wrote to *St. Ambrose*, intreating him to send her some instructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate readily complied with her request, and besides exhorted her to persuade her husband to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*. This she not only did, but prevailed upon the king to subject himself, and his kingdom, to the empire<sup>7</sup>. And hence it is, that, among the many barbarous nations that broke into *Gaul* a few years after, that is, in 406. and 407. no mention is made of the *Marcomans*. They seem to have continued faithful to the *Romans* till the time of *Attila*, when, being subdued by that prince, they were obliged to serve in his army against their old friends and allies; for they are mentioned among the many different nations, of which his army was composed, when in the year 451. he invaded *Gaul*<sup>8</sup>. Upon the death of *Attila*, they shook off the yoke, and, having recovered their antient liberty, submitted either to *Marcan*, or his successor *Leo*<sup>9</sup>, and served the empire to the last with unshaken fidelity. From them, and, without all doubt, from several other nations settled among them, are descended the present inhabitants of *Bohemia*.

The king  
of the  
Marco-  
mans sub-  
jects him-  
self, and  
his king-  
dom, to the  
empire.  
Year of  
the flood  
2744  
Of Christ  
396.  
Of Rome  
1144.

<sup>2</sup> *Dio, Val.* p. 754. 757. <sup>3</sup> *GOLTZ. BIRAG.* p. 380. <sup>4</sup> *Gal-  
lien. vit.* p. 184. *Valer. vit.* p. 174. *VICT. epit.* p. 541. <sup>5</sup> *Univ.  
hist. vol. xv.* p. 447, 448. <sup>6</sup> *AUR. VICT.* p. 525. <sup>7</sup> *Ambros.  
vit. c. 36.* p. 10. <sup>8</sup> *JORN. rer. Goth. c. 38.* p. 666, 667.  
<sup>9</sup> *Idem ibid. c. 50.* p. 688.

## The Quadians.

The Quadians.  
Their country.

Their wars with the empire.

They join the Marcomans against M. Aurelius.

NEXT to the *Marcomans* dwelt the *Quadians*, a German nation often mentioned by the antients, especially by *Eutropius* and *Capitolinus*. Their country is at present known by the name of *Moravia*; for it extended from the mountains of *Bohemia* to the river *Marus*, now the *March*, and consequently comprised that province. *Ptolemy* mentions the following cities in the country of the *Quadians*; to wit, *Eburodunum*, or, as others read it, *Rabodunum*, *Eburum*, *Medoslanium*, and *Celemantia*, now, according to *Cluverius*, *Brin*, *Olmütz*, *Znaim*, and *Kalminz*. The *Quadians* were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in customs, manners, and religion, with the other German nations. The *Quadians* joined, without all doubt, their countrymen against *Lollius*, *Germanicus*, *Caius*, and *Galba*, attempting to reduce *Germany*, and bring under subjection the several nations inhabiting that extensive country. The emperor *Domitian*, while engaged in a war with the *Dacians*, turned unexpectedly his arms against them; but, before the *Quadians* could draw their troops together, the emperor was defeated, and put to flight, by the *Marcomans*, as we have related above. They submitted, it seems, to the emperor *Titus Antoninus*; for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince, as appears from some of *Antoninus's* coins, supposed to have been struck about the year 139<sup>a</sup>. They joined the *Marcomans* in the memorable war, which that nation made on the empire in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, as we have hinted above, and related a large in our *Roman history*<sup>b</sup>. The *Quadians*, being, by that war, which had lasted fifteen years, reduced to great straits, sent in the end ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them all the *Roman* deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war. By that means they obtained a peace, upon condition that they should not traffick for the future within the *Roman* dominions, nor settle within six miles of the *Danube*. But, disliking these conditions, they renewed the war, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*; and, having driven out *Furtius*, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed one *Ariogeses* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* resented to such a degree, that tho' the *Quadians* promised to set at liberty fifty thousand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he confirmed to *Ariogeses* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken

<sup>a</sup> BIRAC. p. 194. SPANH. l. ix. p. 831, 832. <sup>b</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 18---223.

to the proposal; but, on the contrary, proscribed the new prince, and set a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadians*, being joined by the *Marcomans*, and several other nations, attacked the *Romans*; but, after a long and bloody dispute, were put to the rout, and utterly defeated. *Ariogestes* himself was taken prisoner; but the emperor generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining him to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*.

AFTER this victory, the other nations submitted, and obtained a peace; but the *Quadians* seem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*, who granted them a peace *They ob-* upon the following terms: 1. That they should keep at the distance of five miles from the *Danube*. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month in one place only, and in the presence of a *Roman* centurion. And, lastly, That they should not make war upon the neighbouring nations, without the consent of the people of *Rome*. This peace was concluded in the year 180. the first of the emperor *Commodus's* reign. In the year 214. the *Quadians* had one *Gaiobomar* for their king, who was murdered by the order of *Caracalla*; but upon what provocation, we are not told. Of this assassination the emperor used to boast, as of a glorious action<sup>d</sup>. In 257. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian's* reign, the *Quadians*, joining the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged part of that province; but they were defeated by *Probus*, afterwards emperor, but at that time only tribune of a legion. On this occasion *Probus* rescued out of the hands of the *Quadians* *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth descended from an illustrious family, and nearly related to the emperor *Valerian*, who publicly commended *Probus* for so glorious an action, and presented him with a civic crown, which, in the times of the republic, was bestowed on those, who had saved the life of a citizen<sup>e</sup>. In 260. the seventh of the emperor *Gallienus*, they made a sudden irruption into *Pannonia*; but were obliged by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, to quit their booty, and return home. That commander is said to have gained several victories over them in one day<sup>f</sup>. Some years after, that is, about the year 283. *Probus*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, being dead, the *Quadians*, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, and, after having ravaged those provinces, were advancing towards *Italy*; but *Carus*, who had succeeded *Probus*, meeting them on the borders of

*Defeated by Probus,*

Year of the flood 2631.  
Of Christ 283.  
Of Rome 1031.

<sup>e</sup> Dio, l. lxxii. p. 806. 817. <sup>d</sup> Dio, VAL. p. 754. 757.  
<sup>f</sup> Prob. vit. p. 234, 235. <sup>g</sup> Trig. tyr. vit. p. 188.

and by Carinus, gave them a total overthrow, killed sixteen thousand of them on the spot, and took twenty thousand prisoners <sup>a</sup>. In the year 355. the nineteenth of the emperor *Constantius*, the *Quadians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; and, having pillaged both provinces, without meeting with the least opposition, returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty <sup>b</sup>. Of this irruption, no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waste *Valeria*, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Sarmatians* over-ran *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mæsia*. Hereupon *Constantius*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, advanced to the confines of the *Quadians*, and there conferred with their chiefs, who excused, in the best manner they could, the past ravages, and promised, for the future, to live in peace and amity with the empire <sup>c</sup>. Notwithstanding the promises they had made, the following year 358. in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, they laid waste great part of *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; but, at the approach of *Constantius*, who marched against them in person, they repassed the *Danube*, and returned home. The emperor resolved to punish them for their treachery, and, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, began to lay waste their country. The *Quadians*, not finding themselves in a condition to make head against the numerous forces *Constantius* had with him, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor readily granted them, upon their delivering up hostages, and setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken <sup>d</sup>.

Their king *Gabinus* murdered by *Marcellianus* duke of *Valeria*, they passed the *Danube* in the utmost rage; and, falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, cut most of them in pieces, laid waste the country to a great distance, and took an incredible number of captives. *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, not finding himself in a condition to stem this furious torrent, retired into *Valeria*; but the *Quadians*, looking upon him as the chief author of the murder of their king, followed him thither, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they passed. In their way they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and *Mæssian*, who had been sent to oppose them; but, the legions falling into an unseasonable contention about pre-  
cedency, the barbarians, taking advantage of their disagreement, cut them both in pieces. Thus all the open country was abandoned to them, the *Romans* remaining masters only

They cut off two Roman legions, and committed great

<sup>a</sup> Carin. vit. p. 250. ZONAR. p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> Zos. p. 702.

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. p. 72. JUL. ad Ath. p. 513.

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii.

p. 105.

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of the fortified places. The Sarmatians, who had joined the Quadians in this irruption, having entered Upper *Mæsia*, were defeated there with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, but then very young, and only duke of *Mæsia*. Against the Quadians *Valentinian* I. then emperor, marched in person, and, arriving at *Carnutum* in *Illyricum*, which most geographers take to be the present city of *Hainburg* on the *Danube* in *Austria*, about thirty miles east of *Vienna*, continued there three months, making vast preparations for his intended expedition into the country of the Quadians. At length he took the field, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary*, he entered the enemy's country, and laid it waste, destroying all with fire and sword. Having thus passed the summer, and great part of the autumn, he took up his winter-quarters at *Bregetio*, which some take to be a village on the *Danube*, now called *Bregnitz*, and others the present city of *Komare* in the isle of *Schut*. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the Quadians, come to sue for peace; but, while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he fell all on a sudden to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. Being immediately conveyed into his chamber, he was there seized with convulsion-fits, and violent contorsions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he soon expired. *Socrates* writes, that, being offended at the mean and beggarly appearance of the ambassadors of the Quadians, he asked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him. They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a violent passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for daring to insult the majesty of the *Roman* people. He delivered himself with so much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood.

UPON his death, the officers of the army proclaimed *Valentinian*, his second son, emperor, though he was then a child of four or five years old. At the same time they concluded a truce with the Quadians, and recalled the troops, which, under the conduct of *Merobaudes*, and count *Sebastian*, were laying waste their country. In the year 379. the Quadians broke anew into *Illyricum*; but were driven out with some loss by the emperor *Gratian*. In the year 407. they entered *Gaul* with the other barbarians, and over-ran those provinces, committing every-where dreadful ravages, of which we have

• Idem, l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zos. l. iv. p. 745. • AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 68. • SOCRAT. p. 284.

Year of the flood  
2722.  
Of Christ  
374.  
Of Rome  
1122.

spoken at large elsewhere<sup>a</sup>. From this time no further mention is made in history of the *Quadians*; whence *Laxius* concludes them to have been either subdued, or utterly extirpated, by the *Goths*, who had settled in *Pannonia* and *Myricum*.

<sup>a</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xvi. p. 318, 319.

### The Sarmatians.

The Sarmatians.  
Their country.

They consisted of several different nations.

Their origin.

THE *Sarmatians* were a very numerous and warlike nation, divided into many tribes, each of them having their own king, and masters of a large and extensive country. *Sarmatia Europæa*, or *Sarmatia in Europe*, of which alone we design to speak here, extended from the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, parting it from *Germany*, to the *Euxine* sea, the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais*, dividing it from *Asia* and the *Asiatic Sarmatia*. In this vast tract of land, comprehending the present *Poland*, *Russia*, and great part of *Tartary*, dwelt the following nations, to wit, the *Burgiones*, *Cariones*, *Sudeni*, *Geloni*, *Hamaxobii*, *Agathyrsi*, *Boruscæ*, *Melanchlænæ*, *Alauni* or *Alani*, *Iazyges*, *Roxolani*, *Bastarnæ*, *Carpi* or *Carpathes*, *Sidones*, *Borani*, and *Venedi*, by *Jornandes* called *Winidæ* and *Vinidi*. The five last-named nations are thought to have come originally from *Germany*, especially the *Bastarnæ*; for even in the time of *Tacitus*, who is at a loss whether he ought to place them among the *German* or the *Sarmatian* nations, they agreed with the former in dress and language<sup>c</sup>. The *Gelonians* were, according to *Herodotus*<sup>b</sup>, of *Greek* extraction; but had, even in his time, adopted, in a great measure, the customs and manners of the *Budini*, among whom they had settled, especially the custom of painting their bodies, as we read in *Vergil*<sup>c</sup> and *Claudian*<sup>d</sup>. The *Budini* dwelt near mount *Budinus*, from which springs the *Rorystheres*, called by more modern writers the *Danapris*, and thence the *Dnieper* or *Nieper*. The other nations, which we have mentioned above, were all *Gothic*; and of the origin of the *Gothic* nations we have spoken at large in the history of the *Goths*. These various nations were blended by the *Romans* under the common name of *Sarmatæ*; by the *Greeks* under that of *Sauromatæ*, and sometimes by both, under the denominations of *Scythæ* or *Scythians*, and *Gætæ*. Each of them had, it seems, their own king; for mention is made in history of the kings of the *Roxolani*, of the *Bastarnæ*, of the *Iazyges*, &c. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the *Sarmatians*

<sup>a</sup> TACIT. de mor. German. c. 46.

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. c. 108.

<sup>c</sup> VIRG. georg. ii. ver. 115.

<sup>d</sup> CLAUD. l. i. in Russ. ver. 315.

*scythæ* in general, tells us, that they were a savage people, and infamous for their lewdness\*. The *Melanchlænæ* are said, both by *Ammianus*<sup>1</sup> and *Herodotus*<sup>2</sup>, to have fed on human flesh; and are thence called by them, as well as by *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Anthrophagæ* and *Androphagi*.

THE *Sarmatians* began first to threaten the empire in the reign of *Nero*, about the year of the Christian æra 63. that is, about seventeen years after *Thrace* had been by *Claudius* reduced to a *Roman* province; for, till its reduction, it had been governed by its own princes, and served as a barrier on that side between the *Sarmatians* and *Romans*. A few years after the latter<sup>3</sup> became possessed of it, the *Sarmatians* began to appear in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themselves masters of that province; which was then guarded by a small number of troops, under the command of *Plautius Silvanus Ælianus*, who had sent the rest to the assistance of *Corbulo*, then making war in *Armenia*. But, the *Roman* general having gained over the kings of the *Bastarnians* and *Roxolaniæ*, the rest soon dispersed<sup>4</sup>. However, six years after, that is, in 69. *Otho* being then emperor, the *Roxolaniæ*, who dwelt on the west side of the *Palus Mæotis*, entering *Mæsia*, defeated there two *Roman* cohorts; and, having pillaged that part of the province, which bordered on the *Danube*, they repassed the river, and returned home un-molested. Animated with this success, they appeared anew the same year with nine thousand horse. But *Marcus Aponius Sarmatinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, falling upon them with a legion and some auxiliaries, cut them off almost to a man<sup>5</sup>. The same year *Vespasian* being proclaimed emperor by the legions quartered in the East, the *Iazygians*, a *Sarmatic* nation dwelling next to the *Roxolaniæ*, declared for the new emperor against *Vitellius*. But *Vespasian*, returning them thanks for the troops they offered him, took with him only their chiefs, not with a design to employ them, but to prevent them from making inroads into the *Roman* territories during the war<sup>6</sup>. *Tacitus* calls the *Iazygians* the allies of the *Romans*.

BUT the very first year of the reign of *Vespasian*, whom they had offered to join a few months before, they broke into *Mæsia*; and, having killed *Fonteius Agrippa*, governor of that province, who attempted to oppose them, they laid waste the country far and near. Hereupon *Rubrius Gallus*, marching against them with the utmost expedition, pursuant to the or-

The Roxolaniæ de-  
feat two  
Roman  
cohorts,  
and ra-  
vage Mæ-  
sia.

Year of  
the flood  
2417.  
Of Christ  
69.  
Of Rome  
817.

\* AMM. MARCEL. l. xxxi. p. 443.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Hæ-

RODOR. l. iv. c. 102. 106.

<sup>3</sup> TACIT. annal. xv. c. 25. p. 248.

& 459.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, hist. l. i. c. 79. & l. ii. c. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Idem ibid.

l. iii. c. 7. & 63.



but are  
most of  
them cut  
pieces.

## The History of the Sarmatians.

ders he had received from the emperor, cut great numbers of them in pieces in several encounters, obliged the rest to pass the *Danube*, and, with great care, fortified the banks of the river, to cover the province from their incursions<sup>1</sup>. In the year 85. the fourth of *Domitian's* reign, the *Lazygians*, joining the *Surves*, armed, with a design, says *Dio*<sup>m</sup>, to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the *Roman* dominions; but whether they put their design in execution, that writer has not thought fit to tell us. *Tacitus* indeed writes in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Survians* armed against the empire<sup>n</sup>; and elsewhere, that this very year, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*<sup>o</sup>, in all likelihood by the *Lazygians* and *Survians*. In the year 93. the thirteenth of *Domitian's* reign, the *Sarmatians* having cut in pieces a *Roman* legion with their tribune, the emperor, who was then in *Dacia*, marched against them in person<sup>p</sup>; but with what success, we are not told. *Domitian* indeed took the title of *imperator*, as if he had gained some great advantage over the enemy; but that prince often claimed the victory when he had been driven out of the field, and shamefully put to flight, as we have hinted above (A).

They sub-  
mitted to A-  
drian.

As for the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*; they broke into *Illyricum* with great fury in the year, 119. the second of *Adrian's* reign; which obliged that prince to quit *Rome*, and march against them in person. Upon his arrival in *Moesia*, they repassed the *Danube* with great precipitation, and encamped on the opposite bank; but, the *Roman* cavalry swimming, armed as they were, cross the river, in order to attack them, the *Sarmatians* were struck with such terror, that they immediately submitted<sup>q</sup>. The course, to whose intrepidity and boldness was owing the submission of the enemy, were the *Bata-vians* in the *Roman* service, as appears from the epitaph of one of them named *Siranus*<sup>r</sup> (B).

<sup>1</sup> *TACIT.* hist. l. iv. c. 54. p. 102. *JOSEPH.* bell. vii. c. 22. p. 976. <sup>m</sup> *DIO*, l. lxvii. p. 761. <sup>n</sup> *TACIT.* l. i. c. 2. p. 4. <sup>o</sup> *Vit. Agr.* c. 41. p. 151. <sup>p</sup> *SUET.* in *Domit.* c. 6. p. 788. <sup>q</sup> *DIO*, l. lxi. p. 792. <sup>r</sup> *Ger.* nov. p. 12.

(A) The *Sarmatians* are by *Dio* reckoned among the nations that submitted to *Adrian* (1), while he was in *Armenia*, in 107. but that writer speaks, without doubt, of the *Asiatic Sarmatians*.

(B) *Suidas* writes, that *Adrian* himself passed the *Danube* on horseback (2); but he seems to have misunderstood the passage in *Dio*.

(1) *Dio*, l. lxviii. p. 779.

(2) *Suid.* p. 23.

THE princes of the *Sarmatians* quarreled afterwards among themselves, and chose *Adrian* for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of the contending parties. On this occasion, the king of the *Roxolans* complaining to the emperor, that his pension had been lessened, *Adrian* ordered the sum, which had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without the least deduction \*. In the year 135. the *Iazygians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to renew their alliance with *Adrian*, who received them in a very obliging manner, introduced them to the senate, and, having granted them their request, sent them back loaded with rich presents †.

ALL the nations inhabiting *Sarmatia* conspired, with the *Marcians*, against *M. Aurelius*; but were in the end most of them cut in pieces. Over the *Iazygians* in particular the emperor gained two complete victories, the one before they reached the *Danube* on their way home, and the other, described at large by *Dio* ‡, as they were crossing that river on the ice. But, notwithstanding the great losses they sustained in this war, they were so far from suing for peace, that they deposed, and threw into prison, their king named *Bandaspes*, for no other reason, but because he had sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being in the end abandoned by the *Marcians*, and their other allies, and reduced to great streights, their new king, named *Zantichus*, came in person, attended by all the chief men of the nation, to throw himself at the emperor's feet, and sue for peace: which was granted them upon the following terms; to wit, that they should not settle within ten miles of the *Danube*; that they should set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and supply the emperor's army with a body of eight thousand horse. With these conditions they readily complied; and we are told, that the prisoners, whom they dismissed on this occasion, were in number, at least, one hundred thousand, though they had sold to other nations many of those they had taken during the war. The eight thousand *Iazygian* horse were, by the emperor, sent into *Britain*. To the other *Sarmatic* nations lands were allotted in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, *Germany*, and even in *Italy* §. The *Iazygians* lived, it seems, some time in peace and amity with the *Romans*; for in 180. one of the articles of the peace concluded between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alcmans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Iazygians*,

*They join the Marcians against M. Aurelius.*  
Year of the flood 2513.  
Of Christ 165.  
Of Rome 913.

\* *Adrian. vit.* p. 4.  
1. lxxi. p. 804, 805.

† *Dio.* p. 794.  
‡ *Idem* *ibid.* p. 808, 809.

§ *Idem,*

Burians, or Vandals \*. Besides, no mention is made by historians, either of them, or the other Sarmatic nations, till the year 215. when the emperor Caracalla is said to have gained some advantages over the Sarmatians, and to have taken, on that account, the surname of Sarmaticus †.

*The Carpi demand an annual pension.* In the year 228. the Carpi, a people of Sarmatia dwelling near the Carpathian mountains, which part Hungary and Transylvania from Poland, being informed, that the Roman emperors paid a yearly pension to the Goths, sent deputies to Menophilus, governor of Mœsia, demanding, that the same sum which the Goths received should be paid to them, since their friendship deserved to be no less courted than that of the Goths. The deputies found Menophilus exercising his troops, according to his daily custom ; and, as he well knew on what errand they were come, to humble their pride, he made them wait several days before he gave them audience, allowing them in the mean time to assist at the military exercises performed by his troops. At length he received them seated on an high tribunal, and attended by all the officers of the army, to whom he pretended to give his orders while the ambassadors were speaking, as if nothing they said deserved his attention. The ambassadors, mortified and amazed at this conduct, only asked, Why money was given to the Goths, and not to them ? Because the emperor, answered Menophilus, bestows his favours on whom he pleases. We hope then, replied the ambassadors, that he will be pleased to shew himself as generous to us, as to the Goths : we are a more brave and deserving nation. The Roman general answered with a smile, That the emperor would do what he thought fit ; and that if they met him in four months time, at a place which he appointed, he would acquaint them with the emperor's will and pleasure.

*Their demand rejected.* THE ambassadors met him accordingly, and found him, as they had done before, wholly intent upon exercising his troops. Menophilus, having made them wait some days, as if he had affairs of greater importance on his hands than to give audience to them, received them in the same manner as he had done the first time, and ordered them to return in three months, appointing the place where they should find him. The answer he then gave them was, That the emperor would enter into no engagements with them ; but, if they stood in need of present relief, the emperor would, in all likelihood, out of his good-nature, allow them some, provided they went and threw themselves at his feet. They were highly provoked at this answer, and departed in a great

\* Dio, l. lxxii. p. 817.

† Get. vit. p. 92.

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rage; but nevertheless, awed by *Menophilus*, they continued quiet so long as he commanded in that province <sup>2</sup>. The emperor *Maximinus* made, it seems, war upon the *Sarmatians*, and gained considerable advantages over them; for it appears from several inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain*, that both he and his son took the surname of *Sarmaticus* <sup>a</sup> (C).

In the year 238. *Menophilus*, of whom we have spoken <sup>They made</sup> above, being recalled, the *Carpi*, who had been awed by his <sup>several</sup> presence, broke into *Mæsia*; and, having ravaged that province, and utterly destroyed the city of *Istria* or *Istropolis*, <sup>irruptions</sup> on the most southern mouth of the *Danube* in *Lower Mæsia*, <sup>into the</sup> or rather *Little Scythia*, they returned home unmolested, the *Romans* being then engaged in a civil war between *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus* <sup>empire</sup> <sup>b</sup>. In 242. the fourth of the emperor *Gordian's* reign, that prince, in passing through *Thrace* on his march into the East to make war there on the *Persians*, overcame the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, and obliged them to abandon that province, and retire beyond the *Danube* <sup>c</sup>. In the year 260. the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* seized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; but were driven out by *Regilianus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and is said to have gained several victories over them in one day <sup>d</sup>. He soon after caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but he was scarce seated on the throne, when the *Roxolani*, who served under him, revolted; and their example being followed by the rest of the army, he was murdered by some of his own men <sup>e</sup>. *Aurelian*, who was afterwards emperor, is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Sarmatians* and *Sueves* in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 268 <sup>f</sup>. But of this victory no mention is made by any other writer. In the year 278. the emperor *Probus* marched against them in person; but, at his

<sup>a</sup> Legat. excerpt. p. 24. p. 186, 187.

<sup>b</sup> Maxim. & Balb. vit. p. 171. vit. p. 165.

<sup>c</sup> Gord. <sup>d</sup> Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 188. <sup>e</sup> Idem

<sup>f</sup> Aur. vit. p. 213. <sup>ibid.</sup>

(C) However, *Capitolinus* only writes, that *Maximinus*, having quelled the *Germans*, resolved to make war upon the *Sarmatians*, and, with that design, passed the winter in 236. at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia* (3). *Maximinus*, speaking of himself in *Herodian*, only

says, that he overcame, on several occasions, the *Germans*; in so much that they were afraid to stir, as were likewise the *Sarmatians*, who, by their deputies, were constantly suing for peace (4).

(3) *Maximin. vit.* p. 143.

(4) *Herod. l. vii. p. 592. 600.*

approach; they retired from *Thrace*, where they had committed great ravages, abandoned the booty they had taken, and, awed by the fame of his name, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor granted them, upon their promising to keep beyond the *Danube*, and supply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops, when required &c.

THEY continued quiet during the remaining part of *Probus's* reign; but no sooner heard of his death, than they broke into *Illyricum*, destroying all with fire and sword. But *Carus*, then emperor, marching against them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to pass the *Danube*, and sue for peace <sup>b</sup>. About seven years after, they returned with a very numerous army, and committed great ravages in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; but *Dioclesian*, hastening to the relief of the oppressed provinces, defeated the barbarians with great slaughter. *Eumenus* writes, that, on this occasion, almost the whole nation was cut off <sup>c</sup>: but he speaks more like a panegyrist than an historian; for some years after, the *Sarmatians* dwelling near the *Palus Maotis*, under the conduct of *Crisco* king of *Bosporus*, broke into the country of the *Lazians* in *Colchis*, and, having pillaged great part of *Pontus*, advanced as far as the *Halys*, a river of *Paphlagonia*. *Constantius*, then only tribune, but soon after declared *Cæsar*, was sent by *Dioclesian* to put a stop to their ravages; but his army being far inferior in number to that of the barbarians, he contented himself with encamping on the opposite bank of the *Halys*, and by that means preventing them from passing that river. But in the mean time *Chrestus*, king of the *Chersonesus*, and vassal of the empire, having, at the instigation of *Dioclesian*, broken into *Sarmatia*, and even taken by stratagem the city of *Bosporus*, *Crisco* immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Constantius*, suing for peace; which was granted him, upon his restoring <sup>d</sup> the booty, and setting at liberty all the prisoners he had taken. *Chrestus* at the same time restored to him the booty <sup>e</sup> he had taken, and the prisoners, among whom were his wife, and his concubines. For this eminent piece of service, *Dioclesian* sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute, customs, and taxes (D).

<sup>a</sup> Prob. vit. p. 239.  
p. 133. & viii. p. 105. 107.

<sup>b</sup> Car. vit. p. 250.

<sup>c</sup> Panegyr. xi.

(D) This account we have copied from a piece, intituled, *Of the government of the empire, published by Meursius in 1611.* and ascribed to *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, who reigned in the East in 950.

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THE emperor *Galerius* made war, it seems, on the *Sarmatians*; for both *Zonaras* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* tell us, <sup>for Gale-</sup> that, seeking the destruction of *Constantine*, whose extraordinary <sup>war on the</sup> qualities gave him great umbrage, he ordered him, in the *Sarmatian war*, to engage a barbarian, who surpassed all the others in stature, and the fierceness of his looks; which *Constantine* did accordingly, and, having overcome him, and thrown him to the ground, he dragged him by the hair to the emperor's presence, and laid him at his feet. In the same war, having ordered him to cross a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first on horseback, and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the sword, and gained a complete victory <sup>the</sup>. This is supposed to have happened about the year 305. About the same time the whole nation of the *Carpi* submitted to the *Romans*, being several times overcome, and reduced to great distress, by *Galerius*. *Dioclesian* transplanted the whole nation into the *Roman territories*, especially into *Pannonia*, where great numbers of them had been allowed to settle in the reign of *Aurelian* <sup>The Carpi trans-</sup> <sup>planted</sup> <sup>into the</sup> <sup>empire.</sup> <sup>the</sup> *Constantine the Great*, in the year 322. the seventeenth of his reign, gained a great victory over the other *Sarmatic nations* <sup>The Sar-</sup>. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in several battles in the neighbourhood of *Campana*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube* <sup>in several</sup>. *Raufimodes*, one of the *Sarmatian kings*, had, as we read in *Zosimus*, besieged a city, which that writer <sup>battles by</sup> does not name; but *Constantine*, hastening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and, having obliged those, who had made their escape, to repair the *Danube*, he pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time, killed their king *Raufimodes*, laid waste their country, and returned with an incredible number of captives. The *Sarmatian* sports, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, as appears from an antient calendar of the year 534. <sup>Year of the flood</sup> <sup>2670.</sup> <sup>Of Christ</sup> <sup>322.</sup> <sup>Of Rome</sup> <sup>1070.</sup> probably took their rise from this victory.

In the year 332. a war being kindled between the *Sarmatians* and *Constantine*, the latter had recourse to *Constantine*, who immediately sent a considerable body of troops to their assistance. These, engaging the *Goths* on the twentieth of *April* <sup>their cause</sup> of this year, gained a complete victory over them. We are against the told, that, in this war, near an hundred thousand *Goths* perished either by the sword, or by famine. At length they

\* ZONAR. vit. Dioc. p. 246. AMMIAN. p. 471. <sup>1</sup> AM  
 JULIAN. L. XVIII. p. 357. AUR. VICT. p. 525. <sup>m</sup> Zos. l. ii.  
 p. 680. <sup>n</sup> OPTAT. c. 23. <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

concluded a peace, both with the *Romans* and the *Sarmatians*, *Ariaric* or *Araric* their king delivering up his son as an hostage <sup>p</sup>, and supplying the *Roman* armies with a body of forty thousand *Goths*; which corps was, for some ages, kept intire and complete, and served under the name of *fœderati*, or allies <sup>q</sup>. The *Sarmatians*, finding they had nothing now to fear from the *Goths*, with the utmost ingratitude, turned their arms against their friends and benefactors, making frequent inroads into the territories of the *Romans*, to whom they owed their deliverance. *Constantine*, highly provoked at their conduct, marched against them at the head of a powerful army, and, having put them to flight, entered their country, destroying all with fire and sword. However, upon their submitting, and promising to serve the empire with fidelity, the emperor put a stop to all hostilities, and, quitting their country, repassed the *Danube* <sup>r</sup>. Two years after, the *Sarmatians* were attacked anew by the *Goths*, under the conduct of their king *Geberic*, the successor of *Araric*. The war lasted some years; but in the end the *Sarmatians* were utterly defeated on the banks of the *Marisus* in *Dacia*.

Punished by him for their ingratitude.

In this battle, the *Sarmatians* lost their king *Wisimar*, and with him the flower of their nobility, and such numbers of men, that they were obliged to arm their slaves; who were defeated indeed the *Goths* <sup>s</sup>; but then, turning their arms against their masters, drove them quite out of their native country, and seized on their lands and possessions <sup>t</sup>. These slaves are by *Ammianus* <sup>u</sup> and *St. Jerom* <sup>v</sup> stiled *Limigantes*. The former tells us, that the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were distinguished by the name of *Acaragantes* <sup>w</sup>. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven out by their slaves, had recourse to *Constantine*, who received three hundred thousand of them within the empire; incorporated some among his troops, and to the others allowed lands in the provinces bordering on the *Danube*, and in *Italy* itself <sup>x</sup>. Some of them took refuge among other barbarians, by *Ammianus* called *Vistobales* <sup>y</sup>, and by most writers thought to be the same people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*, or the *Quadians* beyond the mountains *Sudeti* or *Suditi* parting the country of the *Quadi* from that of the *Marcomans*, at present the mountains of *Bohemia*. The *Sarmatians*, who took refuge among the *Quadians*, in the year 355, made an irruption into *Pannonia*, in conjunction

They are driven out of their country by their slaves.

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. p. 472.      <sup>q</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640.  
<sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 476. SOCRAT. p. 48.      <sup>s</sup> AMMIAN. Anonym. ibid. & AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 107.      <sup>t</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>u</sup> HIER. chron.      <sup>v</sup> AMMIAN. ibid.      <sup>w</sup> EUSEB. p. 529.  
AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 476.      <sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 106.

with

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with the *Quadians*, and, having pillaged both that province and *Upper Mæsia*, returned home unmolested, with an immense booty <sup>a</sup>. Thus *Zosimus*. But of this irruption no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waste the same provinces, while the *Suèves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Quadians* in *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Constantius*, who was then at *Rome*, and, as *Ammianus* tells us <sup>a</sup>, mightily taken with the curiosities and diversions of that city, set out in great haste to stop the progress of the barbarians, who threatened *Italy* itself; but they were no sooner informed of his arrival at *Milan*, than they retired of their own accord <sup>b</sup>. However, the emperor advanced as far as *Sirmium*, and there had several conferences with the chiefs of the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, who all promised to live in peace and amity with the empire <sup>c</sup>.

BUT the following winter, while the *Danube* was frozen, *They break* unmindful of their promises, they laid hold of that opportunity, and, entering *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*, pillaged those provinces, while the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the peace they had lately concluded with the empire, laid waste *Rhætia*. Against the *Alemans* *Constantius* dispatched *Barbatio*; but against the *Sarmatians*, who had been joined by the *Quadians*, he marched in person, leaving *Sirmium*, where he had passed the winter, after the spring equinox <sup>d</sup>. The barbarians retired at his approach; but the emperor, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered their country, and laid it waste far and near. The *Sarmatians* came in great numbers to *Constantius*, pretending to sue for peace; but their real design was to attack the *Romans* unawares. Of this the emperor had timely notice, and therefore ordered his troops to fall upon them as they drew near; which they did accordingly, and cut them in pieces to a man. The rest, disheartened but conclude a peace with them, submitted to *Constantius*, which concluded a peace with them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages as a surety for their future conduct <sup>e</sup>. The *Sarmatians* reaped in the end great advantages from this war. They had been driven out of their own country by their slaves in 334. as we have hinted above, and obliged to take refuge among the *Quadians*, who treated them as their subjects. From this subjection they were delivered by *Constantius*, who declared them free, appointed one *Zizais*, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them,

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 702.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. p. 72.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. & JUL. ad Athen. p. 513.

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii.

p. 104. <sup>e</sup> Idem, p. 105.



and re-established them in their ancient country; for the slaves, by whom they had been driven out, having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, *Constantius* made war upon them, and reduced them to great streights. Hereupon the *Limigantes* (so those slaves were called) came in great numbers to the emperor; suing for peace; but resolved at the same to fall unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, if they could not obtain it upon honourable terms. This *Constantius* suspected, and therefore ordered his troops to surround them insensibly, while they were yet speaking. When they had done, *Constantius* told them upon what terms he was willing to grant them a peace; which they no-way relishing, began to handle their arms. This the *Romans*, who watched them narrowly, no sooner observed, than they fell upon them sword in hand, and cut most of them in pieces, not one, out of so great a multitude, calling for quarter, or offering to submit<sup>f</sup>. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one side, and the *Sarmatians*, their ancient masters, on the other, a dreadful havock was made of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age.

Thus the *Limigantes* were obliged at length to submit, and accept the terms, however hard, that were offered them. These were, that they should quit the country, which they had seized on, and held with the utmost injustice, and retire to another at a great distance from the empire. The country, which they abandoned, was, by *Constantius*, restored to the ancient proprietors, who settled there anew twenty-four years after they had been driven out by their rebellious slaves<sup>g</sup>. For these great achievements the victorious emperor *Constantius* took the surname of *Sarmaticus*<sup>h</sup>. The *Sarmatians*, notwithstanding the great obligations they owed the *Romans*, a few years after, that is, in 364. broke into *Pannonia*, and laid waste that province, while the *Roman* troops were employed against the *Alemans* in *Rhætia*<sup>i</sup>. In 374. they joined the *Quadians*, and, in conjunction with them, committed dreadful ravages in *Pannonia*, and from thence advanced into *Upper-Moesia*; but were there defeated with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, as we have related above. In the year 376. *Athanaric*, one of the chiefs of the *Goths*, being forced by the *Hunns* to abandon his own country, retired, with his people, to a place called *Caucalanda*, driving from thence the *Sarmatians*, to whom it belonged<sup>k</sup>. In 378. the *Sarmatians*, informed that the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, had taken up arms against the *Romans*, resolved to pass the *Danube*, and join them. But *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, meeting them in *Thrace*, gave

They are  
restored by  
Constantius.

Year of  
the flood  
2706.  
Of Christ  
358.  
Of Rome  
1106.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 109.

<sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 110, 111.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 112.

<sup>i</sup> Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, p. 453.

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them a total overthrow. Incredible numbers of the barbarians were cut in pieces, and the victory *Theodosius* gained over them is said to have been so complete, that *Gratian*, then emperor, could not believe the account, which *Theodosius* himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle<sup>1</sup>. In the year 407. they entered *Gaul*, with the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and other barbarians, and committed dreadful ravages there. Those who remained in *Sarmatia*, were afterwards subdued by *Attila*, and served, with their princes, in his army, when he invaded *Gaul* in 451<sup>m</sup>. Upon that prince's death, they shook off the yoke; and, having recovered their antient liberty, submitted to *Marcian*, then emperor, who allowed them to settle in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, and the other provinces bordering on the *Danube*, where they continued quiet, till they were reduced by the *Goths*, the most powerful nation in those parts. Such of them as resided among the *Goths*, became, in process of time, one nation with them. From those who remained in *Sarmatia*, the present *Poles* and *Tartars* are thought to have sprung.

<sup>1</sup> THEODORET. l. v. c. 5. p. 710.

<sup>m</sup> JORN. p. 685—688.

### The Dacians.

THE *Dacians* were, according to *Jornandes*<sup>a</sup>, a Gothic nation, came originally out of *Scandinavia*, and, settling *Their* in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, made themselves *origin* masters of *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, *Thrace*, and *Dacia*, driving out the antient inhabitants. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Herodotus*, to wit, that the antient *Scythians*, who, coming out of *Syria*, had crossed the *Axexes*, and settled in the country which was afterwards called *Scythia*, were, in process of time, driven from their seats by the *Cimmerians*, that is, by the *Goths*, who, according to *Jornandes*, settled first in *Cimmeria*. *Dio* observes, that the same people were called *Dacians* by the *Romans*, and *Getes* by the *Greeks*<sup>b</sup>; and *Justin*, the compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, tells us in express terms, that the *Dacians* were the offspring of the *Getes*<sup>c</sup>. Now, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same people, we have sufficiently proved above, in our history of the *Goths* (A). The *Dacians*, in more antient times, were known

<sup>a</sup> JORN. rer. Get. l. v. <sup>b</sup> DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 761. <sup>c</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxii.

(A) Some writers derive the *Dacians* from the *Dæ*, a people dwelling, according to *Strabo*, near *Hyrcania* in *Asiatic Scythia*. But this opinion is intirely founded on the similitude of the names *Daci* and *Dæ*.

by the name of *Davi*; for the termination *dava* was common to most of their towns and cities, as *Comidava*, *Sergidava*, *Decidava*, *Marcidava*, &c. and the names of *Geta* and *Davus* were, among the *Athenians*, peculiar to slaves, who usually bore the name of the nation to which they belonged.

Their  
country.

As to the antient country of the *Dacians*, it comprised the present *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and part of *Transylvania*. The whole nation was afterwards transplanted into *Illyricum* by the emperor *Aurelian*, and the country they held there is the *Dacia*, of which the authors speak, who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Goths* being then masters of antient *Dacia*. The *Dacians* were deemed the most warlike and formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their natural courage, and great strength, which enabled them to endure the toils of war, but because they looked upon death, not as the end of the present, but as the beginning of a more happy life; whence they were as ready, says the emperor *Julian*, to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, as to undertake a journey<sup>d</sup> (B). The *Dacians* were governed by their own kings, and agreed in customs, manners, laws, and religion, with the other *Gothic* nations, of whom we have spoken above. The first of their kings we find mentioned in history is *Oroles*, in whose reign they made war upon the *Bastarnæ*; but, not having behaved on a certain occasion with their usual courage, the king, by way of punishment, ordered them to lay their heads, when they slept, where their feet should lie, and to perform the same offices about their wives, which it was customary for their wives to perform about them, till such time as, by a more gallant behaviour, they had retrieved their lost reputation<sup>e</sup>.

Their  
customs,  
manners,  
&c.

Their in-  
ruptions  
into the  
empire.

In the reign of *Augustus* they broke first into the empire; but in what place, we are not told. All we know is, that, at the approach of *Drusus*, sent against them by *Augustus*

<sup>d</sup> *Isid. Cas. p. 39, 40.*

• *JUSTIN. l. xxxii.*

(B) This doctrine they learnt of one *Xamolxis*, a great philosopher, whom *Jornandes* supposes to have been king of the *Getae* or *Goths* dwelling in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*; but other writers speak of him only as a disciple, and some as a slave, of the celebrated *Pythagoras* (1).

*Suidas* thinks he flourished long before *Pythagoras* (2). He was by birth a *Gete* or *Goth*, and is said to have been held in great veneration among his countrymen during his life, and, after his death, to have been worshiped by them with divine honours (3).

(1) *Pbot. c. 166. p. 360. Strab. l. vii. p. 297, 298.*  
(2) *Idem ibid.*

(3) *Suid. p. 1121.*

then

## C. XXVIII. *The History of the Dacians.*

then in *Gaul*, they retired to their own country <sup>f</sup>. In the year of the Christian æra 69. the legions quartered in *Mœsia* being by *Otho* ordered into *Italy*, to make head against *Vitellius* there, the *Dacians*, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and never allowed the *Romans*, says *Tacitus*, any respite, but when they did not think it safe to attack them, laying hold of that opportunity, crossed the *Danube*, and, entering *Mœsia*, made themselves masters of part of that province. But *Mucianus*, passing soon after through *Mœsia* on his march from the East into *Italy*, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, leaving there *Fonteius Agrippa*, formerly proconsul of *Asia*, with a body of troops to awe the barbarians <sup>g</sup>. But the following year, *Agrippa* being killed by the *Sarmatians*, the *Dacians* broke into *Pannonia*, and, having plundered that province, advanced into *Mœsia*, where they joined the *Sarmatians*; but were soon after driven out with great slaughter by *Rubrius Gallus*, whom *Vespasian*, then emperor, had dispatched against them <sup>h</sup>. About the year 86. the *Dacians* having anew ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and committed every-where great cruelties, *Domitian*, then emperor, resolved to march against them in person. *Duras* was at that time king of the *Dacians*; but he, by an instance of moderation seldom to be met with in history, of his own accord yielded the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he thought him better qualified for it than himself: and truly *Decebalus* was, according to *Dio* <sup>i</sup>, one of the best commanders of his time, knew what was proper to be done, and how it ought to be put in execution; was very dextrous both in attacking and retiring, in laying ambuscades, and engaging in the open field; was never at a loss how to improve a victory, or how to support himself when conquered (C).

As

<sup>f</sup> *Dio*, l. liv. p. 546.

<sup>g</sup> *TACIT.* l. iii. c. 46. p. 73. 74.

<sup>h</sup> *JOSEPH.* bell. l. vii. c. 22. p. 976. *TACIT.* l. iv. c. 54. p. 102.

<sup>i</sup> *Dio*, VAL. p. 709.

<sup>k</sup> *Idem*, p. 761.

(C) Either *Duras* or *Decebalus*, but more likely the latter, is by *Orosius* (4) and *Jornandes* (5) called *Dumpaneus*. As for the issue of this war in general, *Tacitus* tells us, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, several *Roman* armies were destroyed in *Mœsia* and *Dacia*,

some through the cowardice, others by the rashness, of their leaders; that the legions and the troops of the allies were taken prisoners even in the fortified towns; insomuch that the *Romans* had reason to apprehend the loss, not only of the country bordering on the *Danube*, but

(4) *Orof.* l. vii. c. 10. p. 212.

(5) *Jorn. rer. Gotb.* c. 13. p. 629.

They cut  
off Appius  
Sabinus,  
with his  
army.

Year of  
the flood  
2434.  
Of Christ  
86.  
Of Rome  
834.

Domitian  
concludes  
a shameful  
peace with  
them.

As for the particulars of this war, we have related them in the history of *Domitian's* reign<sup>1</sup>; and therefore shall only observe here, that the *Dacians*, in the first battle they fought, utterly defeated *Appius* or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mœsia*, who was killed in the engagement; that, upon his death, and the defeat of his army, they laid waste, without controul, all *Mœsia*, and made themselves masters of several castles and strong-holds; that *Domitian*, to put a stop to their ravages, hastened into *Illyricum*, with almost all the forces of the empire; that thereupon *Decebalus* sent deputies to sue for peace; but the emperor, rejecting his proposals, dispatched *Cornelius Fuscus*, then *præfectus prætorio*, against him, with the flower of his army, who, having passed the *Danube*, and engaged the *Dacians*, was by them cut off, with almost his whole army. This overthrow obliged *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, to hasten back into *Illyricum*; whence he detached one of his generals, named *Julian*, against the enemy, not caring to expose his own person. *Julian* gained a complete victory, and put such numbers of the *Dacians* to the sword, that *Decebalus*, no longer able to keep the field, dispatched ambassadors anew to sue for peace; which *Domitian* upon no terms would grant him. But, in the mean time, instead of improving his late victory, and pressing *Decebalus*, already reduced to great straits, he turned his arms against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*; and, being by the former defeated, and put to flight, he was glad to come to an agreement with *Decebalus*; and accordingly dispatched ambassadors to him, with more advantageous proposals than he could have asked or expected.

<sup>1</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. xv p. 61—63.

of intire provinces. News were daily brought of some new misfortune, and every year distinguished by some remarkable defeat (6). Our historian did not think it safe to give us a more particular account of these misfortunes, or to mention the number of the slain on the side of the *Roman*, in so many engagements, imitating therein the reserve of *Gallus*, and some other historians, on like occasions (7). Every true *Roman*, says *Tacitus*, wished then

to see the command of the armies vested in *Agricola*. He was even proposed to the emperor by several of his freedmen, some of them hoping by that means to hasten his ruin, while others had nothing in view but the reputation of their master, and the welfare of the state; but that jealous prince dreaded nothing so much, as to trust a man of courage with the command of his armies (8).

(6) *Tacit. Hist. lib. 45. p. 151.*

(7) *Orig. lib. 6.*

(8) *Tacit. ibid.*

DECEBALUS, reflecting on the bad situation of his affairs, thought it advisable to accept the emperor's offers; but, instead of waiting upon him in person, as *Domitian* desired, he appointed his brother *Diegis* to supply his room. *Diegis* delivered up to the emperor some arms, and a small number of prisoners, and received, at his hands, the diadem in his brother's name <sup>m</sup>. The emperor, besides, agreed to pay to *Decebalus* a yearly sum; and sent him, at his request, a great number of artificers of all professions, such artificers especially as were well versed in the art of contriving and making military engines. This yearly pension, or, as we may call it, tribute, was punctually paid, so long as *Domitian* lived; and nevertheless, after this shameful peace, he wrote to the senate boasting letters, as if he had obliged *Decebalus* to submit to what terms he had thought proper to prescribe; nay, he dispatched to the senate the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter of submission, which he pretended to have been written to him by that prince, but others deemed supposititious <sup>n</sup>. The senate decreed him a triumph, and he triumphed accordingly over the *Dacians* <sup>o</sup>, and at the same time, according to *Eusebius*, over the *Marcomans*, by whom he had been defeated <sup>p</sup>. The sycophants of thoir days, especially the poets, extolled these pretended victories, comparing, nay, and preferring them to the victories of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*. But they were, or hoped to be, paid for their lying encomiums and flatteries. The war with the *Dacians* lasted, according to *Eusebius*, from the year 86. to 90. and *Domitian* is supposed to have triumphed in 91. After the conclusion of the peace, he caused a magnificent monument to be erected in the country of the *Dacians* in honour of *Fuscus*, who was killed there <sup>q</sup>.

THE yearly sum, which *Domitian* had agreed to pay to *Decebalus*, was punctually transmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewise the reign of his successor *Nerva*; but *Trajan*, who succeeded *Nerva*, would by no means submit to that shameful tribute, as he called it, alleging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Hereupon the *Dacians* began to prepare for war, soliciting the neighbouring nations to join them, especially the *Iazygians*, at that time a powerful and warlike people; but they declining, under

<sup>m</sup> TAC. vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151. Suet. in Dom. c. 6. p. 788. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 13. p. 629. PET. legat. p. 23, 24. JUV. sat. iv. ver. 111. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 773. & l. lxxvii. p. 764. MART. l. v. epig. 3. p. 392.

<sup>n</sup> DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 761. <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. p. 762.

& Suet. c. 6. p. 788, 789. <sup>p</sup> Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 64.

<sup>q</sup> MART. l. vi. epig. 76. p. 83.

*They seize various pretences, to break with the empire, Decebalus made on part of war first upon them, and seized a considerable part of their country, which Trajan, after he had conquered the Dacians, refused to restore to them, tho' they had lost it for their fidelity to the Romans* <sup>r</sup>. *Dio*, who relates this, does not tell us, that *Trajan* alleged, or had, any reason for not complying with the just demand of the *Iazygians*. *Decebalus* soon after turned his arms against the *Romans*, and, passing the *Danube*, began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. With this *Trajan* was no-way displeased; for he wanted only a pretence to make war on the *Dacians*, whose growing power gave him no small umbrage. Besides, he was informed, that *Decebalus* maintained a friendly correspondence with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom he had presented with one *Callidromus* taken in *Mæsia* by one of his lieutenants during the war with *Domitian*.

THE good understanding between these two powers gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. He therefore no sooner heard, that *Decebalus* had crossed the *Danube*, and committed some hostilities in the *Roman* territories, than, drawing together a mighty army, he marched, with incredible expedition, to the banks of the *Danube*; passed that river without opposition, *Decebalus* not being apprised of his arrival; and, entering *Dacia*, laid waste the country far and near. *Decebalus*, however, not in the least dismayed, having armed the youth of the country, marched boldly to meet *Trajan*; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; but the *Romans* in the end gained the victory. It was on this occasion, that, *line* being wanted to bind the wounds of the *Romans*, *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of his victory, followed the enemy close, and, not allowing them time to levy new forces, he harassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus* was in the end obliged to send deputies with proposals for an accommodation. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura*, and *Claudius Libianus*, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* pursued his ravages, advancing from hill to hill, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other hand, *Maximus*, one of the emperor's generals, reduced several places, in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. Thus *Decebalus* was obliged at last to submit, and comply with the hard terms,

Their war  
with Tra-  
jan.

Year of  
the flood  
2450.

Of Christ  
102.

Of Rome  
950.

<sup>r</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxviii. p. 774.

which *Trajan* thought fit to prescribe, and we have related elsewhere \*.

HOWEVER, three years after, he renewed the war; but, being overcome by *Trajan* in several encounters, and stripped of his dominions, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. Upon the death of *Decabalus*, *Dacia* was intirely subdued, and reduced to a Roman province. The emperor caused several castles to be built in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other cities of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country, and likewise in *Transylvania*, which on this occasion were, as they endeavour to prove, built or peopled by the *Romans*. But of *Trajan's* war with the *Dacians*, and the intire reduction of their country, we have spoken at large in our *Roman* history †; and therefore have only hinted here at some of the chief events. *Dacia*, thus reduced to a province, was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of *pro-prætor*, as appears from some antient inscriptions ‡.

THE emperor *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* in 117. was for abandoning *Dacia*; but the regard he had for the *Roman* citizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him alter the resolution he had taken. However, to prevent the barbarians dwelling on the other side the *Danube* from invading the *Roman* territories, he caused the famous bridge to be broken down, which his predecessor had built over that river, and we have described in our *Roman* history \*. In the year 138. the first of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the *Dacians* attempted to shake off the yoke; but the rebellion was soon quelled by the generals, whom the emperor dispatched against them †. In 168. they joined the *Alemans*, *Marcomans*, *Quadians*, and *Sarmatians*, against the empire; but the two emperors *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* marching against them, they submitted anew. However, a battle, it seems, was fought, and the victory gained by the *Romans*; for, in this very year, the two emperors took the title of *imperator* the fifth time ‡; which they never did but on occasion of some victory. In 180. twelve thousand *Dacians* being driven out of their country by other barbarians, *Sabinianus*, governor of

\* Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 122, 123. 125.

127. ‡ GRUTER. p. 354.

\* Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 126

† Tit. Anton. vit. p. 19.

‡ Occo. p. 285. 306. GOLZ.

p. 77. BIRAG. p. 220. 237.



that province, prevailed upon them to settle in another part of *Dacia*, while they were in full march to join the *Alamanni*, then at war with the *Romans* <sup>a</sup>. In the reign of *Caracalla*, the *Dacians* seem to have revolted anew; for we are told, that some skirmishes were fought between them and that prince, and that they gave hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity <sup>a</sup>. Upon the reduction of *Dacia* in 105. great numbers of the natives, abandoning their antient country, settled among the neighbouring barbarians. These made frequent inroads into the empire, with the *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alemans*, &c. and their descendents, in the reign of *Maximinus*, joining the *Sarmatians*, committed dreadful ravages in the *Roman* provinces bordering on the *Danube*; but were, in all likelihood, repulsed with great loss by the emperor, since, the year after they broke into the empire, *Macrinus* took the titles of *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus*, as appears from several inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain* <sup>b</sup>.

In the year 265. the thirteenth of *Gallienus's* reign, the *Goths*, and other barbarous nations, made themselves masters of *Dacia*; for the loss of that province is reckoned among the many misfortunes of that prince's unhappy reign <sup>c</sup>. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by *Aurelian*; but he, finding he could not maintain it in the midst of so many barbarous nations without an immense charge, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and with them the inhabitants, and their families, allotting them lands in *Mæsia* and *Dardania*, which he made a new province, called likewise *Dacia*, and by *Laëtantius* *New Dacia*. This province lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and is placed by *Vopiscus* between the two *Mæsias*. It comprised, according to *Sanfon*, part of the present *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and had *Sardica* for its metropolis. The *Goths* seem to have seized Of Rome on the antient *Dacia* abandoned by *Aurelian*. Thus were the antient *Dacians* either transplanted into the *Roman* territories, or dispersed among the neighbouring barbarians beyond the *Danube*, with whom they became one nation.

*Dacia beyond the Danube abandoned by Aurelian.*

Year of the flood  
2622.

Of Christ  
274.

Of Rome  
1022.

<sup>a</sup> DIO, l. lxxii. p. 818.

<sup>a</sup> Get. vit. p. 92.

<sup>b</sup> GRUT.

p. 151. & 158. SPON. p. 186.

<sup>c</sup> AUR. VICT. EUTROP,

OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214. FEST. p. 670.

## The Lombards.

*The Lombards.*

THE *Longobards*, *Langobards*, or *Lombards*, who, in process of time, made themselves masters of *Italy*, and from whom part of that country, formerly known by the name

... still called *Lombardy*; are first mentioned in history by *Prosper Aquitanus*, bishop of *Rhegium*, in the year 379. That writer, beginning a chronicle of his own in the said year, after having copied till then the chronicle of *St. Jerom*, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean, and their native country *Scandinavia*, and seeking new settlements, as they were overstocked with people at home, attacked first, and overcame, about this time, the *Vandals*, then in *Germany*. They were headed by two chiefs, named *Ibereus* and *Aionus*; upon whose death, which happened about ten years after, they created *Agilmund*, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years <sup>a</sup>. It is to be observed, that, long before *Prosper's* time, mention is made of a people named *Longobards*; for that name occurs in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo*; nay, *Maroboduus*, who was cotemporary with *Augustus*, is by *Tacitus* stiled king of the *Sueves*, *Marcomans*, and *Longobards* <sup>b</sup>. In the time of *Tiberius* they entered into an alliance with the *Cherusceans*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Arminius*, and made war upon *Maroboduus*, from whom they had revolted <sup>c</sup>. In the year 170. the ninth of *M. Aurelius's* reign, six thousand of them, who had passed the *Danube*, and, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*, invaded the *Roman* dominions, were defeated by *Vindax* and *Candidus*, and obliged to sue for peace <sup>d</sup>.

BUT these *Longobards*, by most geographers placed between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, were, according to *Grotius*, a German nation, and a quite different people from the *Longobards*, who are mentioned by *Prosper*, and afterwards settled in *Italy*. The latter were, according to *Paul Warnefried* deacon of *Aquileia*, commonly known by the name of *Paulus Diaconus*, and the most credible writers, originally a Gothic nation, and the same with the *Gepidæ*, of whom we have spoken above. The *Gepidæ*, coming, with the other *Goths*, out of *Scandinavia*, in three ships, as we have related above, stopped at the mouth of the *Vistula*, or the *Wiesser*. From thence they advanced to the banks of the *Danube*, and, settling there, infested, as we read in *Vopiscus*, the *Roman* territories with frequent incursions. In process of time, the *Gepidæ* fell out among themselves; and from this division sprung the *Longobards*, who are therefore, as *Salmasius* <sup>e</sup> and *Constantine Por-*

<sup>a</sup> PROSP. chron. GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth. p. 53. <sup>b</sup> TA-  
CIT. hist. c. 44. 46. p. 54, 55. <sup>c</sup> Idem, annal. xi. c. 16 18.  
p. 159, 160. <sup>d</sup> PETR. legat. p. 24. <sup>e</sup> GROT. ibid.  
p. 27. <sup>f</sup> SALMAS. apud Grot. ibid.

*phyrogenitus* & observe, called sometimes *Cepids*, and sometimes *Longobards*. They wandered from place to place, often shifting their seats, and were thence called *Winili*, that is, *Wanderers*; which denomination has induced some writers to think, that the *Lombards* and *Vandals*, named also *Winili*, were one and the same people. As these two nations were constantly changing their habitations, they were thence called *Winili*, or *Wanderers*; but, tho' agreeing in name, they continued to be two distinct nations. The learned *Sheringham* is of opinion, that the *Longobards* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy*, were of *Gothic* extraction; and that they were left in *Germany* by the celebrated *Woden*, on his march through that country from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*; but at the same time that writer allows the *Lombards*, who afterwards made themselves masters of *Italy*, to have been a different nation, come several ages after out of *Scandinavia*, their common country <sup>h</sup>.

*The origin of their name.* As for the name of *Longobards*, some derive it from the word *lack* or *lache*, signifying in the *German* language *water*, because the *Lombards*, while in *Scandinavia*, lived in marshes, or near the sea <sup>i</sup>. Others think it comes from the two *German* words *langen barden*, or *bellebarden*, that is, from the long halberds, which they suppose to have been used by them. But *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himself a *Lombard*, though born in *Italy*, tells us, that they were called *Longobards* from the length of their beards; and with him agree *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* <sup>k</sup>, *Otho Frisingensis* <sup>l</sup>, *Gunterus* <sup>m</sup>, and *Grotius* <sup>n</sup>. After they had wandered through several countries, shifting their seats, they settled at length in *Pannonia*, which they held for the space of forty-two years; and then marching into *Italy*, under the conduct of their king *Alboinus*, made themselves masters of the greater part of that country. We have observed above, that, upon the death of their leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they appointed *Agilmund* their first king. He was succeeded by the following princes, *Lamiscus*, *Leta*, *Ildeock*, *Gudeoc*, *Claffus*, *Tatus*, *Wachus*, *Walterius*, *Audoinus*, and *Alboinus*, the first of that nation who reigned in *Italy*.

*Their laws.* As for the manners of the *Lombards*, *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that no violence or oppression, no treachery or compulsion, was practised among them; and that every man enjoyed his property undisturbed, and followed his profession, without the

<sup>h</sup> CONSTANT PORPHYR. de admin. imper. x. c. 25.

<sup>i</sup> SHERINGH. de Angl. gent. orig. c. 15. p. 352. <sup>l</sup> RUDBECK. Atlant.

part. 1. c. 24.

<sup>k</sup> CONST. PORPHYR. de Them.

<sup>l</sup> OTHO FRISING. 1. ii. c. 13. de gest. Frid. imper.

<sup>m</sup> GUNT. 1. ii.

<sup>n</sup> GROT. ibid.

least apprehension of danger. But that writer was perhaps somewhat prejudiced in favour of his countrymen; for *Procopius* writes, that those *Lombards*, who had served under *Narses* against the *Goths* in *Italy*, were sent back to their own country, on account of the disorders they committed; and pope *Gregory*, surnamed *the Great*, who was but too well acquainted with the *Lombards*, calls them, in several parts of his works, a most wicked nation. Perhaps they neither deserved the encomiums of *Paulus*, nor the reproaches of *Gregory*; at least it does not appear from their conduct, while masters of *Italy*, that they did. *Paulus Diaconus*, speaking of their dress, tells us, that their cloaths were loose, and for the most part of linen, such as the *Anglo-Saxons* wore, being interwoven with various colours; that their shoes were open to the end of their foot, and that they used to button or lace them °. From some antient paintings it appears, that they shaved the back part of their heads; but that their hair was long before, their locks being parted, and laid on each side their foreheads. As for their history, we shall here relate what we find in *Paulus Diaconus*; but will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what that author writes.

THE *Goths* in *Scandinavia*, overstocked with people at home, sent out frequent colonies in quest of new settlements. One, among the rest, leaving their native country, put to sea in three ships: one of these sailed slower than the other two, and stopped in the end at the *Vistula*. The *Goths* on board this ship were called, as we have observed above, *Gepidæ*, from a word in their language signifying *slow*. These *Gepidæ*, unwilling to proceed farther, settled in an island formed by the *Vistula*, and continued there, till their numbers were so increased, that the island could no longer support them. They then began to roam about the neighbouring countries in quest of new seats; and thence were called *Wimili*, or *Wanderers*. They quarreled at length among themselves, and agreed to part. *Paulus Diaconus* writes, that the country, where they had settled, being no longer able to maintain them, they divided themselves into three parts, one whereof, on whom the lot should fall, was to go in quest of new habitations. But most other writers suppose the *Lombards* to have sprung from the division of the *Gepidæ* quarrelling among themselves. Be that as it will, those who went out, chose for their leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, the sons of one *Gambara*, a woman universally respected on account of her wisdom. Under their conduct they first settled in a country,

° PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 23.

They defeat the Vandals.

They migrate first into Mauringa, and from thence into Gothland.

by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Scoringa*, bordering on that which was then held by the *Vandals*, who, soon after their arrival, gave them to understand, that they must either pay tribute, or prepare for war. The two leaders, by advice of their mother, returned answer, That, though they were few in number, they preferred war to servitude and subjection. Hereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Vandals* were utterly defeated.

BUT the *Gepidæ*, whom we shall henceforth call *Lombards*, though that name was perhaps given them afterwards, being sorely distressed with famine, resolved to abandon *Scoringa*, and settle in a more fruitful country. They set out accordingly for *Mauringa*; but the *Assipitti* denying them a passage through their territories, they resolved to attempt it by force. In order to strike terror into the enemy, who were far superior to them in number, they gave out, that they had among them *Cynocephali*, or men with dogs heads; which report so terrified the *Assipitti*, that, not caring to engage so dreadful an enemy, and having one among them of extraordinary strength and courage, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a single combat; which they no sooner proposed to the *Lombards*, than the proposal was accepted, the two nations agreeing, that, if the champion of the *Assipitti* should overcome, the passage should be denied; but, if the *Lombard* proved victorious, the rest should be allowed to pass unmolested. The two champions engaged in the sight of both armies; and the *Lombard* having gained the victory, a passage was granted to the whole nation, pursuant to the agreement. Upon their arrival in *Mauringa*, to increase the number of their warriors, they set all their slaves at liberty, who, though of different countries, became one nation with them. From *Mauringa*, where they staid but a short time, they proceeded to *Gothland*, and there made themselves masters of *Anthabet*, *Bathab*, and *Urgundiab*, which our historian conjectures to be names of towns.

IN *Gothland* died their two leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, upon whose death the *Lombards* resolved to choose a king, after the manner of other nations; and accordingly conferred that dignity on *Agilmund* the son of *Aion*, who is said to have been killed by the *Bulgarians*, after he had reigned thirty-three years. He was succeeded by *Lamiscus* or *Lamissio*, so called from the word *lama*, signifying in their language a fish-pond; for his mother, by profession an harlot, is said to have thrown him, with six other males, of whom she was delivered at the same time, into a fish-pond. *Lamissio* was luckily saved by *Agilmund*, who, passing that way, and observing the children, stopped his horse; and, stretching out his spear to them,

one of them took hold of it, and was by that means saved. The king, not doubting but he would one day prove a great man, ordered him to be brought up with great care, calling him *Lamis-son*, that is, *the son of a fish-pond*. He is said to have gained a victory over the *Amazons*, and to have behaved, on several other occasions, with such resolution and intrepidity, that, upon the death of *Agilmund*, the *Lombards*, with one voice, proclaimed him king. He no sooner found himself vested with this dignity, than, bent upon revenging the death of his predecessor, he marched against the *Bulgarians*; and, though his men gave way at first, yet in the end, being animated by the words and example of their new king, they gained a complete victory. *Lamissio* was succeeded by *Leta* or *Lechu*; and he, after a reign of near forty years, by *Ildeock* or *Hildehoc*, as was *Ildeock* by *Gudeock*. In the reign of the latter, *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having killed *Feletheus* king of the *Rugians* dwelling beyond the *Danube*, and either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the whole nation, the *Lombards* came and settled in their country, then destitute of inhabitants.

DURING their stay in *Rugiland* (for so the country of the *Rugians* is called by our historian) their king *Gudeock* died, and was succeeded by his son *Clasius*, after whom reigned *Tatus*; in whose time the *Lombards*, leaving *Rugiland*, settled in the champaign country bordering on the *Danube*; where a war breaking out between them and the *Heruli*, the latter were defeated with great slaughter, their king *Rodulphus* being slain, with the flower of their nation. The victorious *Lombards* divided the rich plunder; but *Tatus* their king took for his share only the standard of *Rodulphus*, called *bandum*, with the helmet he used to wear in battle. Not long after, *Tatus* was slain by *Wacho*, son to his brother *Zuchilo*. *Aildichus*, the son of *Tatus*, endeavoured to revenge his father's death, and make good the just claim he had to the crown; but was in several encounters defeated by *Wacho*, and in the end obliged to take refuge among the neighbouring *Gepidæ*. *Wacho* is said to have subdued the *Sueves*. He had three wives, to wit, *Ranicunda*, daughter of the king of the *Thuringians*; *Austrigosa*, daughter of the king of the *Gepidæ*; and *Salin-ga*, daughter of the king of the *Heruli*. By the latter he had *Walterius*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about seven years.

AFTER *Walterius* came *Audoinus*, in whose reign a war being kindled between the *Lombards* and the *Gepidæ*, a bloody battle was fought, in which the latter were utterly defeated. The signal victory gained on this occasion by the *Lombards*, was chiefly owing to *Alboinus*, the king's son; for, the young

Their king  
Tatus  
gains a  
great vi-  
ctory over  
the He-  
ruli.

Audoinus  
defeats the  
Gepidæ.

prince having engaged and killed with his own hand *Thorismund*, the son of *Turisind* king of the *Gepidae*, the enemy, who had fought till then with great resolution and intrepidity, hearing the king's son was killed, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The victorious *Lombards*, upon their return home, begged their king to indulge his son, by way of reward for his gallant behaviour, the honour of dining with him; which was deemed no less glorious among the *Lombards*, than a triumph was among the *Romans*. The king answered, That, by an antient and immemorial custom among the *Lombards*, that honour and mark of distinction was not to be granted, even to the princes of the blood royal, till they had publicly appeared in the armour of some foreign prince killed in battle with their own hand. Hereupon *Alboinus*, attended only by forty resolute young men, repaired to the court of *Turisind*, to demand the armour of that prince's son, whom he had killed in the above-mentioned battle, being resolved, if any violence was offered him, to sell his life dear. The king received him in a most obliging manner, entertained him at his table, and, admiring his courage and intrepidity, complied with his demand, and dismissed him not only unmolested, but loaded with rich presents. Upon his return home, after he had publicly appeared in the armour of *Thorismund*, he was, at a grand entertainment, allowed to sit at table with the king his father.

*The Lombards, under the conduct of Audoinus, settle in Pannonia.* In the reign of *Audoinus*, the *Lombards* were, by the emperor *Justinian*, allowed to settle in *Pannonia* P. Thus far *Paulus Diaconus* of the various migrations, wars, and conquests, of the *Lombards*, from their first leaving *Scandinavia*, to their settling in *Pannonia*. His account is, as the reader must have observed, interwoven with some fables; but, in the main, he agrees with *Prosper Aquitanus*, who wrote before his time; with *Erchempertus*, who flourished after; and likewise with *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, whose secretary he was, and consequently well acquainted with the *Lombards*. The latter writer, in speaking of the above-mentioned war between the *Lombards* and the *Heruli*, tells us, that the *Lombards* had been formerly obliged to pay tribute to the *Heruli*, of which no notice is taken by our historian. The names of the various countries, in which the *Lombards* are said by *Paulus Diaconus* to have settled, have occasioned great debates among the later historians and geographers, and several conjectures have been offered; but all we know with any foundation is, that the coun-

† PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longob. l. i. & ii.  
bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

‡ PROCOP.

tries mentioned by that writer, lay between the mouth of the *Pisflua*, where the *Lombards* coming from *Scandinavia* are supposed to have stopped, and *Pannonia*, where they settled in *Justinian's* time.

AUDOINUS dying, the brave *Alboinus* was by the *Lombards* proclaimed king. Upon his accession to the crown, he married *Clodisvinta*, daughter to *Clotharius* king of the *Franks*, by whom he had but one daughter, named by some *Alpifunda*, and by others *Albisvincla*. About the same time died *Turisind* king of the *Gepidæ*, and was succeeded by his son *Cunimund*, who, to revenge the death of his brother *Thurismond*, made war upon the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Alboinus*, entering into an alliance with the *Huns*, then known by the name of *Avars*, took the field, and, in the first battle that was fought, killed the king of the *Gepidæ* with his own hand, put their army to the rout, and, pursuing his victory, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that they ceased to be a nation, as we have related above. *Alboinus*, having caused the deceased king's head to be struck off, made a cup of his skull, called, in the language of the *Lombards*, *schala*, which he made use of in all public entertainments. However, having taken, among many other captives of great distinction, the late king's daughter, by name *Rosamunda*, he married her upon the death of his former wife *Clodisvinta*.

*Alboinus kills the king of the Gepidæ with his own hand.*

By this victory *Alboinus* gained great fame and reputation, not only among the *Gothic* nations, whose bards celebrated his prowess and valour in their poems, but likewise among the *Romans*; insomuch that *Narses*, who had been sent by *Justinian* to drive the *Goths* out of *Italy*, courted his friendship, and, entering into an alliance with him, solicited his assistance to put in execution the commission he had received. *Alboinus* sent him a choice body of men, who, crossing the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in *Italy*, and, joining the *Romans*, distinguished themselves in that battle, in which *Totila* was killed. The war being ended, they were sent home loaded with rich presents, continuing faithful allies to the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions, so long as they inhabited *Pannonia* : (A).

*Sends a body of Lombards to the assistance of Narses against the Goths.*

NARSES,

† PAUL. DIAC. *ibid.* c. 27.

‡ Idem *ibid.* c. 2.

(A) Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Procopius* writes, that the *Lombards*, who came to the assistance of *Narses*, committed every-where unheard-of disor-

ders, pillaging the open country, burning the villages, and not sparing even the holy virgins; insomuch that the *Roman* general was obliged to send them home before



Year of 2901. NARSES, whom we may justly stile the deliverer of Italy, the flood maintained, so long as he governed that country, a strict friendship and correspondence with *Alboinus* king of the *Lombards*; so that it was no difficult matter for him to persuade that warlike and ambitious prince to attempt the conquest of Italy. Of this memorable event *Paulus Diaconus* gives us the following account: *Narses*, having, with the assistance of the *Lombards*, delivered Italy from the yoke of the *Goths*, sent back into *Pannonia* his victorious auxiliaries, loaded with rich presents. There they continued faithful to their engagements with the *Romans*, whom they were ready to assist on all occasions. In the mean time *Justinian* dying, *Narses*, who governed Italy with an absolute sway, and had acquired immense wealth, was by the *Italians* accused to the emperor *Justin II.* the successor of *Justinian*, and to the empress *Sophia*, as if he aspired to the sovereignty of the country. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Longinus* was sent to succeed him; nay, as he was an eunuch, the empress is reported to have said, that his employment at *Constantinople* should be to distribute, in the apartment of her women, the portion of wool which each of them was to spin. *Narses*, enraged at this severe and insolent reflection, I will begin, said he, such a web, as she shall never be able to finish; and immediately dispatched messengers to the *Lombards*, inviting them into Italy. With the messengers he sent several presents to *Alboinus*, with whom he was well acquainted, and some of the best fruits Italy afforded, as baits to allure him and his subjects to attempt the conquest of so fertile a country (B).

Whether  
Narses be-  
trayed I-  
taly to the  
Lombards

ALBOINUS,

† PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longob. l. ii. c. 1. 5, 6, & seq.

before the war was ended, charging the two generals *Valerianus* and *Damianus* to accompany them, with a body of troops, to the confines of the empire, in order to restrain them from plundering the countries through which they passed (1).

(B) Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Baronius* (2), and some other writers, reject this account as fabulous, alleging, that *Narses* had been recalled the year before by *Justin*, at whose inauguration he

assisted, and continued in great credit at *Constantinople*. This they assert upon the authority of *Chorippus*, a poet and grammarian of *Africa*, who flourished at that time, and was then at *Constantinople*, where he saw *Narses* present at the emperor *Justin's* coronation, and attending him soon after, when he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Avars*. But this objection the learned *Petavius* has intirely removed, shewing, that *Chorippus*

(1) *Procop. bell. Gotb. l. iv. c. 33.*

(2) *Baron. ad ann. 568.*

**BARONIUS**, highly pleased with the opportunity that offered of invading *Italy*, a country with which his *Lombards*

spoke of another *Narses*, much younger than the celebrated commander; and that there were three of that name living at the same time; to wit, the renowned deliverer of *Italy*, who died at *Rome* some time after he had called in the *Lombards*; the bro-

ther of *Aratius*; and the *Narses* whom *Chorippus* mentions in his poem, commending him on account of his tall stature, comely countenance, graceful person, and beautiful hair. The words of the poet are:

*Armiger interea, domini vestigia lustrans,  
Eminet excelsus super omnia vertice Narses  
Agmina, & augustam cultu præfulserat aulam,  
Comtus casarie, formaque insignis & ore* (3).

Tracing his master's steps, the gallant 'squire  
Does by the head o'er all the host aspire,  
In neat array the splendid court surpasses,  
With locks well-comb'd, and ev'ry blooming grace.

It is surprising, that *Baronius* should think the celebrated *Narses* to be described by these verses, who was an eunuch, and at this time, that is, at the beginning of *Justin's* reign, advanced in years. The *Narses*, of whom *Chorippus* speaks, was burnt alive in the year 605. by the command of *Phocas*.

*Baronius* adds, that, according to our historian, *Narses* dying at *Rome*, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and conveyed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, where it was honourably interred (4). Now, it is not by any means probable, says *Baronius*, that the emperor would have suffered any honours to be paid him after his death, had he treacherously delivered up *Italy* to the *Lombards*. To this *Petavius* answers, that

his treachery was not known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*, till some time after his death, when it was discovered by the *Lombards* themselves owning, that they had been invited into *Italy* by *Narses*. That brave commander was, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, a man of great piety; and had, as we are told by *Evagrius* (5) and *Nicephorus* (6), a particular veneration for the virgin *Mary*, imploring her assistance before he entered upon any enterprize, and attributing the success, that attended his arms, to her protection; and this is what induced *Baronius* to write in his favour, and endeavour to clear him from the treachery with which he is charged by our historian.

(3) *Chorip.* l. iii. ver. 230.  
c. 1. 5, 6, & seq.  
c. 13.

(4) *Paul. D. c. d. 2. 2. 2. 2.*  
(5) *Evagr.* l. iv. c. 2.

(6) *Nicph.* l. xvii.

were already well acquainted, began, without loss of time, to make the necessary preparations for his intended expedition. In the first place, he solicited the assistance of the *Saxons*, his old friends and allies, promising to share with them his future conquests. The *Saxons* readily closed with the proposals, and sent him twenty thousand men, with their wives and children \*. He likewise received powerful succours from other nations, namely, from the *Gepidae*, then his subjects, from the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Sueves*, *Noricans*, &c. w. Having thus drawn together a numerous and formidable army, before he set out, he entered into a strict alliance with the *Hunns*, the most powerful of his neighbours, leaving *Pannonia* to them, upon this condition, that, if the expedition he was going upon should not succeed, the *Lombards* should be allowed to enter upon their former possessions.

The Lombards set out for Italy.

Year of the flood 2916.

Of Christ 568.

Of Rome 1316.

Enter Italy, and makethem- selves masters of several cities

Having concerted such other measures as he thought necessary for so great an undertaking, he set out with his whole nation, their wives and children, carrying with them all their moveables, and whatever they had of value; and, leaving *Pannonia* after a stay of forty-two years there, took their route towards *Italy*. They began their march in the month of *April*, just after *Easter*, which fell that year on the first day of the month, in the first indiction, in the third year of *Justin II.* the ninth of *John III.* bishop of *Rome*, and in the year of the Christian æra 568. *Alboinus*, with his army, and the promiscuous multitude that followed it, arrived, by the way of *Istria*, on the borders of *Italy*, which he entered without the least opposition, and, advancing through the province of *Venetia* to the city of *Aquileia*, found the whole country abandoned, the inhabitants being fled to the neighbouring islands in the *Adriatic*. He no sooner appeared before *Aquileia*, than the gates were opened to him by the few inhabitants who had the courage to stay, the rest having, upon the news of his approach, fled with their most valuable effects, following therein the example of their patriarch *Paulinus*, who, carrying with him all the utensils of his church, had taken refuge in an island. From *Aquileia* *Alboinus* advanced to *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, which likewise surrendered. In this city he passed the winter, dispersing his troops among the neighbouring villages, where they were plentifully supplied by the natives with all sorts of provisions. During the winter, *Alboinus* reduced the city of *Friuli*, and its territory, to a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew *Gisulphus*, whom he appointed to guard and govern those territories, which were, in

\* PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Longob. l. ii. c. 1. 5, 6, & seq. w. Anonym. apud Camil. Pel. l. ii. c. 12.

a manner, the gates of *Italy*, through which every invader must first force his passage. Thus *Friuli* was erected into a duchy, and such it has continued ever since.

THE following year 563. *Alboinus*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, moved forward, and, without the least opposition, made himself master of *Trivigi* and *Óderzo*. From thence he marched to *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*, which surrendered to him upon the first summons. In each of these cities he left a strong garison of *The first Lombards*, under the command of an officer, whom he distinguished with the title of duke; but these dukes were only *Italy*. officers and governors of cities, and bore that title no longer than the prince thought fit to continue them in their command or government. Such likewise were the first dukes in *Gaul*, as *Paulus Æmilius* well observes x. *Alboinus* left *Padua*, and several other cities, behind him, either because they lay too much out of his way, or because they were well garisoned, and it would take up too much of his time to besiege them. Thus ended the second campaign of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. The third proved no less successful; for, entering *Liguria* upon the return of the spring, the inhabitants were so terrified at their approach, that, leaving their habitations, they fled, with such of their effects as they could carry off, to the most remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains; so that the cities of *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and the other towns of *Liguria*, quite to the *Alps*, being almost destitute of inhabitants, received him, without attempting to make the least resistance. He then advanced to *Milan*, the capital of *Liguria*, which, after a short siege, surrendered, most of the inhabitants, seeing there were not forces in the place sufficient for its defence, being retired, with *Honoratus* their bishop, to *Genoa*. Upon the reduction of *Milan*, the *Lombards*, with *Alboinus* joyful acclamations, proclaimed and saluted *Alboinus* king of *Italy*, lifting him up upon a shield in the midst of the army, according to the custom of their nation, and presenting him with a lance, which, among them, was the ensign of royalty. From this time historians date the beginning of the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, which lasted for the space of two hundred years, and upwards.

*ALBOINUS*, now vested with royal authority, marched from *Milan* to *Pavia*; but, meeting there with a vigorous resistance, as the place was well garisoned, and furnished with great plenty of provisions, he left part of his army to push on the siege, and with the rest reduced *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the other inland cities both in *Æmilia* and *Tusca-*

proclaimed  
king of  
Italy.  
Year of  
the flood  
2918.  
Of Christ  
570.  
Of Rome  
1318.

x PAUL. ÆMIL. de reb. Franc. c. 6.

Pavia sur-  
renders;

and be-  
comes the  
metropolis  
of the king-  
dom of the  
Lombards

Alboinus  
murdered.  
Year of  
the flood  
2923.  
Of Christ  
575.  
Of Rome  
1323.

ny. He then marched into *Umbria*, and there made himself master of *Spoletto*, which he made the metropolis of *Umbria*; and, erecting the city and its territory into a dukedom, appointed *Feroaldus*, whom he dignified with the title of duke, governor of that district. The governors of the other cities of note were honoured with the same title, as were the cities with that of duchies, which title most of them retain to this day<sup>y</sup>. From *Umbria* *Alboinus* returned to the siege of *Pavia*, which at length surrendered, after it had held out with great resolution for three years, and some months. The king, highly incensed against the inhabitants, had vowed to put them all to the sword; but we are told, that, as he was entering the city on horseback, his horse fell under him in the middle of the gate, and could not by any means be raised, till, at the persuasion of one of his followers, he revoked the cruel vow he had made; when his horse starting up of himself, he proceeded to the palace built by *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, whither the people, to whom he had promised indemnity, crowded to see him, and to swear allegiance to their new prince<sup>z</sup>. As *Pavia* was a city of great strength, and conveniently situated, *Alboinus* and his successors chose it for the place of their residence; whence it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and was raised above all the other cities subject to them.

*ALBOINUS*, now master of great part of *Italy*, that is, of *Venetia*, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Ætruria*, and *Umbria*, resolved to establish peace and good order throughout the countries he had already reduced, before he made any further conquests. But he was in the mean time slain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth year of his reign. This princess, called *Rosamund*, was the daughter of *Cunimund* king of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Alboinus* had killed with his own hand in battle, and made a cup of his skull, as we have related above. Our historian assures us, that he himself had seen this cup<sup>a</sup>. Though *Alboinus* thus insulted the memory of his conquered enemy, yet, upon the death of his first wife, he married his daughter, and was, by her contrivance, murdered on the following occasion: As the king was one day feasting at *Verona* with his chief favourites, and principal officers, in the height of his mirth he sent for the queen, and, filling the detested cup, commanded her to drink merrily with her father. *Rosamund*, struck with horror, hurried out of the room; and, highly incensed against her husband for thus barbarously and

<sup>y</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 7.  
l. ii. c. 14.

<sup>z</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Idem,

trampling over the misfortunes of her family, resolved, at all events, to make him pay dear for such an inhuman and affronting conduct. Accordingly she immediately discovered her intention to *Helmichild*, the king's *schilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him, that is, *shield-bearer*, a youth of great boldness and intrepidity. *Helmichild* peremptorily refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, or to be any ways accessory to his death; and in this resolution he persisted, till he was, by a shameful stratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance: for she, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herself one night in her bed, and, receiving the youth, indulged him, as if she had been his own mistress, in his amorous desires; which she had no sooner done, than, discovering herself to the deceived lover, she told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, well apprised, that, after what he had done, his safety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treason, which he otherwise abhorred. One day, therefore, while *Alboinus* was reposing in his chamber after dinner, *Helmichild*, with some others, whom he had made privy to his design, breaking in unexpectedly, fell upon the king with their daggers. *Alboinus*, starting up at their first coming in, laid hold of his sword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having beforehand fastened it in the scabbard, he defended himself for some time with a footstool; but was in the end overpowered, and dispatched with many wounds.

SUCH was the end of *Alboinus*, the first king of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and one of the greatest princes of the age in which he lived. He was both a warlike and prudent prince, *His character*, according to the character the antients give him, no less skilled in the arts of government, than in those of war. His friendship was courted by all the princes of those times, especially by the emperor *Justinian*, who was glad to enter into an alliance with him while he was still in *Pannonia*. Accordingly he assisted *Narses*, as we have hinted above, in his wars with the *Goths*, and, so long as that great man continued in favour at court, was ready to serve the *Romans* on all occasions. The little opposition he met with in the reduction of *Italy*, was, in a great measure, owing to the new form of government, of which hereafter, introduced by the exarch *Longinus*, sent by *Justin* the younger to succeed *Narses*, who had driven the *Goths* quite out of *Italy*, and had governed those provinces with great reputation, as the

the emperor's lieutenant, for the space of thirteen years (C).

**Rosamund**  
*the wife of*  
**Alboinus**  
*flies to the*  
*exarch*  
*with the*  
*treasure of*  
*the Lom-*  
*bards.*

BUT to return to *Rosamund*: she had promised to marry *Helmichild* as soon as he had dispatched the king her husband, and to bestow upon him, with her person, the kingdom of the *Lombards*. She married him accordingly; but was so far from being able to bestow upon him the crown, that they were both obliged to save themselves by flight, the *Lombards* being highly provoked against them for the death of a prince, whom, in a manner, they adored, and unalterably determined to bring to condign punishment the authors of so barbarous a murder. *Rosamund* therefore, with her new husband, and her daughter *Albisvinda*, withdrew in the night-time, and fled to *Longinus* the exarch, residing at *Ravenna*, taking with her all the jewels and treasure of her late husband. *Longinus* received her with the greatest marks of friendship and kindness, and assured her of his protection. She had not been long in *Ravenna*, when the exarch, judging a favourable opportunity now offered to make himself king of *Italy* by means of *Rosamund*, and her treasure, imparted his design to her, and declared his intention to marry her, provided, by some means or other, she dispatched *Helmichild*.

**Her de-**  
**served end.**

ROSAMUND, highly pleased with the proposal, to satisfy her ambition, resolved to get rid of the person, whom she had married for the sake of her revenge. Accordingly, having prepared a strong poison, she mixed it with wine, and gave it to her husband, as he came out of the bath, and called for drink, according to his custom. *Helmichild* had not half emptied the cup, when, by the sudden and strange operation he felt in his bowels, he concluded what it was; and, with his sword pointed at the queen's breast, compelled her to drink the rest. The poison had the same effect on her as on her husband; for, in a few hours, they both died. *Longinus*,

(C) *Baronius* supposes *Alboinus* to have led the *Lombards* out of *Scandinavia*, to have brought them into *Pannonia*, and from thence, after they had continued forty-two years in that country, into *Italy*. But what that annalist writes on this head is scarce worthy of notice, since he can only allege a few groundless conjectures to support his opinion; and, on the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, the only author who has given us a tolerable account of the affairs of the *Lombards*,

writes, that *Alboinus* was the tenth king of the *Lombards*; that, under the conduct not of *Alboinus*, but of *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they left *Scandinavia*, or at least the countries at the mouth of the *Vistula*; that, upon the death of these two leaders, they chose *Agilmund* for their first king; and lastly, that, after having often changed their seats, they settled at length in *Pannonia*, under the conduct of *Audoinus*, the father of *Alboinus*.

laying

laying aside, upon her death, all thoughts of making himself king of *Italy*, sent the treasure of the *Lombards* to *Constantinople*, together with *Albifuinda*, the queen's daughter by *Alboinus*.

In the mean time the *Lombards*, having paid the last duties to their deceased king, assembled in *Pavia*, the metropolis of their kingdom; and there proceeded to the election of a *Clephis* new prince, which fell on *Clephis*, a man of great distinction *chosen* among them. He rebuilt *Imola*, which had been ruined by *king*, *Narjes*, made himself master of *Rimini*, and extended his *and soon* conquests to the very gates of *Rome*. But as he treated not *after murder* only the *Romans*, but his own subjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife *Messana*, by one of his people, after a short reign of eighteen months. His cruelty gave *The Lom-* the *Lombards* such an aversion to royal power, that, upon his *bards go-* death, they resolved to change their form of government; *verned by* and accordingly, for the space of ten years, they chose no *dukes* king, but lived subject to their dukes, that is, to the governors of the cities; for each city of note, as we have hinted above, was governed by some person of distinction, dignified with the title of duke. These dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority, and were by the kings appointed and removed at pleasure; but, upon the abolishing of kingly power, each of them became sovereign in his own city, and its district. This division of the countries they had conquered in *Italy* into so many petty kingdoms, as we may call them, put a stop, for the present, to their conquests, prevented them from ever making themselves masters of all *Italy*, and in the end occasioned their total ruin; for though the royal authority was afterwards restored among them, yet, as they had been free for some time, they proved less obedient, and more liable to quarrel among themselves<sup>b</sup>.

WE cannot dismiss this subject, without taking notice of *A mistake* a mistake, which most modern writers have been led into by *of Sigonius* *Sigonius*. That writer supposes the *Lombards*, upon the death *concerning* of *Clephis*, to have created thirty dukes, and to have divided *the Lom-* their conquests in *Italy* among them. But from the words of *bard dukes* *Paulus Diaconus*, where he speaks of that change<sup>c</sup>, it plainly appears, that the *Lombards*, dreading the authority, or rather tyranny, of a king, chose to live under their dukes, who were not then first appointed, but had been chosen before by *Alboinus* and *Clephis*. The only innovation that happened among the *Lombards*, upon their abolishing the royal authority, was this, that the dukes, who had been hitherto subordinate to the kings, as their ministers and officers, now go-

<sup>b</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. i. c. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, l. ii. c. ult.



verned each his dukedom with absolute power, acknowledging no superior authority. Besides, the number of the dukes amounted not to thirty only, as is commonly believed, but to thirty-six: for *Paulus Diaconus*, after having told us, that *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Trent*, and *Friuli*, were governed by the following dukes, *Zaban*, *Alboinus*, *Walaris*, *Alachis*, *Evin*, and *Gisulphus*, adds, that the other cities were governed by thirty dukes<sup>d</sup>. Though the *Lombards*, during the interregnum, were attended with success in their wars with the *Romans* (for they made themselves masters of several cities; namely, of *Sutri*, *Bommarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, &c.); yet they soon perceived, that their kingdom, thus divided, could not long subsist; and therefore assembling in *Pavia*, they resolved to submit anew to the authority of one man, and accordingly chose *Autharis* the son of *Clephis* for their king in the year 585. This prince with his valour and prudence (for he is said to have excelled in both *Alboinus* himself) so established the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it lasted for the space of near two hundred years. But of the exploits of the dukes during the interregnum, and the wars of *Autharis*, and his successors, till the utter destruction of their kingdom by *Charlemagne* in 774. we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

The royal  
authority  
restored  
among  
them.

Year of  
the flood  
2933.  
Of Christ  
255.  
Of Rome  
1333.

<sup>d</sup> PAUL. DIAC. L. II. C. 14. Vide CAMILL. PELLERIN. in diff. de duc. Benevent. diff. i.

### The Bulgarians.

The Bul-  
garians.

THE name of the *Bulgarians* began to be first heard and dreaded by the *Romans* in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, about the year 485. *Ennodius*, the most ancient writer who mentions them, tells us in the panegyric, which he wrote on *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, that they were a warlike and numerous nation, enured to the toils of war, ever ready to prefer death to slavery, and never known to have been put to flight, till they engaged this hero<sup>a</sup>. They dwelt, in ancient times, near the *Volga*, on the north side of the *Caspian* sea; whence their country was called *Volgaria*, and they *origin, &c.* *Volgari*; which names, in process of time, were changed into *Bulgaria* and *Bulgari*<sup>b</sup>. *Paulus Diaconus* calls those countries *Bulgaria Magna*, which are known at present by the

<sup>a</sup> ENNOD. in panegyric. Theodor. p. 296, 297.

<sup>b</sup> Vide DIO-

CLEAT. de regn. Slavor. p. 288.

names of *Asiatic* and *Caspian*. Some writers will have them to be of *Gothic*, and some of *German* extraction; but, as their language differs widely from the languages of both these nations, others, with far greater appearance of truth, conclude them descended from neither. They spoke antiently, says *Diocleates* in his history of the kingdom of the *Slavi*, the *Slavonian* language, as they still do, with some variation in the dialect <sup>d</sup>. As therefore the *Goths*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, &c. are thought to have been originally one and the same people, because the same language was common to all, these nations must, on the contrary, be allowed to be different, whose languages differ. Now, no two languages, says *Rudbeckius*, can be conceived more unlike than the *Slavonian* spoken by the *Bulgarians*, and the *German* and *Gothic*. The *Bulgarians*, therefore, were not sprung either from the *Goths* or the *Germans*, but ought to be reckoned among the nations inhabiting *Asiatic Scythia*; for they came first from thence; and to trace them farther back would be a vain and fruitless attempt.

FROM *Asiatic Scythia*, and the countries lying north of the *Caspian* sea, they advanced, in quest of a more fertile country, to the *Tanais*, and from thence, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, to the banks of the *Danube*, having at that time one *Bladinus* for their king. They were not stopped by that river; but, passing it, broke into *Thrace*, with a design to settle there. But *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and at this time general of the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, marching against them, put them to flight, and obliged them to repass the *Danube* <sup>e</sup>. Those who broke into *Thrace* had one *Libertem* for their leader, who was wounded in the engagement <sup>f</sup>. *Ennodius*, to enhance the glory of his hero, pretended, as we have hinted above, that the *Bulgarians* had never been overcome before <sup>g</sup>. Some years after, that is, in 499. the eighth of the emperor *Anastasius*'s reign, they broke anew into *Thrace*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor dispatched *Aristus*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attended by five hundred and twenty waggons, loaded with arms and provisions. *Aristus*, confiding in his strength, engaged the barbarians on the banks of the *Zarta* or *Zurta*; but was by them utterly defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, and four thousand men, among whom fell

They break  
into  
Thrace.  
Year of  
the flood  
2833.  
Bef. Chr.  
485.  
Of Rome  
1233.  
Year of  
the flood  
2847.  
Of Christ  
499.  
Of Rome  
1247.

<sup>a</sup> PAUL. DIAC. miscel. l. xix. p. 616, 617.

<sup>d</sup> DIOCLEAT.

de regn. Slavor. p. 288.

<sup>e</sup> ENNOD. Theodor. paneg. p. 296.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 297.

They in-  
vade  
Thrace  
anew.

the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, with some of the most experienced officers of the army <sup>b</sup> (A).

THREE years after, they invaded *Thrace* anew; and, having plundered that province, and great part of *Illyricum*, they carried off an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Roman* troops being employed against the *Saracens*, who, under the conduct of one *Badicarim*, committed unheard of cruelties in *Palastine*, *Arabia*, and *Phænice*<sup>1</sup>.

They seem to have continued quiet, perhaps by some agreement with the empire, from this time to the year 539. the twelfth of the emperor *Justinian the Great*, when, under the conduct of two kings, *Fulger* and *Drogge*, they passed the *Danube*, and laid waste all *Mæsia*. The commanders of the *Roman* troops quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, having drawn together their forces, marched against them; but were put to flight with great slaughter. Hereupon the barbarians, roving about uncontrolled, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. But in the mean time one

They are  
defeated  
by the Ro-  
mans, and  
their two  
kings  
killed.

Year of  
the flood  
2887.  
Of Christ  
539.  
Of Rome  
1287.

*Acum*, by nation an *Hunn*, an officer of great experience, whom *Justinian* had sent against them, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to venture a battle in a very disadvantageous situation. The *Bulgarians* fought with great resolution and intrepidity; but, great numbers of their men being cut in pieces, and both their kings killed, they were in the end forced to quit their booty, and betake themselves to a precipitate flight. *Acum*, having thus delivered the *Roman* provinces from the barbarians, by whom they had been strangely harassed, set out on his return to *Constantinople* with *Constantine*, who had commanded under him; but, in passing through *Thrace*, both generals were unexpectedly surrounded by a party of *Bulgarians*, and taken prisoners; so that *Justinian* was obliged to ransom them with an immense sum<sup>k</sup>. The following year 540. the *Bulgarians*, not in the least discouraged by the losses they had sustained, returned anew, and, entering *Thrace*, plundered and laid waste the

<sup>b</sup> MARC. chron. JORN. reg. c. 48. PAUL. DIAC. hist. miscel. l. xv. p. 449. <sup>1</sup> MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 153. <sup>k</sup> THEOPH. p. 184. PAUL. DIAC. miscel. l. xvi. p. 480.

(A) Of this victory *Zonaras*, without doubt, speaks, where he tells us, that the *Bulgarians*, in the second irruption they made into the empire, gained, by magical incantations, a complete victory. He adds, that about

the time of this invasion, a comet appeared, and several prodigies happened (1). We are not told what the barbarians did after this victory; but, in all likelihood, they returned home with the rich booty they had acquired.

(1) *Zonar.* p. 47.

open country far and near. But *Mundus*, by nation a *Gepid*, whom *Justinian* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, cut most of them in pieces, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, sent them to the emperor at *Constantinople*, who incorporated some of them among his troops, and ordered the rest to be transplanted into *Armenia* and *Lazica*<sup>1</sup>. For this and the above-mentioned victory, the emperor took the surname of *Bulgaricus*, which, among his other titles, is still to be seen on his coins.

No further mention is made in history of the *Bulgarians*, till the reign of *Constantine III.* surnamed *Pogonatus*, which began in 668. In his time they passed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on that river. *Constantine*, having raised a powerful army, dispatched it against them; but as the *Ro-* They de-  
*mans*, confiding too much in their own strength, and despising feat the  
the barbarians as an undisciplined multitude, were marching Romans.  
carelessly, the *Bulgarians* fell upon them with such vigour, that, after a faint resistance, they betook themselves to flight, and, retiring into the fortified places, left the enemy at full liberty to ravage at pleasure the open country. Hereupon the *Constan-*  
emperor, preferring a shameful peace to an expensive and stantine  
doubtful war, agreed to pay them a yearly pension, upon con- III. a-  
dition, that they should not, for the future, infest the *Roman* grees to  
territories, but join, when required, the emperor's forces pay them  
against all other barbarians, who should attempt to disturb the an annual  
peace of the empire<sup>m</sup>. About this time *Alexecus*, one of the pension.  
princes or chiefs of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own coun-  
try, for what reason we are not told, entered *Italy* with a Year of  
body of his countrymen; and, arriving at *Pavia*, without of the flood  
offering the least violence to the people in the countries through 3026.  
which he passed, offered his service to *Grimwaldus* king of the Of Carist  
*Lombards*, declaring at the same time, that he was willing to 678.  
live, with his people, in what part soever of his dominions Of Rome  
he should be pleased to allot him. *Grimwaldus* received him 1426.  
in a most obliging manner; and thinking he might prove  
very serviceable to his son *Romualdus* duke of *Benevento*,  
threatened at that time by the *Greeks*, who were masters of  
*Naples*, he sent *Alexecus* and his *Bulgarians* to him, requiring  
him to allow them settlements in the dukedom of *Benevento*.  
*Romualdus*, in compliance with his father's request, allotted sev-  
eral cities, and, among the rest, *Sepinum*, *Esjanum*, *garius*  
and *Isfemia*; but at the same time obliged *Alexecus* to relin-

<sup>1</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Justinian. 13.    <sup>m</sup> CREDEN. ad ann. Const.  
10. NICEPH. c. 3.

the dukedom of Benevento.

quish the title of duke, which, it seems, he had before, and content himself with that of *gastaldus*, either to shew, that he had not given him those places in feignory and property, or because he did not think it fit, that one of his subjects should be distinguished with the title of duke, since he had no other himself. The dukedom of *Benevento* being thus divided into several counties, all subject to the duke of *Benevento*, those who were appointed to govern them, had no other title but that of *gastaldi*, which is the same with the title of *comes* or count. Thus the *Bulgarians* came to settle in the dukedom of *Benevento*, where, for several ages, they inhabited the country now known by the name of *Contado di Molise*. *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote above an hundred and fifty years after they had settled there, tells us, that though, in his time, they had learnt the *Italian* language, nevertheless they had not yet lost the use of their own (B).

To

PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 11. CUJAC. l. i. de feud. tit. 1. paragraph. 3.

(B) What *Paulus Diaconus* writes on this head is worthy of observation: The *Bulgarians*, says he, retained their own language, though at the same time they spoke the *Latin*, *quamvis etiam Latine loquerentur* (2). By the *Latin* tongue our historian did not mean, as some have imagined (3), the language of the ancient *Romans*, but another then current in *Italy*, and commonly called *Italian*; for the ancient *Latin*, about the end of the 9th century, when *Paulus Diaconus* flourished, was only made use of in writings; another, called *Italian*, being then commonly spoken, to which the mixture, variety, and confusion of several languages with the *Latin*, had given rise. The *Latin* tongue, even in the time of the emperor *Justinian*, who died in 566. began to be strangely corrupted, and to bear a great

resemblance to the *Italian*; for *Fornerius* tells us, that he had perused a public instrument, which had been drawn up in *Ravenna* in the reign of *Justinian*, and was written in a kind of *Latin*, which bore a great affinity to the *Italian* (4). In the tenth century, the *Italian* alone was spoken in *Italy*; but that *Italian* came much nearer the *Latin*, than the language which is used now by the *Italians*, both in common speech, and in writing; but tho' the current language was then very different from the *Latin*, yet it was called *Latin* by the writers of that and the two following centuries, because it was spoken by the ancient inhabitants, who were stiled *Latins* or *Romans*, and by that name distinguished from the *Greeks*, the *Lombards*, and the other nations settled in *Italy*. Hence not only *Paulus Diaconus*, but authors who flou-

(2) *Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 11.*

(3) *Vide Ciceron. in Summo.*

(4) *For. in*  
rified

To return to the *Bulgarians* who remained on the banks of the *Danube*: *Constantine*, as we have hinted above, had concluded a peace with them, and agreed to pay them an annual pension; nay, most authors are of opinion, that he allowed them to settle in *Lower Mœsia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, which name that country still retains. Other writers indeed suppose them to have settled there several years before *Constantine's* reign, though they will not take upon them to fix the precise time. However that be, *Justinian II.* not only refused to stand to the articles of the treaty, which his father had concluded with the *Bulgarians*, but, entering their country in an hostile manner, laid it waste far and near, made himself master of several forts, and obliged the inhabitants either to submit to him, and pay unreasonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings, and take refuge in the woods and marshes. The *Bulgarians*, finding themselves reduced to great streights, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, suing for peace; but he, refusing to hearken to any terms but those of an intire submission, animated with despair, they resolved to make a last effort in defence of their liberties. Accordingly, having drawn together all their forces, they fell unexpectedly upon the emperor, put his army to flight, and, having seized on all the passes, obliged him to restore the prisoners and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty his father had made with them, to purchase a retreat.

*Justinian II. invades their country; but is defeated by them.*  
Year of the flood 3035.  
Of Christ 687.  
Of Rome 1435.

• THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Const. 10.

flourished long after his time, by *Latin* meant the *Italian*, as the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* rightly observes (5). Thus, where *Otto Frisingensis* commends the *Lombards* of his time, who were then become *Italians*, for the elegancy with which they spoke the *Latin* tongue, that writer must be understood, not of the antient *Latin*, but the *Italian*; and in the same sense we must understand all the authors who flourished after the ninth century, and call the language used in their time *Latin*. There is in no country so great a variety of dialects as in *Italy*, which, as *Camillo Pelle-*

*grino* observes, is owing to the many different nations that settled there, to wit, the *Goths*, the *Lombards*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Greeks*, the *Saracens*, the *Normans*, the *Sueves*, &c. for though these foreign nations forgot, in process of time, their native language, and spoke that of the country in which they dwelt, yet they kept many of their own words, and, with their words, a foreign accent; and hence the many different accents and dialects chiefly in the present kingdom of *Naples*, where all the above-mentioned nations continued some time.

(5) *Camill. Pell. in diff. de dac. de Benevent,*

In the year 713. *Philippicus* being then emperor, the *Bulgarians*, upon what provocation we know not, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, and, having laid waste the country, taken an incredible number of captives, and put more to the sword, returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty<sup>p</sup>. Six years after, that is, in 719. *Anastasius II.* who had been deposed, and confined to *Thessalonica*, by *Theodosius III.* having made his escape from thence, fled to *Tribelin* king of the *Bulgarians*; and, having prevailed upon that prince to espouse his cause, he obtained of him a considerable army, with which he marched into *Thrace*, and approached the imperial city. *Anastasius* believed himself, and had assured the *Bulgarians*, that the inhabitants, at his approach, would open the gates, and receive him; but, the citizens making a vigorous resistance, and the emperor *Leo* raising at the same time a numerous army, the *Bulgarians*, highly provoked against *Anastasius*, seized him, and delivered him up to *Leo*, by whom he was put to death<sup>q</sup>.

Year of the flood 3098  
Of Christ 750.  
Of Rome 1498.  
FROM this time the *Bulgarians* continued quiet till the year 750 the ninth of the reign of *Constantine* surnamed *Copronymus*, who caused some forts to be built on the borders of the provinces, which joined the country of the *Bulgarians*. Of this they sent ambassadors to complain to the emperor, and to demand a confirmation of the former treaties. The emperor received the ambassadors in a manner altogether unsuitable to their character, and dismissed them with a disdainful answer; which so incensed the *Bulgarians*, that they made a sudden irruption into the *Roman* territories, and, penetrating without opposition, as far as the long wall, laid waste the country, and returned home loaded with booty. Hereupon the emperor, upon the arrival of his troops out of the East, marched against them in person, and, entering their country, began to lay it waste, destroying all with fire and sword.

Constantine Copronymus put to flight by them.  
But the *Bulgarians*, who carefully watched all his motions, falling upon him as he was marching through a narrow pass named *Beregaba*, put him to flight, and pursued him with great slaughter to the very gates of *Constantinople*<sup>r</sup>.

In the year 763. a new war was kindled between the same emperor and the *Bulgarians*, the occasion of which is variously related by authors; but the most probable opinion is, that *Cyprianus*, wanting a pretence to quarrel with them, and to retrieve the reputation he had lost in his late war with them, pretended to be highly provoked against them for put-

<sup>p</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Phil. 2.      <sup>q</sup> THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 5.      <sup>r</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 19.

ting to death in a sedition all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raising to the throne one *Telefis*, a person of a mean descent. What gave rise to this rebellion, we are not told; but *Constantine*, pretending to revenge it, raised a powerful army, and, marching into the country of the *Bulgarians*, gave them battle on the borders of *Thrace*. The engagement lasted eight hours; but in the end the *Romans* gained a complete victory: after which the emperor, instead of improving it, returned to *Constantinople*, with the booty and prisoners he had taken, and entered the city in triumph. The *Bulgarians*, upon the retreat of the emperor, put their new king to death, either mistrusting him, as if he entertained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, or because his behaviour in the battle was such, as shewed him unworthy of the dignity to which he had been raised<sup>1</sup>.

*He gains a great victory over them.*  
Year of the flood 3111.  
Of Christ 763.  
Of Rome 1511.

THE *Bulgarians*, discouraged with the loss of the battle, in which the flower of their youth was cut off, sent ambassadors to *Constantinople* to sue for peace, which was granted them; but upon such disadvantageous terms, that they resolved to observe them no longer than a favourable opportunity offered of renewing the war. Accordingly, two years after, great part of the emperor's forces being employed in the East against the *Saracens*, they broke into the *Roman* dominions with a body of twelve thousand men; but *Constantine*, marching in person against them, and coming upon them when least expected, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. This the emperor stiled his noble war, because not one Christian was killed in it; but the victory was obtained, it seems, by treachery, the emperor being privately informed by some *Bulgarians* of the designs, and all the motions, of their countrymen. These *Elerich*, king of the country, discovered by the following device: He wrote to *Constantine*, pretending a desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at *Constantinople*, for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to let him know what friends the *Romans* had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those, who maintained a private correspondence with him; which *Elerich* no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, tore his garments, and his hair, in the height of his passion; and, vowing revenge at all events, spent the winter in warlike preparations,

*Cuts 12,000 of them in pieces.*  
Year of the flood 3123.  
Of Christ 775.  
Of Rome 1523.

<sup>1</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 22.



and early in the spring took the field, with a design to cut off the whole nation of the *Bulgarians*, root and branch; but, being seized on his march with a violent fever, he was obliged to return to *Achadiapolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Strongylum*, where he died <sup>t</sup>.

Elerich  
king of the  
Bulgarians, be-  
ing driven  
from the  
throne, em-  
braces the  
Christian  
religion.

He was succeeded by his son *Leo III.* who, upon his accession to the throne, concluded a peace with the king of the *Bulgarians*, whose daughter *Irene* he had married. In the third year of his reign, *Elerich*, being driven from the throne by his own subjects, fled to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem. During his stay in that metropolis, he was, at his own request, instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; which he no sooner embraced, than he was by *Leo* created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress <sup>u</sup>. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, the son and successor of *Leo*, in the year 791. the eleventh of his reign, made war upon the *Bulgarians*, who, according to their custom, had broken into the *Roman* provinces; but with what success the emperor was attended in this war, is uncertain; for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a signal victory; *Zonaras*, that it was a drawn battle; and some, that the *Romans* were worsted, and lost the flower of their army.

The Bulgarians  
gain a  
great vi-  
ctory over  
Constantine IV.

Year of  
the flood  
3140.  
Of Christ  
792.  
Of Rome  
1540.

BE that as it will, the following year 792. he marched anew against the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory; but while, depending upon their promises, he omitted the proper means to obtain it, he was utterly defeated. In the battle, besides a great number of common soldiers, fell some of the best officers of the army, and the most considerable men in the empire, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occasion to the overthrow <sup>w</sup>. Two years after, *Cardanes* king of the *Bulgarians* sent ambassadors to the emperor, demanding a tribute, and threatening, if it was refused him, to come as far as the *Golden gate* of *Constantinople*, and take it by force: to such a low ebb was the empire then reduced! *Constantine*, however, exerting himself on this occasion, returned answer, That, as the king of the *Bulgarians* was advanced in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army, at the sight of which the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost confusion; but *Constantine*, instead of pursuing them, and taking advantage of

<sup>t</sup> THEOPH. ad ann. Const. 34.

<sup>u</sup> Idem ad ann. Leon. 2.

<sup>w</sup> CEDREN. in Const. ann. 2.

the confirmation they were in, returned to *Constantinople* \*. In the year 806. the seventh of the emperor *Nicephorus*, the *Bulgarians*, falling upon a party of *Romans*, put them all to the sword, and seized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were escorting to *Stragmon* for the payment of the army.

Soon after, they made an irruption into the *Roman* provinces, under the conduct of *Crumus* their king; and, having ~~The Bul-~~ surprised *Sardica*, put the whole garison, consisting of six *garians* thousand men, to the sword. *Nicephorus* marched against ~~surprised~~ them in person; but, the barbarians retiring at his approach, ~~the city of~~ he returned to *Constantinopl.* However, the following year, *Sardica*. having drawn together all the forces of the East and West, he marched at the head of them into *Bulgaria*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Crumus*, alarmed at the approach of so formidable an army, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with scorn and indignation, pursued his ravages, burning the towns and villages, and putting such of the inhabitants to the sword as fell into his hands, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. He not only raged against the living, but likewise against the dead, not suffering those who were slain to be buried, but ordering their bodies to be exposed to the dogs and wild beasts. But, in the mean time, *Byzantius*, his chief favourite, forsaking him, fled with the imperial robe, and an hundred pounds weight of gold, to the enemy; which was looked upon by the superstitious multitude as an unlucky omen.

*CRUMUS*, sensibly affected with the calamities of his subjects, sent anew ambassadors to the emperor, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would put an end to the ravages, and quit the country. But *Nicephorus*, deaf to all proposals, received the ambassadors with great haughtiness, and dismissed them with scorn. Hereupon *Crumus*, pushed ~~The empe-~~ on by despair, and the thirst of revenge, in the first place, ~~or Nice-~~ secured and fortified all the passes thro' which the emperor *phorus* was to retire; and then, animating his men to revenge the ~~killed by~~ blood of their wives and children inhumanly massacred by the ~~them, and~~ emperor's orders, he attacked unexpectedly the *Roman* camp, ~~his whole~~ and, having forced it in spite of all opposition, cut off almost ~~army cut~~ the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number ~~off~~ of patricians, and almost all the chief officers of the army. *Saturatus*, the emperor's son, was dangerously wounded, but escaped in a litter to *Adrianopl.* All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands, and the body of *Nicephorus*



Year of  
the flood  
3159.  
Of Christ  
811.  
Of Rome  
1559.

\* TILLOPH. & CEDEN., ad ann. Const. 5.

being found among the slain, *Crumus* ordered his head to be struck off; and, after having kept it for some time exposed to public view, inclosed the skull in silver, and used it ever after in all grand entertainments, instead of a cup *y*.

*They conclude a peace with the Romans; but soon break it.* IN the beginning of the reign of *Michael*, who succeeded *Nicephorus*, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*; nay, some of the latter were allowed to settle in the *Roman* provinces. But the good harmony that passed between the two nations was short-lived; for, in the second year of *Michael's* reign, they came to an open rupture on the following occasion: Some *Romans*, who had been taken prisoners by the *Bulgarians* in the late war, having found means to make their escape, returned home. These *Crumus* demanded, threatening the empire with war, if his just demand was not immediately complied with. The emperor, who was naturally averse from war, and several persons of distinction at court, were for granting the king of the *Bulgarians* his request, the empire not being at that time in a condition to carry on a war with success. But *Nicephorus* the patriarch, and *Theodisius*, a person in great esteem at court for his virtue and wisdom, urging, that they ought to trust to the assistance of Heaven, and not gratify the pride and insolence of the barbarians, the emperor, following their advice, received the *Bulgarian* embassadors in the most obliging manner; but at the same time told them, that he could not, by any means, comply with their request, and deliver up into captivity such of his subjects, as, having once escaped that deplorable condition, had fled to him for protection. Hereupon *Crumus*, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the *Roman* territories, and not only ravaged the open country, but laid siege to, and made himself master of, several fortified places, being assisted therein by an *Arabian*, well skilled in the art of framing military engines, who had been formerly employed by the emperor *Nicephorus*; but, being ill used by him, had fled to the *Bulgarians*, and taught them the use of all sorts of battering engines.

*They take Mesembria;* BESIDES several other cities, he made himself master of *Mesembria*, a place of great importance in the neighbourhood of mount *Hæmus*, and put the garrison to the sword. In the mean time the emperor, having assembled a very numerous army, leaving *Constantinople*, put himself at the head of it, and, marching into *Thrace*, came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. After several skirmishes, in which the *Romans* had the advantage, the emperor was, in a manner, forced by the soldiery to venture a battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory conti-

was long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly and gain a  
 defeated. *Michael* was so sensibly affected with this misfor-  
 tune, that, resigning the purple to *Leo*, he retired to the victory  
 monastery of *Pharus*, and there took the monastic habit (C). over the  
 The *Bulgarians*, elated with the great victory they had gained, emperor  
 pursued their ravages without controul, advancing almost to Michael.  
 the gates of *Constantinople*, and destroying all with fire and Year of  
 sword. *Leo*, who had succeeded *Michael*, endeavoured at the flood  
 first to restrain them by fair means; and for that purpose sent 3161.  
 embassadors to *Crumus*, with proposals for an accommodation; Of Christ  
 but *Crumus*, deaf to all overtures, sent them back without so 813.  
 much as granting them an audience. *Leo*, who was an active Of Rome  
 and warlike prince, highly provoked at the arrogance of the 1561.  
 barbarian, drew together all the forces of the empire, and,   
 marching into *Thrace*, offered the enemy battle; which *Cru-  
 mus* not declining, a bloody engagement ensued. Great num-  
 bers fell on both sides; but in the end the *Romans*, after a  
 most obstinate resistance, were put to the rout. The *Bulga-  
 rians*, instead of pursuing the enemy, fell upon the baggage,  
 and began to plunder the camp in great disorder; which being Leo gains  
 observed by *Leo* from a neighbouring eminence, where he had a complete  
 kept during the battle with a body of reserve, he came down victory  
 unexpectedly upon the enemy, renewed the fight, and, hav- over them.  
 ing rallied his other troops, obtain'd in the end an intire victo- Year of  
 ry. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken the flood  
 prisoners. Among the former some reckon the king himself; 3162.  
 and add; that the emperor slew him with his own hand; but Of Christ  
 others say, that he was only wounded, and that, falling from 814.  
 his horse, he had been either killed, or taken prisoner, by the Of Rome  
*Romans*, who had already surrounded him, had not his guards, 1562.  
 with unparalleled valour, rescued him out of their hands.  


THE *Bulgarians* were so disheartened with this overthrow,  
 that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after.

<sup>2</sup> ZONAR. p. 632. CEDREN. in Leon. p. 173.

(C) Thus *Theophanes* (6), who  
 lived at this time, and was an  
 eye-witness of what he wrote.  
 But *Cedrenus* writes, that the  
*Romans* had the advantage in the  
 engagement; that great numbers  
 of the *Bulgarians* were cut in  
 pieces; and that *Crumus* with  
 difficulty kept his men from be-  
 taking themselves to a precipi-  
 tate flight, till *Leo*, who aspired  
 to the empire, drew off the forces

under his command; which so  
 disheartened the *Romans*, that  
 they fled in the utmost confusion  
 (7). Be that as it will, it is cer-  
 tain, that the *Bulgarians* gained  
 a complete victory, and that the  
 emperor, with great difficulty,  
 escaped to *Adrianople*, and from  
 thence, with a small attendance,  
 to *Constantinople*, where he ab-  
 dicated soon after.

(6) *Theoph.* ad ann. *Misc.* 2.

(7) *Cedren.* in Leon. p. 173.

The Bulgarians assist the emperor Michael II.

*Crampus* was succeeded by *Mortagon*, in whose time *Thomas*, of whom we have spoken in a former volume<sup>a</sup>, revolting from *Michael II.* who had succeeded *Leo*, and keeping him closely blocked up in *Constantinople*, the king of the *Bulgarians*, pitying his condition, resolved to march to his assistance; and, lest he should in the mean time come to any agreement with the rebels, he privately acquainted him with his design. The emperor, either to prevent the ravages and disorders, which he was well apprised the barbarians would commit, or suspecting the sincerity of the king, or, what the writers of those times think most probable, apprehending that a reward, answerable to such a friendly and reasonable assistance, would too much exhaust his treasury, in the improving of which he at least equaled the most covetous of his predecessors, returned the king of the *Bulgarians* thanks for his generous offer; but declined accepting it. *Mortagon*, however, accustomed to war and depredations, undertook the expedition, and, entering *Thrace*, encamped at a place called *Cedostus*, at a small distance from *Constantinople*. *Thomas*, hearing of the approach of the *Bulgarians*, broke up the siege, and marched with all his forces to meet the enemy. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which the rebels were put to flight with great slaughter. But *Mortagon*, instead of pursuing the fugitives, returned home with the booty he found in the enemy's camp<sup>b</sup>.

THE *Bulgarians* continued quiet, no doubt in virtue of some treaty between them and the *Romans*, from this time to the year 877. the 8th of *Leo V.* when a war broke out between them and the *Romans* on the following occasion: A great trade had been carried on for some time between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Constantinople*, whence, by the interest of *Zantzas*, father to *Zoe*, the emperor's concubine, it was removed to *Thessalonica*. This removal was procured by *Zantzas*, at the request of the *Constantinopolitan* merchants; and those very merchants were, by the great sway he bore at court, appointed officers and receivers of the customs; which put it into their power to give great trouble to the *Bulgarian* merchants, whom they oppressed with new and unlawful impositions. Of this *Simoon*, king of the *Bulgarians* complained by his ambassadors to the emperor, but he, who was in all things governed by *Zantzas*, refusing to redress the grievances complained of, *Simoon*, who wanted only a pretence for a rupture, without any further declaration of war, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroy-

<sup>a</sup> Unvers. hist. vol. xvii p. 61.

<sup>b</sup> CED<sup>a</sup> EM<sup>a</sup> p. 189

ing all with fire and sword. On the borders of that province he was met by the army, which *Leo* had sent against him, under the conduct of *Procopius Crenites*, and one *Curtius* an Armenian. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged. The Romans stood their ground some time; but, both their generals being slain, they were in the end utterly defeated. In the pursuit great numbers of them were taken prisoners, and treated in a most barbarous manner by the insolent conqueror, who first led them in triumph round his camp, and then, having caused their noses to be cut off, sent them, thus deformed, to *Constantinople*.

*Leo*, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri*, or *Hungarians*, to break into the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he invaded it on the other. *Simeon* marched first against the *Hungarians*, who committed everywhere dreadful ravages; but, in the battle that ensued, the flower of his army was cut off, he himself having, with great difficulty, made his escape, and taken refuge in a strong-hold named *Drista*; so that the *Hungarians* pursued their ravages without controul, laid waste the country far and near, and took an incredible number of prisoners, whom they sold to the emperor. *Leo*, before the *Hungarians* began hostilities, or his own troops took the field, had sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius*, with proposals for an accommodation, but the king of the *Bulgarians*, imagining that the emperor had therein no other view but to deceive and amuse him, had thrown the ambassador into prison; but, finding his army cut off by the *Hungarians*, and being informed at the same time, that the Roman army, under the conduct of *Nicophorus Phocas*, was in full march to enter his country, he not only set *Constantinacius* at liberty, but dispatched ambassadors to *Leo* suing for peace in a most submissive manner. The emperor, not thinking it advisable to reduce so warlike a nation to despair, readily granted him his request, ordering *Phocas*, who was then upon the point of entering *Bulgaria*, to return home, with the forces under his command. But *Simeon* no sooner found the danger removed, than he threw *Leo's* ambassadors into prison, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, gave them a total overthrow.

He then entered their country, and committed there unheard-of cruelties, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. *Leo*, and not able to march to the assistance of his allies at so short a warning, dispatched ambassadors to the king of the *Bulgarians*, complaining of the breach of the treaty just concluded,

Under the conduct of their king *Simeon*, they cut off a Roman army.  
Year of the flood 3225.  
Of Christ 877.  
Of Rome 1625.

*Simeon*, defeated by the Hungarians.

He gains a great victory over them, and ravages their country.

He puts  
the Ro-  
mans to  
flight  
with great  
slaughter.

Year of  
the flood

3245.

Of Christ

897.

Of Rome

1645.

~~~~~

and requiring him to withdraw his troops forthwith out of the country of the *Hungarians*. *Simeon*, elated with his success, returned answer, that he would hearken to no terms, till all the *Bulgarians*, who had been taken in the late war, were set at liberty. To this the emperor consented, unwilling to engage in a new war. But the prisoners were no sooner returned him, than *Simeon* made new demands, still more unreasonable than the former; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to fall upon the *Bulgarians* with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly extirpate, if possible, that perfidious nation. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into *Bulgaria*, under the command of *Catacalon*, and *Theodosius*, a patrician. But *Simeon*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, with *Theodosius*, and a great number of officers of distinction. This obliged the emperor to consent to a peace upon the best terms he could obtain^d; which the *Bulgarians* seem to have observed during the remaining part of *Leo's* reign.

UPON that prince's death, they sent ambassadors to *Alexander*, his brother and successor, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign. But *Alexander*, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike nation, dismissed the ambassadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon* justly provoked, invaded the *Roman* dominions with a mighty army, and, meeting with no opposition, after having ravaged *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Constantinople*, which he hoped to surprise; but the inhabitants making a vigorous resistance, after several unsuccessful attempts, *Simeon* was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire to *Hebdomon*, at a small distance from the imperial city. From thence he sent ambassadors to *Constantine*, who had succeeded *Alexander*, with proposals for an accommodation; which were received with great joy by the governors of the young prince, who was then under age. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and, when the entertainment was over, dismissed with rich presents. *Cedrenus* supposes a peace to have been concluded; but *Zonaras* writes, that *Simeon* would not agree to the terms that were offered him. Be that as it will, the following year 914, the king of the *Bulgarians* broke anew into *Thrace*, and, advancing as far as *Adrianople*, laid siege to that city.

In the mean time the empress *Zoe*, mother to the young prince, having got the whole power into her own hands, and, by the advice of the senate, concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, who had invaded the eastern provinces, resolved to

employ the whole strength of the empire against the *Bulgarians*, and utterly extirpate, if possible, that nation. With this view she assembled a mighty army; but of the bad success that attended her arms, we have spoken at large elsewhere*. The flower of the *Roman* army was cut off; and *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected success, resolved to return before *Constantinople*; but two strong detachments from his army being met and defeated at a place called *Catasyrtes* by the imperial troops, he thought it adviseable to drop the enterprize, and return home, with the immense booty which he had already got. Even in this encounter or skirmish the *Romans* lost a considerable number of men, and some officers of great reputation, among whom was *Nicolas*, the son of *Constantine Ducas*, who, on this occasion, commanded in chief, and to whose valour the success of the day was chiefly owing.

A mighty army sent against the Bulgarians.

FIVE years after, *Simeon*, taking advantage of the intestine broils and factions into which the empire was rent by the usurpation of *Romanus*, began to make new inroads into the *Roman* territories. One of his parties advanced as far as *Catasyrtes*, in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, where they were met by *Leo*, son-in-law to *Romanus*, and put to flight. In this encounter *Michael*, a *Roman* officer, who had signalized himself on several occasions, received a wound, of which he died. A few months after, *Simeon* sent into *Thrace* a very numerous army, commanded by *Chaganus* and *Minicius*, with orders to march straight to *Constantinople*. *Romanus*, receiving timely notice of their design, dispatched *Leo*, his brother *Pothus Aignus*, and one *John*, against them, with all the troops he could assemble. The two armies met in the plains of *Pegæ*, at a small distance from *Constantinople*, and thereupon a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Romans*, frightened with the sudden flight of *John*, one of their generals, gave way, and were pursued with great slaughter by the *Bulgarians*. *Leo* and *Pothus* took refuge in a neighbouring castle; *John* saved himself on board a small vessel, but most of the other officers and soldiers were either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in striving to get on board the fleet, which was riding at a small distance from the field of battle. Among the latter were *Alvus* the admiral, and several other officers of the navy. The *Bulgarians*, now masters of the field, laid waste the country without controul, burnt the imperial palace of *Pegæ*, and closely beleagued *Adrianople*. *Leo*, surnamed *Morolon*, from his rash and inconsiderate blunders, defended the place with great gallantry, and made several successful sallies; but, the inhabitants being

They gain another victory.

Year of the flood 2370. Of Christ 922. Of Rome 1670.

in the end obliged by famine to surrender, *Simon* basely caused *Leo* to be tortured to death^f.

They be-
siege Con-
stantino-
ple.

An inter-
view be-
tween the
emperor
and the
king of the
Bulgari-
ans.

A peace
concluded.

THE king of the *Bulgarians*, encouraged with this success, made vast preparations during the following winter, and early in the spring took the field, with a design to besiege *Constantinople* itself. In his march he laid waste *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and made himself master of most of the strong-holds in those provinces, leaving garisons in some, and leveling others with the ground. At length he approached the imperial city, and encamped at *Blachernæ*, whence he dispatched a messenger to the emperor, requiring, that the patriarch, and some other persons of distinction, might be sent to treat with him of an accommodation, since he was willing, he said, to put an end to such a destructive and expensive war. The emperor readily complied with his request, and, upon the delivery of hostages, the conferences were opened. But, some time after, *Simon* desired an interview with the emperor himself, that is, with *Romanus*, who had caused himself to be acknowledged the colleague of *Constantine*. *Romanus*, well pleased with this proposal, went first to the place appointed, attended by his guards, and the chief nobility. *Simon* came soon after, and the two princes met on the ninth of *December* of the year 923. *Romanus*, in a pathetic speech, put the king of the *Bulgarians* in mind of the account he was one day to give to the Eternal Judge for the Christian blood he had already shed; expostulated with him, that, being a Christian, he should delight in the slaughter of those who professed the same religion; exhorted him to join those, with whom he was already united by the same faith, and, putting an end to such unnatural wars, turn his arms against their common enemy the *Saracens*. He told him in the end, that, if he was prompted by the desire of riches to commit every-where such devastations, the treasures of the empire should be opened to him, and leave granted him to take from thence what wealth he pleased, provided he sheathed his sword, and put an end to the shedding of Christian blood. *Simon* was so affected with this speech, that he accepted the terms offered him by the emperor, signed the treaty, and, having received many rich presents from *Romanus*, he returned home, not suffering his men to commit the least disorder in the provinces through which they passed^g.

SIMEON, having thus concluded a peace with the *Romans*, turned his arms against the *Chrobats*, a neighbouring nation;

^f GLYCAS, in *Constant.* p. 142. ZONAR. CÆDREN. ubi supra.
^g Ibidem ibid.

but he was by them overthrown, with the loss of his whole army. He did not long outlive this misfortune, but died of ^{grief} a few days after. He left three sons behind him, to ^{be} thrown by ^{his} ^{own} ^{army} ^{and} ^{the} ^{Chro-} ^{bati,} ^{and} ^{his} ^{eldest} ^{son,} ^{whom} ^{he} ^{disliked,} ^{to} ^{take} ^{the} ^{monastic} ^{habit} ^{some} ^{years} ^{before} ^{his} ^{death.} He was therefore succeeded by *Peter*, to whom, as he was yet under age, *George Sufurbulus*, his mother's brother, was appointed guardian. The neighbouring nations no sooner heard of the death of *Simeon*, than they resolved to fall jointly upon the *Bulgarians*, by whom they had been incessantly harassed during the late king's reign. At the same time a dreadful famine raged in *Bulgaria*, the corn having been consumed by incredible multitudes of locusts. *Sufurbulus* therefore, fearing the *Romans*, encouraged by their present calamities, might join the neighbouring nations against them, advised the young prince to invade their dominions first with the whole strength of his kingdom, which, he said, would make way for an advantageous treaty, and prevent them from joining their other enemies. Pursuant to this advice, *Peter* broke into *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, destroying all with fire and sword, but when he heard, that *Romanus* was marching against him, he dispatched a monk to the emperor, with proposals for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by a more strict alliance, if the emperor thought fit to give him his grand-daughter in marriage.

Year of
the flood
2374.
Of Christ
926.
Of Rome
1674

THIS overture was very acceptable to *Romanus*, so that, *Peter*, after several negotiations and conferences between the ministers of the two princes in the city of *Mesembria*, not only a peace, but a marriage was concluded between the young king of the *Bulgaria*, and *Mary* the daughter of *Christopher*, the emperor's son. The articles being agreed on, *Peter* repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was splendidly entertained by *Romanus*, and, with great solemnity, married to his grand daughter by *Stephen* the patriarch. The king of the *Bulgarians* was scarce returned home, when a conspiracy was discovered, carried on against him by *John* his brother, and several other persons of a function. All who were privy to it, were put to death, but the king contented himself with confining his brother to a castle, whence, with the assistance of the emperor's ambassadors, he made his escape to *Constantinople*. Soon after, *Michael* his brother, quitting the monastic habit, laid claim to the crown, and was joined by great numbers of *Bulgarians*; but he dying, his followers, abandoning their native country, broke into the *Roman* dominions, and, ravaging *Macedon* and *Greece*, advanced as far as

Nicopolis, which city they took, and settled there. Upon the death of *Romanus*, the king of the *Bulgarians* sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to renew with his successor *Nicophorus Phocas* his alliance with the empire, delivering up his two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* as hostages; but, the king dying soon after, they were sent home, where, with much difficulty, they got the better of a powerful faction, headed by the four sons of one of the chief lords of that country.

* Bulgaria
subdued by
the Rossi;
Year of
the flood
3319.
Of Christ
971.
Of Rome
1719.

In the year 970. the *Russi* or *Rossi*, who inhabited the present *Podolia*, broke into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of their king *Spendoethlabus*; and, having ravaged the country, and burnt several towns, they returned home loaded with booty. The ensuing year they pursued their ravages, and, having put the *Bulgarians* to flight, who attempted to oppose them, and, in the pursuit, taken *Borises* and *Romanus*, the two sons of *Peter*, prisoners, they resolved to settle in *Bulgaria*, finding it a country far more pleasant and fertile than their own. In this resolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrcus*, a *Roman* fugitive, who engaged to resign *Bulgaria* to them, to enter into a strict alliance with their nation, and to pay them annually a considerable sum, provided they raised him to the imperial throne. The *Rossi*, well acquainted with the late revolutions of the empire, and the low ebb to which the *Roman* power was reduced, thought it would be no difficult matter to effectuate what *Calocyrcus* proposed. Accordingly, having drawn to their assistance the *Patzinacæ*, a *Sarmatic* nation, with the *Hunns* or *Hungarians*, and armed such of the conquered *Bulgarians*, as they thought they might safely trust, they entered *Thrace* with an army of three hundred and eight thousand men, and, having ravaged that province, sat down before *Adrianople*, where they were soon after defeated, and most of them cut in pieces, by *Bardas Sclerus* with a body of twelve thousand *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere. Such of the *Rossi* as escaped the general slaughter, returned into *Bulgaria*; whence they were afterwards driven back to their antient seats by *John Zimisces*, then emperor. But of the war which that prince made on the *Rossi*, till they consented to abandon *Bulgaria*, we have spoken at large in our *Constantinopolitan* history, to which we refer the reader.

who are
driven out
by John
Zimisces
emperor, to
whom the
Bulgarians
submit.

They re-
volved, and

THE *Bulgarians*, being thus delivered from the yoke under which they had groaned some years, readily submitted to *Zimisces* their deliverer. But their submission lasted no longer than his life; for no sooner did they receive the news of the emperor's death, than, revolting from the *Romans*, they

¹ CEDREN. p. 183.

² Ibid. p. 98—100.

¹ Univers. hist. vol. xvii. p. 97.

vested with supreme power four brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Samuel*, called *Cometopoli*, because they were the children of an eminent count among them. Of the family of *Peter* none was left, whom they could prefer. His two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* had been taken prisoners by *Zimisces* in his war with the *Rossi*, and brought by him to *Constantinople*, whence they both made their escape upon that prince's death. But *Borises*, in passing through a wood in a Roman dress, was killed by a *Bulgarian*, who mistook him for a *Roman*. *Romanus* indeed was alive, but an eunuch, and consequently incapable of ascending the throne. Of the four brothers, whom we have just mentioned, *David* died soon after he was vested with the sovereign power; *Moses* was killed in the siege of a place called *Serræ*; and *Aaron*, being suspected of favouring the *Romans*, and keeping a private correspondence with them, was murdered by *Samuel*, with all his children, *Bladisthabus* excepted, who was saved by *Kadomer* the son of *Samuel*.

SAMUEL, who was a warlike prince, and a man of a restless temper, having thus got the whole power into his own hands, made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories, returning home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives; nay, while *Basilus*, the successor of *Zimisces*, was engaged in a civil war with *Bardas Sclerus*, who had assumed the purple, *Samuel*, laying hold of that opportunity, over-ran not only *Thrace* and *Macedon*, but likewise *Thessaly*, *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus*, in which provinces he committed unheard-of ravages, burnt several cities, took others, and among the rest *Larissa*, the inhabitants whereof he transported, with their whole families, into *Bulgaria*, incorporated such of them as were able to bear arms among his troops, and employed them against the *Romans*. *Basilus* therefore, highly provoked against the *Bulgarians*, had no sooner put an end to the civil war, than he resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them. Pursuant to this resolution, having drawn together all his forces, he left *Constantinople*, without acquainting even his own generals with his design; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he entered *Bulgaria* through the country lying near *Rhodus* and the river *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the streights, while he, by a short cut through woods and marshes, advanced to *Sardica*, by the *Bulgarians* called *Triaditza*, with a design to lay siege to that important place; but, as he was making the necessary preparations for the attack, *Stephen*, the commander of the western forces, and an irreconcilable enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, coming to him in the dead of the night, assured him, that *Leo* intended to usurp

but is ob-
liged to re-
turn with
great loss.

Year of
the flood
3321.

Of Christ

973.

Of Rome

1721.

The Bul-
garians
make new
inroads in-
to the em-
pire.

the sovereign power, and with that design was marching, with all the troops under his command, to the imperial city. The emperor, alarmed at this account, and at the same time apprehending the enemy might seize on the passes abandoned by *Leo*, and cut off his retreat, immediately ordered the army to march. They no sooner began to move, than *Samuel*, rushing down from the neighbouring mountains, where he had kept the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitate and disorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great numbers of the soldiers, and some officers of distinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor with much difficulty escaped to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, and guarding the post which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though highly provoked, and indeed with a great deal of reason, against *Stephen*, the author of so much mischief, contented himself with reviling him only in words, till he began to defend what he had done; and then *Basilius*, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his seat, and, taking hold of him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground¹.

THE two following years, the emperor was diverted, by intestine broils, from pursuing the war against the *Bulgarians*; and *Samuel* their king, taking advantage of these disturbances, harassed, with daily incursions, the neighbouring provinces. But tranquillity was no sooner restored to the empire, than *Basilius* began to make vast preparations both by sea and land, with a design intirely to subdue, or utterly extirpate, that restless and turbulent nation. In the first place, he took a progress into *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and, having visited the frontiers on that side, and left a strong garison in *Thessalonica*; under the command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to restrain the *Bulgarians*, he returned to *Constantinople*, to hasten the military preparations. In the mean time *Samuel*, approaching *Thessalonica* at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of the place, after having, by a stratagem, killed the governor, and taken his son prisoner. Elated with this success, he crossed the *Peneus*, and, having over-run all *Thessaly*, *Bæotia*, and *Attica*, he penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, destroying all with fire and sword in the provinces through which he passed. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Nicephorus Uranus* against him, with the flower of the army, who, leaving his heavy baggage at *Larissa*, passed with incredible expedition the *Pharsalian* plains, and the river *Apidanus*, arrived at the *Spercheius*, and encamped on the

¹ CEDREN. p. 192.

banks of that river opposite to *Samuel*. The river was then so swelled, that *Samuel*, believing the *Romans* could not pass it, lay with great security on the other side. However, *Ura-* *They are*
nus, having fought with indefatigable pains, and at length utterly de-
 found out, a ford, passed the river in the dead of the night; seated by
 and, falling upon the *Bulgarians* while they lay asleep, with-
 out the least apprehension of danger, made a dreadful havock of them before they had time to repair to their arms. *Samuel*, and his son *Romanus*, were dangerously wounded, and
 must unavoidably have fallen into the conqueror's hands, had they not kept themselves concealed the whole day among the
 dead bodies, and in the night stolen away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and, keeping the tops of those mountains, to mount *Pindus*, and thence into *Bulgaria*. Upon his return home, he found his daughter enamoured to such a degree with *Asotes* the son of *Gregory*, late governor of *Thessalonica*, who had been taken prisoner, as we have related above, that she declared she was determined to destroy herself, unless she was allowed to marry him. *Samuel* complied with her desire, and, as soon as the nuptial solemnity was over, sent his new son-in-law, with his wife, to reside at *Dyrhachium*, appointing him governor of that important place, but he had not been long there, when, hearing that the emperor's gallees were cruising on the coast, he laid hold of that opportunity to return to *Constantinople*, where both he and his wife, whom he had easily persuaded to accompany him, were kindly received and preferred by the emperor, he to the dignity of *mis-*
gister, and she to that of *zysta*, whose province it was to take care of the imperial wardrobe. *Asotes* brought letters with him to the emperor from *Chrysellus*, one of the chief officers in *Dyrhachium*, wherein he promised to deliver the city into the hands of the *Romans*, on condition the emperor conferred the dignity of patrician on him, and his two sons; but, so far as we can conjecture from *Cedren*, whose text is strangely maimed in this place, the delivering up of the city was prevented by the death of *Chrysellus*. However, the emperor became master of the place not long after; but, in what manner, we are not told.

THE following year the emperor entered *Bulgaria* in person, by the way of *Philippopolis*; and, having taken there several castles and strong-holds, he detached from *Mosynopolis* part of his army, under the command of *Theodorocranus* a patrician, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* protospatharian, against the *Bulgarian* cities beyond mount *Hæmus*. By these were reduced the *Great* and the *Little Pershlaba*, with *Pliscoba*, strong-
 hold.

and several other fortified places. The ensuing year, *Basilus* in person made a second inroad into *Bulgaria*, by the way of *Thessalonica*, took some cities, burnt a great number of villages, and laid the country waste far and near. The city of *Beræa* was delivered up to him by *Dobromerus*, governor of the place, whom the emperor honoured with the title and rank of proconsul. The city of *Servia*, which was defended by a numerous garison, under the command of *Nicolas*, made a long and vigorous resistance; but was taken in the end by storm. From *Servia* the emperor returned to *Constantinople*, carrying with him a great number of captives, and among the rest *Nicolas*, governor of the place, whom, for his gallant behaviour, he generously raised to the rank of a patrician. But *Nicolas*, preferring the service of his master to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him, made his escape soon after to *Samuel*, and with him laid siege to *Servia*; which the emperor no sooner understood, than he hastened thither in person, obliged the *Bulgarians* to retire, and, falling upon them in their retreat, took *Nicolas* a second time prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, where he was, by the emperor's order, kept under close confinement. From *Servia* *Basilus* led his army into *Thessaly*, and there repaired such castles as had been dismantled by the *Bulgarians*, recovered those that were still held by them, and reunited that province, after it had been some time in their hands, to the empire. The year after, *Basilus*, early in the spring, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and laid siege to *Bodyna*, which held out for the space of eight months; but was in the end taken by storm.

Their army
ultimately
defeated.

As the autumn was already far spent, the emperor, having left a strong garison in *Bodyna*, marched back with the rest of his troops to *Constantinople*. When he came, on his return home, to the river *Aius*, he found *Samuel*, with all the forces he had been able to assemble, encamped on the opposite bank. But *Basilus*, having discovered a ford, and passed the river in the dead of the night, fell early next morning on the enemy, before they could put themselves into a posture of defence, and gave them a total overthrow. *Samuel's* army being thus defeated and dispersed, *Romanus*, the son of the late king *Peter*, and brother to *Bodina*, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Scopia*, of which he was governor, and was on that account rewarded with the dignity of patrician. *Samuel*, no longer able to keep the field, placed strong guards in all the passes, to prevent the emperor from penetrating farther into *Bulgaria*. However, *Basilus*, bent upon the intire reduction of the country, forced, not without great loss of men, several passes; but, in the streights of *Cimba Longus*, he had been cut off with his whole army, had not *Nicepho-*

Tim *Tibias*, governor of *Philippolis*, marching with a strong detachment through by-ways, and over a steep mountain, fallen unexpectedly on the enemy's rear, and by that means obliged them to abandon their post. *Hersupon Basilius*, entering the streights without opposition, pursued them with great slaughter, though they retired in good order, and often, facing about, skirmished with the *Romans*. In one of these skirmishes the king narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the *Romans* by the valour and conduct of his son, who rescued him when he was already surrounded on all sides, and conveyed him safe to the castle of *Prilapus*, though closely pursued by a body of *Roman* horse. On this occasion the emperor is said to have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, whom, contrary to his custom, he treated with great inhumanity; for he caused their eyes to be put out, and to every hundred assigning a guide, who had one eye left, sent them in that condition to *Samuel*. The king of the *Bulgarians*, already broken with age, and worn out with misfortunes, was so shocked at this dismal spectacle, that he fell into a swoon; and, though he returned to himself again, yet, not being able to bear up against so great a calamity, he died two days after.

SAMUEL was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, whom he had by a captive of *Larissa*. In the beginning of his reign, the emperor, pursuing the conquest of *Bulgaria*, made himself master of a strong castle named *Matzucius*, and then sat down before *Strumpitza*, a place of great strength. During the siege, he detached *Theophylact*, one of his generals, with a body of chosen men, to reduce the strong-holds among the mountains, and open a way through the woods. *Theophylact* made himself master of several places; but, being surprised by the *Bulgarians* in a narrow pass, where he could not draw up his men, he was cut off, with the whole body under his command. The emperor, to whom *Strumpitza* had submitted after a vigorous resistance, hearing of this misfortune, thought it adviseable to retreat; and accordingly marched back to *Mosynopolis*, and thence to *Theffalonica*. On his route, he took the castles of *Prilapus*, *Stypeius*, *Melenicius*, and *Budena*; and burnt *Buteliana*, the royal palace of the *Bulgarian* kings. During the winter, *Gabriel* was killed, while he was hunting, by *Bladisfthlabus*, the son of *Aaron*, whose life he had formerly preserved, as we have related above. *Bladisfthlabus*, being acknowledged king by the *Bulgarians*, immediately acquainted the emperor with the death of *Gabriel*, and his own promotion, acknowledging himself at the same

time a subject and vassal of the empire. But *Basilus*, suspecting his sincerity, returned early in the spring into *Bulgaria*, and there made himself master of several strong castles, and fortified towns, in one of which he took some of the principal men among the *Bulgarians*.

Basilus
reduces
several
strong-
holds;

IN the mean time *Bladisphabus* sent a new deputation to the emperor, offering to submit upon what terms he should think proper to prescribe. At the same time the emperor received letters from the *Bulgarians*, owning themselves his subjects and vassals. But *Basilus*, being informed, that neither the king nor his subjects were sincere in their declarations, and that they had made an attempt upon *Dyrrhachium*, hoping to surprise that important place, entered *Bulgaria* anew; and, having laid waste the countries of *Ostrobus*, *Gosens*, and *Pelagonia*, advanced to *Achris*, the place where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, which he reduced; and then, leaving part of his army in *Pelagonia*, to awe the *Bulgarians*, he marched out with the rest to reduce the neighbouring provinces. But he was scarce gone, when *Ibatzes*, a man of great distinction among the *Bulgarians*, and remarkable for his valour, and experience in war, having drawn together the *Romans* left by the emperor into an ambuscade, cut them off, with their commanders, all to a man. Hereupon *Basilus*, marching back in great rage, laid several cities in ashes, ravaged the open country with fire and sword, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, ordered their eyes to be put out, and, in that condition, sent them to *Bladisphabus*. On the other hand, the *Bulgarians*, making frequent sallies from the woods, cut great numbers of his men in pieces; insomuch that, his army being greatly diminished, he thought it adviseable to return earlier than usual to *Constantinople*. On his march, he laid siege to the castle of *Pernicus*; but, the garison making a vigorous resistance, he lay before it eighty days, assailing it almost every day with his whole army; but, being constantly repulsed with great loss of men, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. However, thinking he could not, without forfeiting his reputation, drop the war, till he had intirely subdued *Bulgaria*, after having so often invaded it in person, he allowed his army but a short respite; and then, taking the field again, he laid siege to *Castoria*, a fortified town in *Pelagonia*.

BUT in the mean time the king of the *Bulgarians*, having drawn together all the forces he could muster, began to march towards the frontiers of the empire, in order to oblige the emperor to abandon *Bulgaria*, and hasten back to the defence of his own dominions. *Basilus* accordingly, breaking up the siege of *Castoria*, marched against *Bladisphabus*, who, not caring

ending to put the whole to the issue of an engagement, retired at his approach. *Basilus* detached *Constantine Diogenes* and puts in pursuit of the enemy, who put many of them to the sword, *their king* took the horses and baggage of the king, with one of his *to flight*, kinsmen, and returned loaded with booty. After this, the *who is* emperor took by storm the castle of *Satana*, where he found *killed soon* a great quantity of corn, which he caused to be removed, and *after*.

then set fire to the place. Having ended the campaign, he returned, according to his custom, to *Constantinople*. He was no sooner gone, than the king of the *Bulgarians* laid siege to *Dyrrhachium*; but, the garison making a vigorous resistance, he was slain in an assault. The *Bulgarians*, who had hitherto *The chief* defended their country with an unparalleled valour, and main- *men among* tained their liberties against the whole strength of the empire, *the Bul-* in a war which had lasted twenty years and upwards, being *garians* now quite disheartened by the loss of their king, sent deputies *submit.* to the emperor, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. *Basilus* received them in the most obliging manner, and, halting into *Bulgaria*, was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-six castles, which they delivered up to him. Their example was followed by most of the chief men of *Bulgaria*, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who, coming to the emperor, with three of her sons, and her six daughters, renounced all claim to the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. She had three other sons by the king; but they had taken refuge on the tops of the *Ceraunii* mountains, whence they were soon after obliged by famine, the emperor having ordered all the passes to be carefully guarded, to come down, and surrender themselves. *Basilus* received them in the most obliging manner imaginable, raised *Profranus*, who seems to have been the eldest, to the dignity of *magister*, and the other five to that of patrician. To the mother, and the daughters, he allowed a maintenance suitable to their rank, and ever treated them with the utmost respect.

AT *Achris*, where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, he was received by his new subjects with loud acclamations. There he seized on the immense treasure of the *Bulgarian* princes, and found, among other things of great value, several crowns enriched with pearl, and a great quantity of gold, which he bestowed as a donative upon his soldiers. There remained now but one man in the whole country capable of raising disturbances, who had not submitted to the emperor. This was *Natzes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, and one who, during the course of the war, had given several instances of his courage, and implacable hatred to the

Bulgaria
intirely
subdued.

Year of
the flood

3365.

Of Christ

1017.

Of Rome

1765.

Romans. He, refusing to comply with the present posture of affairs, seized on a castle standing on the top of a mountain most difficult of access; and, having fortified himself there, declared, that he was resolved to hold out to the last extremity. But in what manner he was seized in his castle, and brought to the emperor, we have related at large in our *Constantinopolitan* history ^p, to which we refer the reader. And now *Basilus*, absolute master of all *Bulgaria*, took a progress through the country, receiving every-where the submissions of his new subjects, and causing several castles to be demolished, lest the *Bulgarians*, seizing on them, should attempt to shake off the yoke. Then, leaving *Bulgaria*, he repaired to *Athens*; and, ascribing the success that had attended his arms to the protection of the virgin *Mary*, he enriched her church in that city with many presents of great value. From *Athens* he returned to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph through the *Golden gate*, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, the widow of the late king of the *Bulgarians*, with all the princes and princesses of the blood royal, walking before him. This conquest and final reduction of *Bulgaria*, which had been often attempted in vain by other emperors, was effected by *Basilus* in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and of the Christian æra 1017.

THE *Bulgarians* bore the yoke patiently till 1032. when they revolted from *Michael IV.* under the conduct of *Deleanus*; and, being joined by the *Dyrrachians*, who had likewise revolted, put to flight the imperial troops, and even laid siege to *Thessalonica*. But they were in the end utterly defeated by the emperor, and their country intirely reduced; as we have related at large elsewhere ^q. From that time the *Bulgarians* continued subject to the emperors of *Constantinople*, whom they powerfully assisted both against the *Latins* and the *Turks*, and were, on that account, allowed to choose a king of their own nation, who nevertheless owned himself a vassal of the empire. In 1206. *John* king of *Bulgaria*, marching against *Baldwin*, the first emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, while he was besieging *Adrianople*, defeated his army with great slaughter, relieved the city, and, having taken the emperor himself prisoner, carried him to *Ternova*, at that time the capital of *Bulgaria*. There he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and then ordered him, thus maimed, to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, where he lay in the utmost agony for three days, and then expiring, was devoured by the wild beasts, and birds of prey. In 1275.

^p Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 109, 110.
^q p. 116—c 18.

^q Idem ibid.

Stephen, the fourth king of *Hungary*, overcame in a great battle *Csa* prince of *Bulgaria*, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the *Bulgarians* to acknowledge him for their king. Hence *Stephen* and his successors were stiled kings of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, which title passed, with the kingdom of *Hungary*, to the princes of the house of *Austria*, as we shall hereafter relate at large. With the assistance of the *Greek* emperors they shook off the *Hungarian* yoke, and in 1369, under the conduct of *Sasmenos* their king, they attempted the recovery of *Adrianople*, taken by the *Turks*; but were utterly defeated by *Amurath* I. who had no sooner settled his affairs in *Asia*, than, provoked against the *Bulgarians* for their late attempt, he turned his arms against them, and, entering *Bulgaria* with a numerous army, made himself master of several strong-holds, and obliged *Sasmenos* to purchase a peace, by yielding to him, the far greater part of his kingdom, and promising to hold the rest as his vassal and tributary. But *Bajazet*, who succeeded *Amurath*, invading *Bulgaria*, without the least provocation, made an absolute conquest of the whole country in 1396. and reduced it to a province of the *Turkish* empire, in which state it has continued ever since.

We shall now, in compliance with our plan, proceed to the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, from *Theodoric* to their expulsion by *Narses*; of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, till driven out by the *Lombards*; and of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to *Desiderius* their last king, taken prisoner by *Charlemagne*. These three different histories will afford us matter for the following chapter, and with them we shall close the antient history, or the history of the antient nations.

reduced to
a province
of the
Turkish
empire.
Year of
the flood
3744.
Of Christ
1396.
Of Rome
2144.

C H A P. XXIX.

The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Exarchs of Ravenna, and the Lombards in Italy.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, to their Expulsion by Narses.

IN the foregoing chapter, we brought *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the throne of *Odacer*. We shall now give the reader a succinct account of this excellent prince's reign, whom we must not look

Theodor-ric lawful king of Italy, and acknowledged as such by the emperors Zeno and Anastasius.

look upon as an intruder or usurper, but as the lawful sovereign of the countries he held, especially of the kingdom of Italy; for, when he first imparted to Zeno his design of invading that country, the emperor not only approved of the undertaking, but encouraged him to it, and, recommending to his protection the senate and people of Rome, dismissed him loaded with rich presents. During the course of the war, Theodoric sent distinct accounts of all that passed to the emperor, who was highly pleased with the success that attended his arms; nay, when he was informed, that Theodoric only wanted Ravenna to be intire master of Italy, he advised him to lay aside the Gothic dress, and assume the royal diadem, mantle, and other ensigns of majesty; which was acknowledging him king of Italy^a. Upon the reduction of Ravenna, which happened in the second year of the reign of Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, he was by the new emperor acknowledged for a just and lawful prince; for though the Goths, as we read in the *anonymus* of Valesius^b, upon the death of Odoacer, proclaimed him anew king of all Italy, without the consent and approbation of the emperor, yet Anastasius approved of what they had done, as is manifest from the letters he wrote to him, and from Theodoric's answer to them, which have been transmitted to us by Cassiodore. Besides, when Theodoric undertook the conquest of Italy, the Western empire was at an end; Spain was held by the Vandals, the Visigoths, and the Sueves; Gaul by the Franks and Burgundians; Britain by the Saxons; and Italy left a prey to the Héruli, the Rugians, and other barbarous nations.

He delivers Italy from the barbarians.

WHILE the last-mentioned country, which, for so many ages, had given law to the world, was thus groaning under the yoke of the barbarians, the emperors of the East being no-way in a condition to afford it the least relief, Theodoric, with their consent and approbation, undertook the great work; and, having, at his own charges, and with the troops of his own nation, driven out the tyrant, he was, with loud acclamations, received by the people as their king and deliverer. The only person, who had then any claim to Italy, was the emperor of the East; and both Zeno, and his successor Anastasius, acknowledged Theodoric king of that country, not only allowing him to wear the royal ensigns, but transferring to him all their claims and rights, as we read in Procopius, a wider no way favourable to the Goths, not to mention Jordanes, or Eunodius the holy bishop of Pavia, who affirm the same thing, but may perhaps be thought biased in favour of

^a JORN de reb Get p 638.
de consulib 4p 300.

^b PAGI in disert. hypat.

Theodoric, the former being a *Goth*, by nation, and the latter a great admirer of *Theodoric*, on account of his eminent virtues, which he celebrated in a panegyric, that has reached our times. Hence, when the *Goths*, upon their being attacked by the emperor *Justinian*, had recourse to the *Franks*, they told them, among other things, that they might expect the same treatment from the emperors, which the *Goths* now met with, since they made war upon them, alleging, that *Theodoric* had invaded *Italy*, which belonged to the *Romans*; whereas he had not taken that country from them, but from *Odoacer*, and had been, even by them, owned lawful king of *Italy*, till, the power of the *Goths* being at a low ebb, the emperor thought himself in a condition to strip them of what had been yielded to them by his predecessors.

BUT to return to *Theodoric*: Tho' he was master of all *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise of *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, and great part of *Suevia*, *Pannonia*, and *Gaul*, and governed *Spain*, as guardian to his young nephew *Amalaric*, yet he did not assume the title of emperor, but contented himself with that of king; either out of respect to the emperors of the East; or because he reckoned the title of king, denoting an independent authority, more honourable than that of emperor; or perhaps because *Odoacer*, whom he succeeded, had taken no other. Be that as it will, *Theodoric*, having no enemy to contend with after the death of *Odoacer*, sheathed his sword, and applied himself wholly to the establishing of good order throughout his new dominions. He retained the same laws, the same magistrates, the same polity, and the same distribution of provinces. Military honours, for the most part, he conferred on the *Goths*; but preferred the *Romans* alone to civil employments. Hence the *Romans*, that is, the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, were highly pleased with his government; and *Gelasius*, bishop of *Rome*, wrote a letter to him, congratulating him upon his happy administration. He distributed the *Goths* among the fortified places, with their captains, who in time of war commanded them, and governed them in time of peace. As for the *Romans*, they were governed by the same magistrates, as they had been under the emperors; but with this difference, that by the emperors were sent a *consularis*, a *praeses*, a *corresor*, into each province, to whom, in all suits, recourse was to be had from the most remote parts; whereas the *Goths* sent, besides the above-mentioned magistrates, others of an inferior rank to every small village, who, by administering justice there, delivered the people from the great trouble,

and vast expences, they had been at, in the *Roman* times, when the power of deciding controversies was vested in the supreme magistrate alone. The *Goths* were, as appears from *Cassiodore*, no less scrupulous in the choice of these inferior magistrates, than of the greater officers, employing only persons of known integrity, and acceptable to the people, and allowing no appeals to other tribunals, but in cases of manifest injustice. Of these inferior magistrates some were called *cancellarii*, others *canonicarii*, *comites referendarii*, &c. *Petrus Pontinus* wrote a book of the dignities of the *Gothic* court^d; but, as *Grotius* well observes^e, he might have saved himself that trouble, since they are minutely described in the sixth and seventh books of *Cassiodore*.

He contents himself with the taxes paid to the emperors.

As *Theodoric* made no alteration in the laws, magistrates, or form of government, except that which we have just mentioned, so he contented himself with the same tributes and taxes, which had been levied by the emperors; but was far more ready than they had ever been to remit them on occasion of any public calamity. Thus, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Campania* the tribute they usually paid, upon their representing to him, that they had suffered much by an eruption of mount *Vesuvius*. The letter or order which he sent on this occasion to *Faustus*, *consularis* or governor of *Campania*, has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*. In that letter he tells *Faustus*, that the inhabitants of *Campania*, having suffered greatly, had petitioned him for relief; that he was ready to grant them their request, provided he was rightly informed of the misfortune, and knew how to judge of the damage they had sustained. He commands him to send some person of known integrity into the territories of *Nola* and *Naples*, to view the lands, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the tribute^f. It was probably on this occasion, that the *Neapolitans* erected, in their great forum or market-place, a statue to *Theodoric*, which is said to have afterwards presaged the end of the government of the *Goths* in *Italy* (A). In like manner *Theodoric* exempted the inhabitants

^d PETR. PONTIN. de dignit. Goth. aulæ.
leg. ad hist. Goth. p. 46.

^e GROT. in proleg. ad hist. Goth. p. 46.

^f CASSIOD. var. l. iv. ep. 50.

(A) This statue was made of small pebbles of various colours, and so artfully joined together, that they represented *Theodoric* so the life. While he was still

alive, the head of the statue fell, and broke to pieces; and soon after *Theodoric* died. He was succeeded by *Athalaric* his grandson, in the eighth year of whose reign

Subjects of *Spontium* in *Puglia* from all taxes for the space of ten years, upon their representing to him, that their lands had been laid waste by the *Vandals of Africa*, who were constantly making descents on the coast of *Italy*.

He not only forgave, but preferred to the first employments, several *Italians*, or, as they were still called in his time, *Romans*, who had stood by *Odoacer* to the last^h; but such as had declared for him, and afterwards revolted to the enemy, he punished according to the *Roman* law, taking from them the power of making testaments. But, in the third year of his reign, he was prevailed upon by *Laurentius* and *Epiphanius*, the one bishop of *Milan*, the other of *Pavia*, to forgive them, and publish a general pardon. Upon his becoming master of *Italy*, he did not treat the natives as those of the other *Roman* provinces were treated by the barbarians, who conquered them. These stripped the antient proprietors of their lands, estates, and possessions, dividing them among their chiefs, and giving to one, as it happened in *Gaul*, conquered by the *Franks*, a province, with the title of duke; to another a frontier country, with the title of marquis; to some a city, and the title of count; to others a castle or village, with the title of baron^l. But *Theodoric*, who piqued *He allows* himself upon governing after the *Roman* manner, and ob- *the na-* serving the *Roman* laws and institutions, left every one in *tives to* the full enjoyment of his antient property; for the feudal *enjoy their* tenures, dukedoms, counties, &c. were not introduced into *estates and* *Italy* by the *Goths*, but by the *Lombards*, as we shall relate *possessions* hereafter. As to religion, *Theodoric* held, as all the *Goths*

^s CASSIOD. var. l. ii. ep. 37.

^h Idem ibid. ep. 16.

^l LOYSEAU de sign. c. 3. Cod. de agric. & cens. l. ii. CONNAN. in com. jur. civ. l. ii. tit. c. LEO OSTIENS. in chron. COSSIN. gloss. in notis, c. 6. num. 532.

reign the belly of the statue, all on a sudden, fell of itself; and a few days after news were brought to *Naples* of the death of *Atthalaric*. Not long after, the genitals dropped off; and an account was brought of the unhappy and undeserved end of *Amalasuntha*, the daughter of *Theodoric*, and mother of the late king. But, when *Justinian* declared war against the *Goths*,

the thighs and feet of the statue fell to the ground; from which event the *Romans* concluded, that the empire of the *Goths* in *Italy* was at an end, and that they would be soon driven out, as it happened. This preface, says *Procopius*, from whom we have borrowed the whole account, greatly encouraged the emperor's troops, and gave them certain hopes of victory (1).

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. i.*

did, the tenets of *Arius*; but allowed his subjects to persevere without molestation, the faith of the council of *Nice*; and he gave full liberty to the *Goths* themselves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace the catholic faith. He suffered none to be chosen for the government of the church, but persons of known probity^k. A great schism arising in his time, he used his utmost endeavours to restore the church to its former tranquillity; which in the end he effected, by causing a council to be assembled. Several edicts, both of *Theodoric*, and his successor *Athalaric*, have been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, prohibiting and annulling all simoniacal elections and ordinations of bishops^l. Thus the ecclesiastical polity was never better observed, nor more deserving men preferred to the government of the church, than in the time of *Theodoric*, and the *Gothic* kings his successors, though they all held the tenets of *Arius*, their nation having been first instructed in the Christian religion by *Arian* teachers, sent them by the emperor *Valens*.

THEODORIC, though an *Arian*, is highly commended for his piety by *Ennodius* bishop of *Pavia*, a most zealous stickler for the faith of *Nice*, as are the *Goths* in general by *Salvianus*, the catholic bishop of *Marseilles*, who ascribes their errors, not to them, but to those who first instructed them^m. *Theodoric* is no less commended by all the writers of those times for his equity, moderation, and the tender regard he had for the welfare of his subjects, than for his piety and religion. He made good what he promised to the natives of *Italy*, when he first took upon him the title of king; to wit, that his conduct and behaviour should be such, that they should all wish they had come sooner under the government of the *Goths*. He not only appointed persons of great learning, known integrity, and unblemished characters, to administer justice; but often heard causes himself, pronouncing sentence according to the strictest rules of justice and equity. He took upon himself the trouble of settling the prices of all necessary commodities, and affixing weights and measures: in imposing tributes, he had a particular regard to the condition and circumstances of those, who were to pay them; and was ever ready to remit them upon any remonstrance, that to him seemed reasonable. If his soldiers at any time wronged the country-people on their march, he never failed to send money to the bishops to make good the losses they had sustained. He paid ready money, not only for the necessary provisions of the army, but for the materials which he employed in

^k *CASSIOD.* l. viii. ep. 14.
VIAN. de gubern Dei, l. v.

^l *Idem*, l. ix. ep. 15.

^m *SAL-*
building

building ships, fortifying his camps, &c. To the poor he was most liberal and generous, and, in a manner, made it his chief study, as *Cassiodore* assures us, to relieve the widows and orphans^a. His moderation, temperance, chastity, called *His mode-* by *Ennodius* sacerdotal modesty, and other eminent virtues, *ration,* are celebrated both by that writer, and by *Cassiodore*, with *tempe-* such encomiums, that, if they were not greatly prejudiced in *rance, &c.* his favour, we must conclude him to have been one of the best and greatest princes, that ever swayed a sceptre. *Procopius* himself, tho' by nation a *Greek*, and secretary to the emperor *Justinian*, who made war upon the *Goths*, and in the end drove them out of *Italy*, could not forbear admiring and extolling the royal virtues of *Theodoric*^o.

As to the actions of his reign, his first care, after he became sole master of *Italy*, was to repeople *Liguria*, in some places quite destitute of inhabitants, who had been carried into captivity by the *Burgundians*, as we have related in the history of that people. As the other provinces of *Italy*, exhausted by long wars, and frequent irruptions of the barbarous nations, could not spare any of their inhabitants, *Theodoric* resolved to ransom, at his own expence, all the *Ligurians*, who were kept captives among the *Burgundians*. Accordingly he dispatched *Epiphanius*, to *Gundebald* their king, *His gene-* by whom, he well knew, that prelate was held in the greatest *rosity in* veneration, with a sufficient sum for the redemption of the *ransoming* captives. But *Epiphanius*, with his Christian eloquence, and *his captive* pious exhortations, persuaded *Gundebald* to set at liberty, *subjects.* without ransom, such of the *Ligurians*, as, through fear or famine, had delivered themselves up to the *Burgundians*; but, for those who had been taken in battle, the king insisted upon a small sum, by way of ransom, lest he should disoblige his soldiers, by remitting what was their due, and taking from them the price of their lives and fortunes. This *Epiphanius* readily paid, *Avitus* bishop of *Vienne*, and *Syagria*, a lady of great piety, generously contributing towards it. The holy prelate, on his way home, passed with his captives through *Geneva*, where he prevailed upon king *Godigisles* to follow the example of his brother *Gundebald*, and set at liberty, without ransom, all the captives belonging to him, and to the royal family. With this numerous multitude *Epiphanius* returned in a kind of triumph to *Theodoric*, who generously relieved the most indigent, and sent them all back to their

^a SALVIAN. de gubern. Dei, l. v. p. 67.

^o PROCOPI. bell. Goth.

respective homes ⁹. Thus *Ennodius*, who attended *Epiphanius* on this occasion.

War be-
tween him
and Ana-
stasius.

Year of
the flood

2841.

Of Christ

493.

Of Rome

1241.



WHILE *Theodoric* was thus wholly intent upon the establishing of good order throughout his dominions, and promoting the welfare of his new subjects, a war broke out between him and the emperor *Anastasius* on the following occasion: One *Mundo*, by nation a *Goth*, flying from the *Gepida*, says *Jornandes*, withdrew to the deserts beyond the *Danube*; and, having assembled there a considerable number of robbers and others, who, for their crimes, had been obliged to abandon their native soil, he made himself master of a tower, named *Herta*, on the *Danube*. From thence he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries, and the rich booty he carried off drawing great numbers of abandoned people to him, he assumed the title of king, and caused himself to be acknowledged as such by his followers. His arrogant conduct highly provoked the emperor, who thereupon ordered *Sabinianus*, son to the great commander of that name, and general of the troops in *Illyrium*, to march against him. *Mundo* had either submitted to, or entered into an alliance with, *Theodoric*, then master of *Pannonia*, and great part of *Illyrium*. Hearing therefore, that *Sabinianus* was marching against him with ten thousand men, and a great number of waggons, loaded with arms and provisions, he had recourse to *Pitiza*, one of *Theodoric*'s generals, then residing at *Sirmium*. *Pitiza*, without loss of time, marched in person to his assistance, at the head of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and, joining *Mundo*'s forces, engaged the *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Margus*, now *Galombecz*, in *Servia*, according to *Sanjon*, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge, with their general, in the castle of *Nato* ¹. *Mundo*, owing himself indebted to *Theodoric* for his preservation, submitted to him, says *Jornandes*, and became his subject ².

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

ANASTASIUS, to be revenged on *Theodoric*, sent the following year a fleet, with eight thousand men on board, under the command of *Romanus*, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*. These, landing in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, were soon driven on board their ships by the *Goths*; but nevertheless they carried off a considerable booty, and returned with it to *Anastusius*, who, in this war, acted, says *Jornandes*, more like a pirate than a prince ³. But *Theodoric*, who had formed

⁹ ENNOD. in vit. Epiph. p. 366—369. ² JORN. rer. Goth. c. 58. p. 599. MARC. chron. ENNOD. de Theod. p. 309. ³ JORN. ibid. ⁴ Idem de reg. c. 48. p. 655.

A design of conquering *Gaul*, held by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, and reuniting it to the empire of *Italy*, being well apprised, that he could not put this project in execution so long as he was at variance with the emperor, wrote letters to *Anastasius*, wherein he expresses, without betraying the least fear or meanness, his desire of renewing the peace, and living in friendship with the empire^u. He soon after dispatched ^{A peace} ambassadors to *Constantinople*, by whose means a peace was, ^{concluded} in the end, concluded between the two princes. However, ^{between} *Theodoric* was, for some time, diverted from pursuing his favourite scheme by the troubles and divisions that arose in *Rome* ^{and Theodoric.} about the election of a bishop to that see; for, upon the death of pope *Anastasius*, two persons were chosen by two different factions to succeed him, to wit, *Symmachus*, supported by *Faustus*, and *Laurentius* by *Festus*. As the patrons of the two competitors were persons of great authority in the senate, and interest among the people, their division and obstinacy occasioned a kind of civil war in *Rome*, and several on both sides lost their lives in the quarrel. At length both parties had recourse to *Theodoric*, who, following the example of the late emperors, had fixed his residence at *Ravenna*. That prince, after having heard with great patience and attention the contending parties, prudently ordained, that he should be acknowledged as lawful bishop, who had been first elected, and had had the greatest number of voices. Hereupon *Symmachus*, who had been first chosen, and by a great majority, was confirmed in his see.

BUT, some of the partisans of *Laurentius* not acquiescing in such an equitable decision, *Theodoric*, to heal the divisions of the church, was in the end obliged to summon a council, and, to appease the troubles in *Rome*, to take a journey thither in person; which he readily did, having a great desire to see that once celebrated metropolis of the world. He made his entry with such pomp and magnificence, as had not been seen for many ages, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was welcomed in the senate by the celebrated *Boetius*, who, on that occasion, made an eloquent speech, setting forth the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*. To which the king answered in a most obliging manner, declaring, that he should ever have the greatest respect for that august body, and omit nothing that could contribute to their grandeur. From the senate he proceeded to the circus, and there made a speech to the people, wherein he expressed his sincere desire of their

Theodoric goes to Rome.

welfare and prosperity, confirmed to them all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors his predecessors, and assured them of his protection. He spent several days in viewing the antiquities of the city, which he could not sufficiently admire. He declared, that, tho' he expected to see wonderful things, the stateliness and magnificence of the public buildings had far surpassed his expectation. He was grieved to see the walls in some places quite ruined, and contributed large sums for the repairing of them, and of some other decayed buildings. On the day of his entry, he made a grand entertainment for the senate, and gave a largess of corn to the people. Before he left *Rome*, he composed the affairs both of the church and state in the best manner he could; and declared, upon his departure, that he was sorry he could not fix his residence in such an august city, the safety of the state obliging him to reside, as his predecessors had done, at *Ravenna*, where he was near at hand, and ready to put a stop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that side, broke into *Italy*. He was scarce returned, when news were brought him, that the *Bulgarians* had made an irruption into *Pannonia*, and, advancing as far as *Sirmium*, had surprised that city. Hereupon he dispatched *Pitzia* with a considerable army against them, who, in one campaign, recovered *Sirmium*, and drove them quite out of *Pannonia*. To the government of that province *Theodoric* raised one *Colosseus*, a comes or count (B).

His war
with the
Burgun-
dians;

THEODORIC, having thus settled his affairs at home, resolved to attempt the execution of the project, which he had formed from the very beginning of his reign; which was, as we have hinted above, to drive the *Burgundians* and *Franks* out of *Gaul*, and reunite that country to *Italy*. His design was to begin with the *Burgundians*, and, after having reduced them, to fall upon the *Franks*. But, as the *Burgundians* were then a powerful nation, and masters of all the passes in the *Alps*, *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, prevailed upon him to attack the *Burgundians* on one side, while he attempted to enter their country

(B) From the copy of his commission, which has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, it appears, that the power of those governors extended both to civil and military affairs, and that the prince conferred that power on them, by girding them with

a sword (2). In the same writer is a letter written by *Theodoric*, and directed to all the barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, wherein he acquaints them, that he had appointed *Colosseus* to be their governor, and requires them to obey him as such.

on the other. Of the conduct of *Theodoric* in this war, we have spoken in the history of the *Franks*; and therefore shall only add here, that he acquired on this occasion the city of *Marseilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhone*.

SOME years after, a war breaking out between *Clovis* and *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, *Theodoric*, putting himself at the head of his army, marched to the assistance of the latter; but *Clovis* having in the mean time killed *Alaric* in battle, and defeated his army, the king of the *Ostrogoths*, jealous of the growing power of the *Franks*, ordered his troops to join him from all parts, and, entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Franks*, who had laid siege to *Carcaffone*, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. The following year, the *Franks* besieged the city of *Arles*; but the siege was raised, and the *Franks* defeated with great slaughter, by the army which *Theodoric* had sent to the assistance of his countrymen, under the conduct of one *Hibba*, distinguished with the title of count. A peace was soon after concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* should keep the countries which they had taken from the *Visigoths*, *Theodoric* having attempted in vain, as we read in *Procopius*, to recover them *.

AMALARIC, the grandson of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Visigoths*; but as he was yet under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. In virtue of this peace, the *Ostrogoths* continued masters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhone*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themselves the city of *Arles* for the charges they had been at in this war. These countries *Theodoric* transmitted to his posterity; but could make no farther conquests in *Gaul*, being opposed by the *Franks*, who were become very powerful in that country.

AMALARIC, the grandson of *Theodoric* by his daughter *Theodegotha*, had succeeded his father *Alaric* in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*; but, as he was only five years old when his father was killed by *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, his subjects, scorning to be governed by an infant, revolted from him, and raised to the throne *Gaselic*, the son of *Alaric* by a concubine. Hereupon *Theodoric*, who was guardian to the young prince, dispatched *Hibba*, or, as some call him, *Ilba*, into *Gaul* with a numerous army, to drive out the usurper,

* PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 12.

whom he and restore *Amalaric* to the throne. Upon his approach, *Giselic* fled into *Spain*; and from thence, hearing that *Hibba* restored to the throne. was marching after him, he crossed the *Streights*, and took refuge in the court of *Thrasimund* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who, either pitying his condition, or thinking it high time to give a check to the overgrown power of the *Ostrogoths*, received him in a friendly manner, though he had married the sister of *Theodoric*. After he had continued some time in *Africa*, he passed from thence privately into *Gaul*; and, having gained over some of the leading men among the *Visigoths*, he in the end discovered himself, and, being supplied with money by *Thrasimund*, he levied an army, and re-entered *Spain*; but, being met and overcome in battle by *Hibba*, about twelve miles from *Barcelona*, he fled back into *Gaul*, and there died of grief, four years after he had been declared king (C).

He forces
the Al-
mans to
pay tri-
bute.

THE king of the *Ostrogoths*, having settled the affairs of his grandson in *Spain*, turned his arms against the *Alemans*; but all we know of this war is, that he in the end obliged them to submit to an annual tribute, and subdued the inhabitants of *Suevia*; for, in one of his letters directed to them, he acquaints them, that he had appointed one *Fridelad* to be their governor, and strictly enjoined him to restrain thefts and robberies, which were very frequent among them.

† AGATH. p. 302.

(C) Some authors write, that upon his death *Theodoric* caused himself to be acknowledged king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and that he went into that country. It is true, that to all the synods, which were held at this time in *Spain*, the name of *Theodoric* is prefixed, and the years of his reign. But, nevertheless, the best and most credible authors suppose *Amalaric* to have been king, and that *Theodoric* governed only as his guardian. As for *Theodoric's* expedition into *Spain*, we cannot persuade ourselves, that such a remarkable event would have been passed over in silence by *Cassiodore*, and the other writers,

who have so minutely described that prince's actions. Some *Spanish* writers add, that, at *Toledo*, *Theodoric* married a woman of the race of the antient *Spaniards*; that he was prevailed upon by her to restore to the natives their liberty; and that of this marriage was born *Severianus*, the father of *Leander* and *Isidore* (3); a story no less repugnant to truth than chronology. *Theodoric*, according to the best writers, did not go himself into *Spain*, as we have observed above, but appointed one *Theudat* to govern that country during the minority of his grandson *Amalaric*.

(3) Lucas Tuleji. p. 68.

HIMBERTO *Theodoric* had governed with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he deserved to be proposed as a pattern to all princes; but some think, that these, and his other eminent virtues, were sullied by his putting to death the celebrated *Boetius*, and his father-in-law *Symmachus*. *Boetius* An account of the philosopher Boetius. was by rank a patrician, had been at least twice consul, and was descended from one of the most antient and illustrious families of *Rome*; for some derive his pedigree from the celebrated *Manlius Torquatus*. His family had been ennobled in latter times by his great-grandfather *Anicius*, and by several other persons, who had discharged, with great applause, the first employments both civil and military. We are told, that strangers came to *Rome* from distant countries, on purpose to behold the splendor and magnificence of the *Anician* family, which had engrossed, if *Zosimus* is to be credited, the whole wealth of *Rome* *. But *Boetius* was still more remarkable for his morals and learning, than for the splendor and antiquity of his family. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the study of philosophy had been restored, and spent in that university near eighteen years. He examined there, with great application, the grounds of the different sects and opinions; and, to all the rest, preferred the sect of the *Peripatetics*, to which he intirely addicted himself. Till his time, the name of *Aristotle*, the founder of that sect, was scarce known to the *Latins*; but the works of that great philosopher being translated by him, and illustrated with learned comments in the *Latin* tongue, the *Peripatetic* philosophy began to be, and has been ever since, in great vogue. Besides *Aristotle*, *Boetius* translated into the *Latin* tongue several other *Greek* writers, to wit, *Pythagoras*, *Ptolemy* the astronomer, *Nicomachus*, *Euclid*, *Plato*, *Archimedes*, &c. He not only excelled all his cotemporaries in profane learning, but likewise in the knowlege of the holy Scriptures; and was, as we read in *Cassiodore* †, the greatest divine, as well as the greatest philosopher, of his time. The book he wrote of the Trinity against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, sufficiently shews how well he was versed in the Scriptures. As for his morals, he is highly commended on that score by all the writers of those times. He was impartial in the administration of justice, and employed the great power he had at court in protecting the innocent, relieving the needy, and procuring the redress of such grievances, as gave just occasion of complaint.

His espousing, against the great men at court, the cause of those who were unjustly accused or oppressed, gained him

* *Zos.* p. 245.

† *CASSIOD.* l. ii. ep. 4.

Is accused
of high
treason.

He is be-
headed at
Pavia
with
Symma-
chus.

Theodo-
ric re-
pents.

many enemies, who, in the end, compassed his ruin, by fabri-
cating three infamous men to accuse him of high treason.
These were *Basilus*, *Opilio*, and *Gudentius*, of whom the
former had been, for his misdemeanour, dismissed the king's
service, and the other two, for their crimes, condemned to
banishment. They accused *Boetius* of attempting to raise the
power of the senate above that of the king, and preventing
an informer from bringing an impeachment of treason against
the senators. *Theodoric*, though well acquainted with the
infamous characters of the accusers, yet upon their deposition,
which is very surprising, ordered, without further inquiry,
the person, of whom he had hitherto entertained the highest
opinion, to be put under arrest; and soon after confiscated
his estate, and banished him to *Pavia*, where he wrote his
wonderful book *de consolatione*. *Symmachus*, father-in-law to
Boetius, a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and who
had, with an unblemished character, discharged the first em-
ployments, was likewise banished to *Pavia*, as privy to the
supposed treason of *Boetius*. They had not been long there,
when, to the great surprize of all, an order came from *Ra-
venna* for their execution, their enemies at court having per-
suaded the king, who was advanced in years, and grown
jealous of his power, that he would never be safe so long as
they were alive. They were accordingly both beheaded in
Pavia; and of the head of *Boetius* no less wonderful things
are related by *Martianus*, who wrote his life, than those
which every one must have read or heard of the famous St.
Dennis. The cruel and unjust sentence was scarce put in
execution, when *Theodoric*, returning, in a manner, to him-
self, and reflecting on his rash conduct in an affair, that re-
quired the utmost circumspection, was affected with such sor-
row, that his grief may be said to have equalled, if not exceeded,
the injustice of the sentence. Not long after, the head of
a large fish being served up while he was one night at supper,
the injustice of the sentence he had lately pronounced oc-
curring to his mind, he fancied the head of the fish to be the
head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghastly manner.
Hereupon, seized with horror and amazement, he was carried
from the table to his bedchamber, where, reflecting anew on
his cruelty and injustice to two such eminent and deserving men,
he died a few days after of grief, this being the first and last
wrong any of his subjects had ever received at his hands ^b (D).

His

^b PROCOF. hist. Goth. p. 232.

(D) Thus *Procopius*, condemn- the sentence pronounced against
ing *Theodoric*, for the injustice of those two great men, and at the
same

His death happened on the second of *September* in the *He dies.* year 526. the thirty-fourth of his reign, and seventy-second Year of of his age. He had three daughters by *Audefleda* the sister the flood of *Clevis*, to wit, *Ostrogotha*, *Theodogotha*, and *Amalasuntha*. 2874. *Ostrogotha* was married to *Sigismund* king of the *Burgundians*, Of Christ 526. by whom she had *Sigeric*, who, after his mother's decease, Of Rome 1274. was put to death by his father *Sigismund* in the year 522. as we have related in the history of the *Burgundians*. *Theodogotha* was married to *Alaric* II. king of the *Visigoths*, who, His issue. in 507. was killed in the battle of *Vouglé*, as we have related in their history, but he left a son behind him by *Theodogotha*, to wit, *Amalaric*, whose dominions *Theodoric* governed to the day of his death, as guardian to the young prince his grandson. *Amalasuntha*, the youngest of the three princesses, was married in 515. to *Eutharic Ciliua* *. *Eutharic* was the son of *Viteric*, and grandson of *Buemund*, descended from the family of the *Anali*, who, leaving *Scythia*, as we read in *Jornandes*, came into *Gaul*, and, being honourably entertained by *Vallia* king of the *Visigoths*, he settled there. His grand-

* Fast Cassiod ad ann. 515.

same time commending him for the equity by which he had been governed on every other occasion, during the whole course of his long reign. His putting them to death, without making the necessary inquiries in a matter, that required the greatest circumspection, favours, without doubt, both of rashness and cruelty, but his sincere sorrow, and unfeigned repentance, are undeniable testimonies of his mercy and goodness. However that be, it is certain, that *Italy* never enjoyed more happy days than under his government, not even in the height of its greatness. He is perhaps the only prince, who, having obtained a kingdom by force and violence, preserved it with mildness and moderation, which two virtues eminently appeared in all his actions and councils, and rendered him no less

dear to his new subjects, than if he had been of their own race, and born among them. Tho' he was himself an *Arian*, and had the power in his hands, yet he was so far from persecuting the orthodox, that, on the contrary, he favoured them no less than those of his own persuasion, extending his protection to both parties, and allowing to all full liberty to profess which of the two religions they pleased. Those therefore are greatly mistaken, who imagine, that *Bostius* was put to death on account of the book he wrote on the Trinity, and inscribed to his father in law *Symmachus*. *Jornandes* takes no notice of what we have related above of the head of the fish, upon the authority of *Procopius*; but supposes *Theodoric*, advanced in years, to have died quietly.

son *Eutharic*, from *Gaul*, removed into *Spain*, where he became well known to the officers of *Theodoric*, who governed that kingdom during the minority of *Amalaric*. *Theodoric*, hearing him much commended, expressed a great desire to see him; which satisfaction he no sooner had, than, being taken with his engaging behaviour, and extraordinary qualifications, he resolved to give him in marriage his daughter *Amalasuntha*, the more as he was of *Theodoric*'s own family, to wit, that of the *Amals*, and consequently by his birth not unworthy of such a match. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and two years after he was raised to the consulship by his father-in-law; on which occasion the emperor *Anastasius* presented him with the *tunica palmata*, and adopted him for his son; an honour which the late emperors used to confer on persons of distinguished merit. *Eutharic* went to *Rome*, to enter there upon his office, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, every rank and degree of people in that great metropolis striving to outdo each other in honouring one, whom they expected to see in a short time on the throne. On the other hand, *Eutharic* made it his chief study to oblige both the senate and people, discharging his office with great care, and diverting the city with most magnificent shews, having, for that effect, procured out of *Africa* such wild beasts, as had never before been seen at *Rome*. From *Rome* *Eutharic* returned to his father-in-law at *Ravenna*, where, by his generosity, condescension, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections both of the *Romans* and *Goths*.

EVERY one expected to find in *Eutharic* a second *Theodoric*; but, to the great grief of all, *Eutharic* died before his father-in-law, leaving behind him a son, named *Athalaric*, ten years old; so that *Theodoric* had at his death two grandsons, the children of two of his daughters, to wit, *Amalaric* king of the *Visigoths*, and *Athalaric* the son of *Amalasuntha*. To the former *Theodoric*, at his death, delivered up all the countries in *Gaul* and *Spain* belonging to the *Visigoths*, which he had governed, with a no less absolute sway than his own, ever since the death of *Alaric* II. The latter, though the son of the younger daughter, he appointed to succeed him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in all his other dominions. *Theodoric*, *ays Fernandes*, being advanced in years, and near his end, assembled the chief men among the *Goths*, and, in their presence, declared *Athalaric*, the son of *Eutharic* by his daughter *Amalasuntha*, his successor, charging them to obey him as such, to respect the senate and people of *Rome*, and, above all, to cultivate

He declares
Athalaric
his heir.

tivate the friendship of the emperor of the East ^f. *Theodoric* died soon after; but as *Athalaric* was then only eight years old, as we read in *Procopius* ^g, or ten, as *Jornandes* will have it ^h, his mother *Amalasuntha* took upon her the administration, a princess highly commended by all the writers of those times, for her piety, religion, wisdom, and learning. *Theodotus*, who succeeded *Athalaric*, and by whom she was afterwards put to death, in a letter which he wrote in her behalf to the Roman state, styles her *the glory of princes, the flower and ornament of his family, the Solomon of women, a princess endued with every good quality becoming her sex, well versed in the Latin, in the Greek, and in many other languages, and thoroughly acquainted with every branch of learning* ⁱ. However, she was not free from ambition; but strove by all means to maintain, even after her son's death, that power, which she had exercised during his life, as we shall see hereafter.

THEODORIC was no sooner dead, than *Amalasuntha*, *She writes* mindful of his last advice, wrote in the young prince's name, both to *Justin* then emperor, and to the Roman senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne. In the letter to the emperor, the young prince, after telling him, that his grandfather had, before his death, appointed him his heir and successor, goes on thus: "You formerly honoured in your august city my grandfather with the dignity of consul; you sent into *Italy* to my father the *tunica palmata*, and, to attach him the more to you, you adopted him for your son, tho' he was almost of the same age with yourself. The name of son will suit me better than it did him. I shall acknowledge so great a favour, by causing your name to be no less respected, and your authority to be no less obeyed, in my dominions, than they are in your own. With this view I have dispatched ambassadors to you, hoping you will honour me with your friendship, upon the same conditions upon which your glorious ancestors granted theirs to my grandfather ^k." From this letter it is manifest, that the kings of the *Ostrogoths* acknowledged in the emperors of the East a superiority of rank, but not of jurisdiction; and consequently that *Zeno*, when he sent *Theodoric* to drive *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, renounced in his behalf whatever claim the empire of the East had to that country. At the same time *Amalasuntha* dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* with letters from the young prince, both to the senate

^f JORN. de reb. Get. p. 143. ^g PROCOPIUS bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. ^h JORN, ibid. ⁱ CAESIOD. l. x. ep. 4. ^k Idem, l. viii. ep. 1.

and people, acquainting them, that his grandfather was dead; that, on his death-bed, he had declared him his heir and successor; and that, as such, he had been acknowledged both by the *Goths* and *Romans*, that is, the *Italians*, who had sworn obedience to him. He desires them to follow the example of his other subjects, telling them, that he had sent count *Sigismer*, and others, to receive their oath of allegiance, and at the same time to bind himself by the like tie to maintain sacred and inviolable all the rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been granted them by his grandfather. He closes his letter to the senate, by encouraging them to ask boldly whatever they thought might any-way contribute to the safety and splendor of their illustrious and venerable body. In his letter to the people, he promises to cherish the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and to maintain them equally in the possession of their rights and privileges, making no other distinction, than that the *Goths* should undergo the toils and dangers of war, while the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace within the walls of their own city. In the end of his letter he tells them, that, by the mutual oaths of the prince and people, the memory of *Trajan's* excellent government was renewed, who, at his entering upon the consulship, swore himself, and received the oaths of the senate and people¹. He wrote two other letters, the one to *Tiberius præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, wherein he exhorts him, and his other subjects in that country, to pay the same respect and obedience to him, which they had paid to *Theodoric*, promising on his side, upon oath, to protect them in the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges (E). The other letter he

¹ CASSIOD. l. viii. ep. 2, 3.

(E) The provinces in *Gaul*, places, which he retained, had belonging to the *Gothic* nation, been taken by his grandfather *Theodoric*, at different times, from between *Athalaric* and *Amalaric*: the former had that part, which lay beyond the *Rhone* next to *Italy*; and the latter the countries lying on the opposite side of that river, and extending to the confines of the *Franks*, which we have described in the history of that people. *Athalaric* kept the city of *Arles*, which had belonged to the kingdom of *Alaric* II. and consequently ought to have been yielded to *Amalaric*. The other

the *Burgundians*. Whether he gave the *Visigoths* an equivalent for that important place, formerly the seat of the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, we are not told. The *Rhone* being fixed as the boundary between the two nations, it was agreed, that such of the *Ostrogoths* as had settled in the countries that were to be held by the *Visigoths*, and such of the *Visigoths* as had settled in the provinces that were to be kept

C. XXIX. Ostrogoths in Italy.

he wrote to *Victorinus* their bishop, intreating him to maintain, with his example and precepts, peace and tranquillity among those, whom Providence had committed to his care. He ends the letter with begging his prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleased to confirm to him his earthly kingdoms, to humble his enemies, to forgive his sins, and to preserve and maintain what he had so bountifully and liberally bestowed upon his ancestors ^m.

SUCH was the beginning of the reign of *Athalaric*, or rather of *Amalasuntha*. She retained the same form of government, the same laws, the same magistrates, and the same disposition of provinces, not suffering the least alteration to be made during the minority of her son, and governing with such prudence, that *Theodoric* was scarce misled, either by the *Goths* or *Romans*. Her chief care was to bring up her son after the *Roman* manner, and to have him, from his tender years, instructed by the ablest men of those times in religion, virtue, and learning. She was herself, as we have hinted above, well versed in all the branches of literature, and consequently a great encourager of learned men; as appears from the letters she wrote to the senate in the king's name, expostulating with them for neglecting to pay the public professors their salaries in due time, and commanding them to be paid punctually for the future. Arts, says she in her letter, are nourished and maintained by rewards, and it is an heinous crime to defraud the teachers of youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be further encouraged by an augmentation of their stipend. She orders them to be paid every half-year, adding, that men of learning must not depend upon the humours of others; that they must not be diverted from their studies by solicitous thought; and that it is a shame, that players, whose business is only to please and amuse, should be so amply rewarded, and those neglected,

^m CASSIOD. l. viii. ep. 4, 5, &c.

kept by the *Ostrogoths*, should have full liberty, either to continue where they were, or to retire into the countries subject to their respective princes (4). Hence it appears, that the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths*, who were originally but two tribes of one and the same nation, were not yet blended together, though they had, for the space of twenty years and upwards, promiscuously inhabited the same country. It was in virtue of a particular convention, that they were to be deemed citizens of the tribe to which they did not originally belong, though they dwelt with their wives and families in the same country.

(4) *Præcep. bel. Gotth. l. i. c. 13.*

who

who form the manners of youth, instruct them in the liberal sciences, and render them capable of serving their country *.

*Her justice
and equity*

AMALASUNTHA was so far from invading the rights and properties of her subjects, that, on the contrary, she restored to the children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* the estates, which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. She took great care to secure the *Romans* against the avarice and rapaciousness of the great men among the *Goths*, who, looking upon *Italy* as a conquered country, were for enriching themselves at the expence of the natives. To her nephew *Amalaric* she gave up that part of *Gaul*, which, with respect to *Italy*, lay beyond the *Rhone*; but retained what lay on the other side of that river. To the *Visigoths* she remitted the impositions, which had been laid on them by *Theodoric*, and restored the treasure of the kings of the *Visigoths*, which, by her father's order, had been conveyed from *Carcassone* to *Ravenna* °. In the mean time *Justin* having taken his nephew *Justinian* for his partner in the empire, *Amalasuntha* no sooner heard of his promotion, than she dispatched ambassadors to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his accession to the imperial dignity, and begging a continuance of that friendship and alliance, which had long subsisted between the two nations P. What she desired was readily granted, as is manifest from the good understanding that passed between the two princes so long as *Athalaric* lived, and from the coins stamped at this time by the king of the *Ostrogoths*, on one side of which is to be seen the image of *Justinian*, and on the other the name of *Athalaric* q.

*The Goths
dissatisfied
with
Amala-
suntha.*

WHILE *Amalasuntha* was thus governing with the greatest justice, equity, and prudence, and taking all the necessary precautions for the safety of her son, and the welfare of his dominions, the great men among the *Goths*, not able to bear, that their young prince should be brought up after the *Roman* manner, began to exclaim against learning, as an enemy to valour, only fit for soft and effeminate princes, and no-way becoming the king and leader of such an active and warlike nation as theirs. The princess took no notice of these groundless complaints; but, having one day chastised her son, and he happening to go, with the tears yet in his eyes, into a room, where some *Gothic* lords were assembled, they took from thence occasion to complain more loudly of the queen (to she is called by most writers), as if she designed to remove her son, and reign in her own right; they exclaimed, with more boldness than ever, against the learned education of the young prince; alleged the example of his grandfather,

* CASSIOD. l. ix. ep. 1.

° PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13.

P CASSIOD. l. viii. ep. 1.

q Vide BARON. ad ann. 527.

who,

who, tho' utterly ignorant of letters (F), was a warlike and victorious prince; and concluded, that his grandson must be brought up in the same manner, if he would be attended with the same fortune. They therefore desired *Amalasuntha* to dismiss the pedants her son had about him, and give him such companions of his own age, as might, by their conversation, make the customs of his nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own laws. This they demanded with so much warmth and importunity, that, apprehending greater evils, she thought it advisable to comply with their request. And now the youth, free from all restraint, and seduced by wicked companions, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, adding to his other vices that of undutifulness to the best of mothers, and unnaturally abandoning her in a faction, which had the arrogance to command her to retire from court; but the queen, exerting her authority, picked out three of the ringleaders of the party, and confined them to the most remote parts of *Italy*. These, maintaining a private correspondence with their friends and relations, never ceased, by their means, to stir up the people against her; insomuch that *Amalasuntha*, apprehending the faction might in the end prevail, wrote to the emperor *Justinian*, begging leave to take refuge in his dominions. The emperor readily complied with her request, offering her a noble palace at *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, for

(F) We are told by some writers, that *Theodoric* was quite illiterate, nay, incapable of learning either to read or write; that, notwithstanding the great pains he took, he could never learn to write the four first letters of his name, which he therefore caused to be cut on a thin plate of gold. This plate he placed on the paper, and his hand being directed by the letters, which were cut quite through, signed his name (5). But this is no way consistent with what we read in *Ennodius*, to wit, that *Theodoric* was brought up, not among the barbarians, but in the heart of *Greece*, which, in return for the pains she had taken to instruct him, promised herself his

protection; that she was overjoyed to see the progress he made when yet a child; that his predecessors had preferred ignorance to learning; but that he, agreeable to his polite education, had shewed himself the patron and encourager of letters; that, under him, ingenuity flourished in all its branches; and that he not only admitted and rewarded it in others, but thought it an ornament worthy of himself. Thus *Ennodius*, in the panegyric he pronounced before *Theodoric* (6); which would have been deemed a satire, rather than a panegyric, had *Theodoric* been that illiterate prince he is described in the abstracts of *Valesius*.

(5) *Valef. excerpt. p. 669.*

(6) *Ennod. in panegyr. p. 290.*

She transfers her habitation; but the princess having in the mean time caused the three ringleaders of the faction, whom she had banished, to be put to death, and no new disturbances arising thereupon, she did not accept of the emperor's offer; but remained at Ravenna, governing the dominions of her son with her usual prudence and equity.

In the mean time Athalaric having, by his debaucheries, and riotous life, contracted a lingering distemper, Amalasuntha, apprehending that, upon his death, she would be in great danger, most of the chief men among the Goths being highly incensed against her, resolved to save herself, by delivering Italy into the hands of the emperor; and accordingly began to treat with his ambassadors about the manner of putting her design in execution. But her measures were all defeated by the untimely death of her son, which happened in the eighth year of his reign, and threw her into new difficulties. Her design for delivering up Italy to Justinian was not yet ripe for execution; on the other hand, she was well apprised, that the Goths would not suffer her to reign after the death of her son, but would choose a new king in his room. Having therefore long deliberated with herself how she should act at so critical a conjuncture, she resolved in the end to raise one to the throne herself, hoping that the person, so advanced by her favour, would be contented with the title, and, out of gratitude, suffer her to enjoy the supreme power without controul.

Amalasuntha takes Theodotus for her colleague. His character. WITH this view, she cast her eyes on *Theodotus* her cousin, the son of *Amalafrida*, sister to king *Theodoric*, and consequently descended from the illustrious family of the *Amali*. He was a man of great learning, as appears from the letter, which *Amalasuntha* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, well skilled in the doctrine of *Plato*, thoroughly versed in the ecclesiastic learning, and a perfect master of the *Latin* tongue^r; but utterly unacquainted both with civil and military matters, timorous, indolent, covetous to the greatest degree, destitute of all honour and probity, and capable of committing the vilest actions, when pushed on by his own passions, or by those of others. He had lived hitherto in *Tuscany*, where he had large possessions; but, not satisfied with them, he had not only encroached upon his neighbours, but seized on some lands belonging to the crown. These *Amalasuntha* had obliged him to restore, and likewise restrained him, by her authority, from injuring his neighbours; which had rendered him her implacable enemy; insomuch that he privately agreed with the ambassadors,

^r CASSIODOR l. x. ep. 3.

had been sent from *Constantinople* to the bishop of *Rome*, to betray *Tuscany* to the emperor, upon his paying him a certain sum, and raising him to the dignity of a senator. However, *Amalasuntha*, imagining, that to signal a favour, as her advancing him to the throne, would reconcile him to her, offered to take him for her colleague, on condition he suffered her to enjoy and exercise her former power. This *Theodotus* promised upon oath to do, and was thereupon declared by the queen her colleague. The letters, that were written on this occasion to the *Roman* senate by the queen, in commendation of *Theodotus*, and by *Theodotus*, in commendation of the queen, are still to be seen in *Cassiodore*. He acknowledges himself intirely indebted to her for his new dignity; and, extolling her kindness to him, adds, that he is at a loss how to make a suitable return for such an high and undeserved favour.

BUT the unhappy princess was soon sensible of her mistake in assuming for her colleague a person, who had been formerly her declared enemy, and was destitute, as she must have known, of all honour and probity. For he had scarce mounted the throne, when, unmindful of the honours she had done him, and the promises he had made, and solemnly confirmed with an oath, he suffered himself to be wholly governed by the friends and relations of those, who, by the princess, had been put to death for their crimes; and, because she took the liberty to remind him of what he had promised, he caused her to be conveyed from *Ravenna* into *Tuscany*, and there confined her to an island in the middle of the lake of *Bolsena*. As he had reason to believe, that the emperor, who had a great value and regard for *Amalasuntha*, would resent this treatment, he obliged her to write to him, that no injury or injustice had been done her. This letter he sent to *Constantinople*, with one which he wrote himself, filled with heavy complaints against *Amalasuntha*. The emperor was so far from giving credit to what *Theodotus* urged against her, that he openly espoused her cause, and wrote a most affectionate letter to her, comforting her in her distress, and assuring her of his protection. But, before the letter reached her, the unhappy princess was, with the consent, if not by the order of *Theodotus*, barbarously strangled in the bath by the friends of those, whom, in the reign of her son, she had deservedly put to death for raising disturbances in the state. Some writers tell us, that the unhappy queen was dispatched by *Theodotus* at the instigation of the empress *Theodora*, who, jealous of the

* JOH. rer. Get. p. 143. PROCOPI. l. i. c. 4.
l. 2. ep. 3. & 4.

* CASSIODOR.

and were
put to
death
Year of
the 8th od
2887
Of C. rist
534
Of Rome
1282

Justinian
resolves to
make war
upon the
Goths.

love the emperor shewed her, began to apprehend he might one day forsake her for the queen of the *Goths* *. Be that as it will, Justinian, highly provoked against *Theodotus* for the murder of a person for whom he had the greatest esteem and veneration, and being at the same time desirous of reuniting *Italy* to the empire, resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, his troops being just then returned from *Africa*, which they had reduced by driving from thence the *Vandals*.

JUSTINIAN, to facilitate the enterprize, used his utmost endeavours to induce the *Franks* to join him, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to undertake that war. "The *Goths*," says he in the letter which he wrote to their princes, "have not only seized on *Italy*, which belongs to us, but, without the least provocation, offered us such insults as we cannot in honour dissemble. This is what induces us to take arms against them; and it is but just, that you should lend us what assistance you can against a nation that bears as great an enmity to you as to us, the more as we are both of the same persuasion, and equally abhor the doctrine of *Arius*, which they profess." To the letter the emperor added, says *Procopius*, a large sum, promising to the princes of the *Franks*, especially to *Theodebert*, a considerable subsidy, to be paid them as soon as they should begin hostilities †. The *Franks* received the money, and, entering into an alliance with the emperor, promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but, instead of performing their promise, while Justinian's arms were employed against the *Goths*, *Theodebert*, who was deemed the head of the royal family of the *Franks*, being the son of *Theodoric*, or, as they call him, *Thierry*, the eldest son of *Clovis*, seized on several cities in *Liguria*, on the *Alpes Cottiae*, and great part of the province of *Venice*, for himself. Of this treachery Justinian afterwards complained by his ambassador *Leontius* to *Theodebald*, the son and successor of *Theodebert* ‡ (G). But, to leave that

The treachery of the
Franks.

trea-

* PROCOF. anecdot. 71. † Idem ibid. l. i. c. 5. ‡ Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 24.

(G) Justinian, says *Procopius*, no sooner received news of the death of *Theodebald*, who, without any regard to his alliance with the *Romans*, had seized on several towns in *Tuscany*, on the *Alpes Cottiae*, and on part of *Liguria*, than he dispatched the senator *Leontius* to *Theodebert*,


the son and successor of the deceased king, to persuade him to join the *Romans* against the *Ostrogoths*, and to evacuate the places in *Italy*, which the *Franks* had taken, and still held, in defiance of the treaty concluded between them and the emperor. *Leontius*, in the audience he had of that prince,

barbarous nation, and return to *Justinian*. Having resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, and drive them, if possible, out of *Italy*, he named *Mundus* and *Belisarius* for his generals. *Mundus*, then commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, was ordered to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and attempt the reduction of *Salona*, the better to open a passage into *Italy*. *Belisarius* was to make a descent upon *Sicily*; for which purpose a fleet was equipped, on board of which were four thousand legionaries, three thousand *Isaurians*, three hundred *Mauritanians*, and two hundred *Hunns*.

BELISARIUS was vested with the supreme command, and an absolute authority. His instructions were, to pretend a voyage to *Carthage*, but to make an attempt upon *Sicily*; and, if he thought he could succeed in the attempt, to land there; otherwise, to sail directly for *Africa*, without discovering his intentions. *Mundus*, without difficulty, made himself master of *Salona*; and *Belisarius*, landing without opposition in *Sicily*, reduced that island with more expedition than he himself expected. *Palermo* held out for some time, the *Goths*, who depended upon the strength of the place, which was deemed impregnable by land, defending it with great resolution; but *Belisarius* attacking it by sea, the garison was forced to surrender upon articles; so that *Belisarius* entered

Sicily reduced by Belisarius.
Year of the flood
2883.
Of Christ
535.
Of Rome
1283.

prince, addressed him thus: "There is no prince, to whom unforeseen misfortunes have not happened, and disappointments, which he did not expect; but the conduct of the *Franks* towards the *Romans* is perhaps, surprising, beyond any thing that ever happened before. It is well known, that the emperor no sooner resolved to make war on the *Goths*, than he imparted his resolution to your nation. He did not take the field till he had entered into an alliance with your predecessor, and engaged him, by a large sum, which was paid before-hand, to act, in concert, with him, against the *Goths*, as a common enemy. But he, instead

"of fulfilling his engagements, acted, to the great surprize of the emperor, more like an enemy than an ally, seizing on several countries belonging to the empire, to which he had not the least claim. I do not mention this," added the ambassador, "to reproach your nation with what is past, but to the end that, by a quite contrary conduct, you may, for the future, deserve to be ranked among our true friends and allies (7)." 

Justinian had but too much reason to complain of the *Franks*, but perhaps not more than other princes, who, since his time, have relied on their friendship.

(7) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 24.*

the city on the last of December of the present year 536. *Belisarius*, now master of *Sicily*, from *Messina*, without loss of time, passed over to *Reggio*, which opened its gates to him. From *Reggio* he pursued his march to *Rome*, the provinces of *Abrutum*, *Lucania*, *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Samnium*, readily submitting to him. The city of *Naples* endured a siege; but, *Belisarius's* men having entered it through an aqueduct, it was in the end taken and plundered: (H).

THEO-

* PROCOF. anecdot. l. iv. c. 24.

(H) The city of *Naples* held out, as we read in *Procopius*, twenty days. The castle in the suburbs submitted upon terms, as soon as *Belisarius* appeared with his army before it. But *Theodotus* having taken care to put a strong garrison into the city, and they appearing resolved to defend it to the utmost, *Belisarius*, apprehending the difficulty of the enterprize, attempted first to gain them by the offer of most advantageous and honourable terms. They sent out one *Stephanus* to treat with the Roman general, who, returning into the city, acquainted the citizens with the conditions offered them by *Belisarius*, and, with many arguments, endeavoured to persuade them not to reject such offers. But *Passtor* and *Asclepiodotus*, two orators greatly attached to, and perhaps well paid by, the *Goths*, in order to cross and defeat the treaty, advised the inhabitants to demand such terms, as they imagined *Belisarius* would never grant. But the general, contrary to their expectation, complying with their request, and the citizens being thereupon ready to open their gates to the Romans, the two orators, with their deluding eloquence, persuaded them to change their resolution, since it was uncertain,

said they, which side might in the end prevail; and *Belisarius* could not blame them for their fidelity, but, on the contrary, if they thus tamely submitted, would despise them as traitors and cowards, for abandoning and betraying their old friends. *Belisarius*, finding he could by no offers prevail upon them to submit, began to batter the city, and made several assaults; but was constantly repulsed with great loss. In order to oblige them by other means to surrender, he cut the great aqueduct, which supplied the city with water; but this inconvenience was easily remedied by the wells within, which sufficiently furnished them with water. Hereupon *Belisarius*, finding the siege would continue longer than he expected, and oblige him to attack *Rome* in the winter, resolved to abandon the enterprize, and had already ordered his army to begin their march; when an *Isaurian*, curiously viewing the structure of the aqueduct, observed, that if a passage, which was cut thro' a rock, was but a little enlarged, some soldiers might easily get through it, and surprise the city. He acquainted the general with his observation, who, being highly pleased with it, ordered some *Isaurians* to widen the pass-

age;

THEODOTUS, who was an utter stranger to military affairs, and had a great aversion from war, alarmed at the unexpected success of the emperor's arms, began underhand to treat of a peace with an ambassador sent by the emperor for that purpose. In a private conference with him, the king Theodotus agreed to renounce all pretensions to the island of Sicily; to send the emperor yearly a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds; to supply him with three thousand men, when required; to put no senator or ecclesiastic to death, or confiscate their estates, without the emperor's consent, nor to advance any to the dignity of senator or patrician, but to petition him to confer such honours on those who deserved them. In all acclamations Justinian's name was to be first men-

tion. age; which they did by filing the rock, to avoid by that means all noise. When every thing was ready, *Belisarius* sent for *Stephanus*, whom we have mentioned above; told him, that he was sure he should, in a very short time, be master of the city; and therefore advised him to persuade his fellow-citizens to prevent, by a timely submission, the impending evils. But, the inhabitants giving no ear to what *Stephanus* said, and defying the Romans from the walls, *Belisarius* ordered *Magnus*, general of the horse, and *Eunus*, commander of the *Isaurians*, to enter the aqueduct in the dead of the night with about six hundred men, some lights, and two trumpets, to strike terror into the city, and give the general notice of their success. These, having got into the city, in spite of the many difficulties they met with, advanced silently to the walls; and, having killed the guards on the north side, where *Belisarius* stood with his men ready for the attack, they gave the signal with their trumpets; which *Belisarius* hearing, ordered part of his men to scale the and the rest to approach

the gates; which being opened to them by those who got over the walls, the whole army entered, and made themselves masters of the city. Great slaughter was made at first of the unhappy inhabitants by the *Massagetes*, who, without regard to sex, age, or condition, put all to the sword they met with, not sparing even those, who had taken sanctuary in the churches; but *Belisarius*, riding about, restrained their rage, giving them leave to seize on the effects, but commanding them to spare the lives, of the inhabitants. He caused all those, who had been taken prisoners, to be set at liberty; and, taking the Gothic garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, into the emperor's pay, he incorporated them among his own troops (8). *Belisarius* is highly commended by *Procopius* for his clemency towards the citizens, though others, but writers of no great authority, tell us, that he put most of the citizens to the sword; that he neither spared churches, priests, nor holy virgins; and that he was severely reprimanded for his cruelty by *Sylvester* bishop of Rome (9).

(8) *Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 30.*

(9) *Vide Baron. ad ann. 528. & 536.*

He offers
to resign
the king-
dom to
Justinian.

tioned. Whenever a statue was erected to *Theodotus*, a statue was to be likewise erected to the emperor, and placed on the right-hand. No coin was to be stamped with the image of *Theodotus* alone, but that also of *Justinian*, which was always to hold the most honourable place. These proposals, which plainly betrayed the meanness of his spirit, were sent by *Theodotus* to *Constantinople*. But, apprehending the emperor, not satisfied with them, might pursue the war, he dispatched an express to the ambassador, now as far on his journey as *Albania*, recalling him for farther orders and instructions. These were, to resign the kingdom to *Justinian*, and content himself with a pension suitable to his quality; but he obliged both the emperor's ambassador, and *Agapetus* bishop of *Rome*, whom he sent on his own behalf, to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to be mention this proposal, till they found the emperor would not accept of the former. The emperor rejected, as was expected, the first proposals with scorn: whereupon the ambassadors shewed him the second signed by the king, who, in his letter to the emperor, told him, among other things, that, being unacquainted with war, and addicted to the study of philosophy, he preferred his quiet to a kingdom. *Justinian*, transported with joy, and imagining the war already ended, answered the king in a most obliging manner, extolling his wisdom, and adding to what he demanded the greatest honours of the empire. The agreement being confirmed by mutual oaths, lands were assigned to *Theodotus* out of the emperor's domain, and orders dispatched to *Belisarius* to take possession of *Italy* in his name.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated,
and Dal-
matia re-
covered by
the Goths.

In the mean time a body of *Goths* entering *Dalmatia*, with a design to recover *Salonæ*, *Mundus* sent his son, with a small party, to observe their motions; but the youth, unadvisedly engaging a detachment from their army far superior in number to his own, was slain, and most of his men cut in pieces. To revenge the death of his son, *Mundus* marched against the enemy with all the forces under his command, engaged them, and put them to flight; but, his men falling into confusion in the pursuit, the *Goths*, facing unexpectedly about, renewed the fight, killed *Mundus* himself, and, in their turn, put the *Romans* to flight, disheartened with the death of their leader. Upon this defeat, the *Romans*, abandoning *Salonæ*, and *Æt Dalmatia*, returned home; which *Theodotus* no sooner understood, than, elated with so small an advantage, he refused, with great haughtiness, to comply with the articles of the treaty, which he had lately signed; nay, because the emperor's ambassador, by name *Peter*, a man of great address and experience, expostulated with him for his breach of faith, he told him, that it was not an unusual thing to put even em-
bassadors

ambassadors to death, when they did not shew that respect, which is due to crowned heads. The ambassador answered, That it was his duty to execute his master's orders; and that he would utter what he had been enjoined to say, whether pleasing or displeasing. Hereupon *Theodotus* put a strict guard upon the ambassador; at which *Justinian* being highly provoked, he dispatched *Constantianus*, an officer of great valour and experience, into *Illyricum*, with orders to raise forces there, and enter *Dalmatia*.

At the same time he wrote to *Belisarius*, commanding him to pursue the war with the utmost vigour. *Constantianus*, having, pursuant to his orders, raised an army with great expedition in *Illyricum*, entered *Dalmatia*, made himself master of *Salona*, and obliged the *Goths*, with their general, by name *The Grypus*, to abandon that province. As for *Belisarius*, he now drew near to *Rome*, having reduced all the provinces that compose the present kingdom of *Naples*. Hereupon the chief men among the *Goths*, finding their king took no one step to avert the impending ruin of their nation, assembled without his consent; and, not despairing of being able to conclude a peace with *Belisarius*, they dispatched ambassadors to him, representing the injustice of the war, the just claim they had to *Italy*, and the moderation and equity with which they had hitherto governed that country. As the ambassadors laid great stress on *Theodoric's* taking *Italy*, not from the *Romans*, but from the barbarians, to whom it was become a prey, and on their king's being prompted and encouraged to that enterprize by the emperor himself, *Belisarius*, disliking the conditions they offered, answered surlily, That *Theodoric* had been sent indeed by *Zeno* to rescue *Italy* out of the hands of the barbarians, but not to keep it for himself, since it was the same thing to the emperor, so long as it was not restored to the empire, whether it was held by the *Goths*, or the *Heruli*: that whoever detains the goods, that are not his own, against the will of the owner, is no less guilty, than he who takes them by force. He concluded, that he would hearken to no terms, nor sheath his sword, till *Italy* was reunited to the empire, to which it belonged.

The *Goths*, finding *Belisarius* unalterably bent upon driving them out of *Italy*, and, on the other hand, amazed at the cowardice and stupidity of their prince, who made no warlike preparations, as if he either intended to betray *Italy* to the emperor, or, despairing of success, had laid aside all thoughts of defending it, assembled at *Regata*, a place about thirty-five miles from *Rome*; and, having there, with one consent,

Theodo-
tus de-
posed, and
Vitiges
chosen in
his room.

deposed *Theodobius*, chose and proclaimed *Vitiges* king in his room. *Vitiges* was not descended from an illustrious family among the *Goths*; but had distinguished himself by his valour in several wars, especially in that, which *Theodoric* had waged with the *Gepida*. *Jornandes* writes, that he had been formerly armour-bearer to *Theodoric*^b. Upon his accession to the throne, he married *Matefuenta*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand daughter of *Theodoric*, who, despising him on account of his birth, though in every other respect worthy of the crown, is said to have maintained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, and was even suspected of attempting to betray him into their hands^c; for she had been averse to the match from the very beginning, and was, in a manner, forced by the king to give her consent.

Theodo-
tus mur-
dered.

Year of
the flood
2885.
Of Christ
537.
Of Rome
1285.

THEODOTUS, who was then at *Rome*, hearing the *Goths* had chosen a new king, fled from thence towards *Ravenna*. But *Vitiges* dispatched one *Optaris* after him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. *Optaris* had been highly obliged by him; and therefore, pursuing him with great expedition, he soon overtook him, and, putting him to death, brought back his head to the new king^d. Such was the end of this cowardly, ungrateful, and covetous prince, after he had reigned about three years. Several of his coins have reached our times, on which he is called *Theodatus*, *Theudatus*, and *Theodabathus*^e. He left a son, by name *Theudigisclus*, whom *Vitiges* caused to be first imprisoned, and afterwards to be put to death. And now the new king, having no competitor, applied himself wholly to the re-establishing of the affairs of the *Goths*. He began with writing a circular letter, wherein he exhorted his countrymen to exert their antient courage, and defend with their usual bravery, against all unjust invaders, the countries which belonging to them by right of conquest. From the place where he was chosen, he marched to *Rome*; but, not thinking himself strong enough to defend that city against *Belisarius*, who was marching towards it, he resolved to remove to *Ravenna*, where he might, with more ease, reinforce his army, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field. Upon his departure, he obliged the pope, the senate, and the people, to take an oath of fidelity; and then, leaving four thousand *Goths* for the defence of the city, he set out for *Ravenna* with several senators, whom he took with him as hostages for the rest. Being arrived at *Ravenna*, he assembled the *Goths* from all parts; and, having raised a considerable army, he encamped under the walls of that city.

^b JORN. p. 144. ^c PROCOF. l. ii. c. 10. ^d Idem, l. i. c. 11. ^e Vide BARON. ad ann. 534. 537. BAKDUR. p. 404.

In the mean time *Belisarius*, having garisoned *Naples*, *Cambrage*, and the other strong places in *Campania*, approached *Rome*. As he drew near, the inhabitants, dreading the treatment which the *Neapolitans* were said to have met with, and awed by the reputation of so renowned a general, resolved, notwithstanding the oath they had so lately taken, to open their gates to the emperor's army. Accordingly, they dispatched one *Fidelius* to invite *Belisarius* to come and take possession of their city, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. *Belisarius* no sooner received this invitation, than he advanced to the gates of the city; which being opened *Belisarius* to him, he entered *Rome* on the ninth or tenth of *December* enters of the year 537. and, taking possession of it in the emperor's *Rome* name, reunited it to the empire, sixty years after it had been taken by *Odoacer*, and thirty-four after it had submitted to *Theodoric*. The Gothic garison, finding they could not make head at the same time against the emperor's army and the citizens, retired by the *Porta Flaminia*, while *Belisarius* entered by the *Porta Asinaria*. *Leudaris*, governor of the city, who staid behind, was sent, together with the keys, to the emperor. *Belisarius*, now master of the city, applied himself to the repairing of the walls, and other fortifications; filled the granaries with corn, which he caused to be brought from *Sicily*; and stored the place with all manner of provisions, as if he were preparing against a siege; which gave no small uneasiness to the inhabitants, who chose rather, that their city should lie open to every invader, than be liable to the many miseries and calamities attending a siege. While *Belisarius* was thus employed at *Rome*, *Pitzas*, governor of *Samnium*, submitting to him, delivered up great part of that country, with the city of *Benevento*. Other cities, to wit, *Narnia*, *Several Spolito*, and *Perusia*, revolting from the *Goths*, received Ro- other ci- man garisons, as did most cities in *Tuscany*.

In the mean time *Vitiges* lay not idle at *Ravenna*; but, to him. having raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, *Vitiges* resolved to march directly to *Rome*, and engage *Belisarius*, or, raises a if he declined engaging, to lay siege to the city. But, apprehending that the *Franks*, who were in confederacy with army. the emperor, might fall upon him at the same time, with the consent and approbation of the great men among the *Goths*, he dispatched ambassadors to their three kings, *Theodebert*, *Childebert*, and *Clotarius*, offering to yield to them whatever the *Ostrogoths* held in *Gaul*, and besides to pay them a considerable sum, provided they joined him against the emperor.

He gains
over the
Franks.

The *Franks*, notwithstanding their alliance with *Justinian*, hearkened with their usual treachery to the proposal, and signed the treaty, the articles whereof were immediately executed by *Vitiges*, who paid them the sum agreed on, and ordered *Martias*, who commanded a chosen body of *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*, to deliver up to the *Franks* the cities he held there, and return with the forces under his command into *Italy*. The three princes divided equally among them both the money and the cities yielded to them by the *Ostrogoths*. But, when they were to execute on their side the articles of the agreement, they declared, that the engagements they had lately entered into with *Justinian* not allowing them to make open war upon the *Romans*, they could not, by any means, send an army of *Franks* to the assistance of the *Ostrogoths*; but they would cause a body of troops, raised in the countries which they had subdued, to join them. Accordingly they sent, not immediately, but the following year, ten thousand *Burgundians*, subdued by them a few years before, who, upon their entering *Italy*, declared, pursuant to their private instructions, that they came of their own accord, without so much as asking leave of the kings of the *Franks*, to whom they paid no regard. Thus early the *Franks* began to sport with the most solemn treaties, and elude them with quibbles and equivocations, as their descendants are well known to do to this day.

Vitiges
marches to
Rome.

VITIGES was no sooner joined by *Martias*, and the troops returned from *Gaul*, than he began his march to *Rome*, and pursued it with great expedition, not attempting to reduce any of the towns on the road, which, he knew, were well provided and fortified. *Belisarius*, being informed of his march, dispatched messengers to *Constantianus* in *Tuscany*, and to *Bessas*, by nation a *Goth*, but of the emperor's party, in *Umbria*, ordering them to join him with all possible expedition, with the troops under their command; for his army consisted only of five thousand men, the rest being employed in garisoning the many towns that had submitted. At the same time he wrote to the emperor, acquainting him with the danger he was in, and pressing him to send into *Italy*, without loss of time, the necessary supplies (1). *Constantianus*

mus

PROCOPI. l. iii. c. 13. & l. ii. c. 12.

(1) His letter to the emperor was couched in the following terms: "I have left *Sicily*, and, landing in *Italy*, pursuant to your orders, with the army under my command, have reduced great part of that country, and reunited *Rome* itself to

nas joined him, pursuant to his orders, and soon after *Bessas*, who, falling in with part of the enemy's vanguard, killed a considerable number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Belisarius* had built a fort upon a bridge about a mile from *Rome*, and placed a strong garison in it, to dispute the passage with the enemy; but the garison, seized with a panic at the approach of so numerous an army, abandoned their post in the night, and fled into *Campania*; so that *Vitiges* early next morning passed over great part of his army, and marched on, without opposition, till he was met by *Belisarius*, who, knowing nothing of what had happened, came very early, attended by a thousand horse, to view the ground near the bridge. He was greatly surprised, when he beheld the enemy marching up against him. However, lest he should heighten their courage by his flight or retreat, he stood his ground, and received the enemy at the head of his small body, exposing himself, without his usual prudence and discretion, to the greatest dangers. Had he been killed, *Rome* must have fallen; and therefore he is deservedly blamed for thus exposing his own person, since on him the safety of all depended; but this perhaps is the

*A bloody
encounter
between
him and
Belisarius.*

" to your empire. But as I
 " have been obliged to leave nu-
 " merous garisons in the many
 " strong places that have sub-
 " mitted to your arms, the army
 " is reduced to five thousand;
 " whereas the enemy is advance-
 " ing full march against us with
 " an army an hundred and fifty
 " thousand strong. I therefore
 " earnestly intreat you to cause,
 " with all convenient speed, such
 " supplies of men and arms to
 " be sent to us, as may enable
 " us to face so powerful an ene-
 " my. If they prevail, we must
 " abandon *Italy* to them, and the
 " city of *Rome*, which, above
 " all others, has exerted its zeal
 " for your majesty's service. At
 " the approach of your army,
 " the citizens, with great joy,
 " returned to their duty, at the
 " risque of their lives and for-
 " tunes. To abandon them

" therefore to the mercy of a
 " provoked enemy, would be
 " highly ungrateful; and, on the
 " other hand, it is a difficult task,
 " if not altogether impossible, to
 " defend so large a city against so
 " powerful an army without a
 " numerous garison. As for my-
 " self, I am indebted to your ma-
 " jesty for my life; and therefore
 " shall not suffer myself to be
 " driven from hence while alive;
 " but the death of *Belisarius* will
 " no-way redound to your glo-
 " ry." Upon the receipt of
 " this letter, the emperor ordered
 " *Valerianus* and *Martinus* to as-
 " semble, with all possible expedi-
 " tion, a body of troops to be
 " transported into *Italy*; and, in
 " his answer to *Belisarius*, assured
 " him, that he should, in a short
 " time, receive the necessary sup-
 " plies (1).

(1) *Procop. l. i. c. 24.*

only occasion, on which his conduct favoured of rashness and temerity. Being known by some fugitives, and discovered to the enemy, they all aimed at him alone, and directed their whole force against him; which made his own men the more solicitous to defend him; so that the whole contest was, for some time, about his person. In the end the *Goths* were driven back to their camp, which the *Romans* attempted to force; but they met there with such a vigorous resistance, that they soon abandoned the enterprize, and retired with precipitation to a neighbouring eminence, whence they were forced down by the enemy, put to flight, and pursued to the very gates of the city. Here they were in greater danger than ever; for those within, fearing the enemy should, in that confusion, enter with them, refused to admit them. The general himself cried out earnestly to them, telling them who he was, and commanding them to open the gates; but, as they had been informed by those who first fled, that he was slain, and they could not distinguish him, his face being covered with blood and dust, they gave no ear to what he said. In this extremity, having encouraged his men, who were now driven into a narrow compass, to make a last effort, he put himself at their head, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the *Goths*, imagining fresh troops were sallying out upon them, began to give ground, and, being vigorously pursued by *Belisarius*, retired in the end to their camp. Upon their retreat, *Belisarius*, not thinking it adviseable to pursue them, entered the city, where he was received with loud acclamations of joy.

Rome be-
sieged by
Vitiges.

A few days after, *Vitiges*, approaching the city, invested it on all sides; and, in order to distress the garison and inhabitants for want of water, ordered the aqueducts, which had been built by the *Roman* emperors at an immense charge, to be broken down. On the other hand, *Belisarius* omitted nothing for the defence of the city; the useless multitude he sent out; took care to have those, who remained, supplied with all necessaries; to prevent tumults, listed a great number of artificers, who, together with his soldiers, were to watch night and day on the ramparts; placed *Moors* in the night, with dogs, round the ditch, to give the alarm when the enemy approached; fortified the aqueducts where they opened into the city, &c. The citizens of *Rome*, concluding from thence, that *Belisarius* was resolved to hold out to the last extremity, began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and, rally at the general as one, who, without the least regard to the public calamities, was obstinately bent upon defending a place no-way tenable. *Vitiges*, being acquainted with the discontent and complaints of the citizens, to heighten them, and

and desire the inhabitants, if possible, to an open rebellion, dispatched ambassadors to the senate, assuring them of his favour and protection, and at the same time offering a safe retreat to *Belisarius*, whom the ambassadors, in the presence of the senate, upbraided with temerity and presumption.

THE senate and people would have willingly hearkened to the king's proposals; but, being awed by the presence of *Belisarius*, they dared not express their real sentiments; so that the ambassadors were dismissed without an answer. Hereupon *Vitiges* resolved to pursue the siege with the utmost vigour; which he did accordingly, shewing himself an able commander, both in the contriving of his military engines, and his disposing the attacks. *Belisarius* made a no less vigorous defence, repulsing the enemy in their repeated attacks, and sallying frequently out upon them with such success, that, in seven months time, *Vitiges* is said to have lost above forty thousand men; which provoked and incensed him to such a degree, that he caused the Roman senators to be put to death, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had carried with him to *Ravenna*. In the mean time a small, but seasonable supply of sixteen hundred horse arrived from the emperor, consisting of *Huns*, *Slavonians*, and *Antæ*, dwelling beyond the *Danube*. As these were all archers on horseback, they did great execution; for we are told, that, in three sallies, under the conduct of *Belisarius*, and their two leaders *Martinus* and *Valerianus*, they killed about four thousand *Goths*.

THE Romans, elated with this success, were for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement. This *Belisarius* opposed with all the arguments his reason and long experience could suggest; but he was in the end obliged, by the importunities both of the soldiers and citizens, to gratify them, and venture a battle. Having therefore exhorted them to render successful, by their valour, that scheme, which he had been put upon by their forwardness, he marched out with his small army, and fell upon the *Goths* with such resolution, that the Romans at first promised themselves certain victory; but, being in the end overpowered with numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The Romans lost on this occasion several brave officers, and among the rest *Principius* and *Tarmutus*, of whom the former was killed in the field of battle; and the latter, being rescued out of the enemy's hands by his brother *Ennes*, and carried by his men into the city on a target, died two days after of his wounds. The Romans, now satisfied by their own experience, that it was not safe to engage the enemy's whole army, contented themselves with sallying out upon them in small parties, in which

The siege pursued with great vigour.

The Romans, having obliged Belisarius to give the enemy battle, are defeated.

which sallies they were generally attended with success, entering in places great numbers of the aggressors.

Rome afflicted
with a famine and
plague.

Belisarius
receives
supplies
from the
emperor.

In the mean time *Belisarius* received advice, that a supply of money to pay the army was already landed in *Italy*. In order therefore to get it conveyed safe into the city, he marched out at the head of his army, as if he designed to try the fortune of a second battle. Hereupon the *Goths*, uniting into one body, abandoned the place, through which he had appointed the treasure and its convoy to pass; by which means it got safe into the city. By this stratagem one evil was successfully removed; but the besieged laboured under others more fatal and pernicious, a famine and plague, which made a dreadful havock in the city; insomuch that the citizens, no longer able to bear their calamities and misfortunes, would have forced the *Roman* general to venture a second battle, had he not, with great confidence, assured them, that he daily expected large supplies from the emperor; that a vast army was on full march to join him; that a mighty fleet was already arrived, such a fleet as no *Roman* eye had ever beheld; for it covered the shores of *Campania*, and the *Ionian* gulph. To give weight and authority to what he said, he dispatched *Procopius* the historian to *Naples*, with orders to head the troops, which he pretended to be already arrived in that city: and truly a considerable supply did at length arrive at *Naples*, at *Otranto*, and other ports, to wit, three thousand *Isaurians*, eight hundred *Thracian* horse, and thirteen hundred horse of other nations. These, in their march through *Campania*, were joined by five hundred men newly raised in that country, and, marching close to the shore, arrived at *Ostia*; whence they marched to *Rome*, which they entered by the *Ostian* gate, while the enemy's forces were employed against *Belisarius*, who had sallied out with the greatest part of the garison at the *Flaminian* gate on the opposite side of the city, to give his supplies an opportunity of entering without loss or opposition.

The deplorable condition of the *Goths*. THE *Goths*, hearing of the arrival of these troops, and their numbers being said to be far greater than they really were, as is usual on such occasions, began to despair of ever being able to master the city, the more as they laboured under as great hardships as the besieged themselves, the famine and plague making a dreadful havock in their army, which was now greatly reduced. They therefore began now to think of abandoning the enterprize, and retreating upon the best terms they could obtain. Accordingly, they sent three deputies into the city to treat with *Belisarius*; but the only thing they could obtain, was a cessation of arms for three months, during which time they might send ambassadors to the emperor,

or, who should be allowed to return home unmolested, even after the expiration of the truce. No further mention is made of the ambassadors; but, as the siege was continued after the expiration of the truce, it is plain from thence, that they did not succeed in their negotiations at *Constantinople*.

DURING the truce, *Belisarius* sent out of *Rome* as many of his forces as he could spare, under the command of one *John*, an officer of great experience, with orders to intercept the enemy's convoys as soon as the truce was expired, and attempt such places as they thought they could reduce without great loss. These, entering *Picenum*, which supplied the army before *Rome* with provisions, laid waste that province far and near; and, approaching *Rimini*, killed *Ulitheus*, uncle to *Vitiges*, attempting to oppose them, and made themselves masters of that city. *Vitiges* had, in the mean time, made several attempts upon *Rome*; but, though all his efforts, and the many stratagems he made use of to get into the city, were defeated by *Belisarius*, he still pursued the siege with great obstinacy, till news were brought him of the taking of *Rimini*; which alarmed him to such a degree, as that city was but a day's journey from *Ravenna*, that he immediately broke up the siege, after it had lasted a year and nine days, and by day-break retired in good order. *Belisarius* did not slip so favourable an opportunity of annoying the enemy; but, falling upon their rear as they were passing the bridge on the *Tiber*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, while others, struck with a panic, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned.

FROM *Rome* *Vitiges* marched straight to *Rimini*, being resolved, at all events, to force that important place out of the enemy's hands. *Belisarius*, not doubting but that was his design, took care to have such supplies put into the city as could be spared, dispatching *Ildeger* and *Martinus* with a thousand horse, and ordering them to draw the foot out of *Ancona*, and march with them to *Rimini*. His orders were executed with such expedition, that *Vitiges*, on his arrival before the town, found it in a condition to hold out for a long time. However, he invested it on all sides, and began to batter it with a great number of engines; but, being repulsed with great loss in several attacks, he resolved to reduce it by a mine. *Belisarius*, to make a powerful diversion, and oblige the king to raise the siege, sent a strong detachment, under the conduct of *Mundilas*, to surprise *Milan*; which he took without opposition, and, in a short time, made himself master of all *Liguria*, the enemy's forces being all employed before

Rimini
taken by
the Ro-
mans.

The Goths
raise the
siege of
Rome.
Year of
the flood
2886.
Of Christ
538.
Of Rome
1286.

fore *Rimini*. *Vitiges*, hearing that *Milan* was fallen into an enemy's hands, dispatched *Uraia*, his sister's son, at the head of a strong detachment, to recover that important place, and the rest of *Liguria*. *Uraia*, being joined by the ten thousand *Burgundians*, of whom we have spoken above, sent by *Theobert* king of the *Franks*, laid close siege to *Milan*, and, in a short time, reduced it to the last extremity.

WHILE *Vitiges* was thus busied in the siege of *Rimini*, and *Uraia* in that of *Milan*, *Belisarius*, leaving a small garison in *Rome*, marched towards the former place, with a design to cut off the communication between the *Goths* before *Rimini* and those in *Auximum*, now *Osimo*, a strong town held by them. On his march, he made himself master of *Tudera* and *Clusium*; and, at the latter place, received intelligence, that the celebrated *Narfes* was arrived from *Constantinople* in *Picenum* with fresh supplies, to wit, with five thousand *Romans*, and two thousand *Heruli*. They were all commanded in chief by *Narfes*, and, under him, the *Romans* by *Justin*, the general of *Illyricum*, and by *Narfes* the *Armenian*. The *Heruli* were headed by three of their countrymen; *Vithandus*, *Aloethes*, and *Phanatheus*. Upon this intelligence, *Belisarius* marched into *Picenum*, and the two armies joined at *Firmum*, now *Fermo*, where a council of war was held, wherein they deliberated, whether it was most expedient for the emperor's service to besiege *Auximum*, or relieve *Rimini*. If they marched to *Rimini*, *Belisarius* apprehended, that the enemy from *Auximum* would harass and lay waste the neighbouring country, which had submitted to the *Romans*. On the other hand, it was thought unreasonable to suffer the besieged to perish for want of assistance. * As *Narfes* had a great kindness for *John*, who was shut up in the place, he earnestly pressed *Belisarius* to deliver him from the imminent danger both he and the garison were in. *Belisarius* at first refused to comply with his request; but, a messenger seasonably arriving with letters from *John*, wherein he declared, that, unless he was relieved in seven days, he must deliver up the town, *Belisarius* agreed to march to his relief. Having therefore left a thousand men at *Firmum*, under the command of *Aratius*, to awe the garison of *Auximum*, he divided his army into three bodies, whereof one was embarked on a great number of vessels, another marched along the shore under the conduct of *Martinus*, and the third was led by *Belisarius* himself, and by *Narfes*, over the mountains. This division of the forces had the desired effect; for *Vitiges*, seeing a great fleet appear, and at the same time two armies, which, from the many fires they made in the night, he concluded to be very numerous, broke up the siege, and fled in such haste, that the

Narfes arrived in Italy with fresh supplies.

Rimini relieved.

greatest

greatest part of the baggage was left behind. The confusion of the *Goths* was so great, that, had not the garison been extremely feeble for want of sustenance, they might have easily cut them off in their disorderly retreat, and at once put an end to the war¹.

AFTER this success, jealousies began to arise between *Belisarius* and *NarSES*, which were carried to such an height, Misunder-
standing
between
Belisarius
and NarSES. that the latter, refusing to obey the former, required that the army might be divided, that each of them might command a separate body, and act independently of one another, it being reasonable, that they should both have their share in the glory of conquering *Italy*, and reuniting it to the empire. This gave great uneasiness to *Belisarius*, who, apprehending that the dividing of the army might prove highly prejudicial to the emperor's service, alleged many reasons against it; but, finding *NarSES* obstinate, he produced the emperor's letter to him, wherein *Justinian* declared, that he had not sent *NarSES* into *Italy* to command the army, but to serve under *Belisarius*, and, with the rest of the officers, to obey and execute his orders in all things relating to his service, and the welfare of the state. *NarSES*, laying hold of the last words of the letter, endeavoured to prove, that what *Belisarius* proposed was repugnant to the good of the state, and consequently that he was not obliged to obey him.

THIS animosity and misunderstanding between the two generals bred such a division in the army, that, *Belisarius* having undertaken the siege of *Urbino*, *John*, with several of the chief officers, and great part of the forces, encamped at a distance from him, and, before he began to batter the place, withdrew with *NarSES* in the night, and returned to *Rimini*. However, *Belisarius*, thinking he could master the place with-
Belisarius
takes Ur-
binum; out them, prepared for an assault; but, as he was marching up to the walls, the besieged, to the great surprize of the *Romans*, desired to capitulate, and, upon promise of indemnity, opened their gates, and submitted. This unexpected submission was owing to their want of water; for the only fountain the *Goths* had in the city failed on a sudden, which unforeseen accident obliged them to submit to the best terms they could obtain. *NarSES*, who lay idle at *Rimini*, greatly surprised at this sudden success, and looking upon the reduction of the place as a reflection upon himself (for he had been persuaded by *John*, that it was impregnable), to redeem his reputation, dispatched *John*, with part of the forces that had followed him, against the city of *Casena*; but, the garison making a vigorous resistance, *John*, retiring from before it in

¹ PROCOF. l. ii. c. 10—13.

and Narses the night, surprised *Forum Cornelii*, now *Imola*, and, by de-
 reduces gres, reduced all *Æmia*, the *Goths*, disheartened with so
 Imola. many losses, not daring to venture an engagement. As for

Urbiven-
 tum sub-
 mits to
 Belisarius.

Belisarius, from *Urbium* he marched to *Urbiventum*, at a
 small distance from *Rome*. As the place was well fortified,
 and defended by a numerous garison, under the command of
Albilas, an officer of great reputation among the *Goths*, *Belisarius*,
 after several unsuccessful attacks, sat down before it,
 with a design to reduce it by famine; which he did accord-
 ingly, after the besieged had for some time fed upon grass,
 and skins soaked in water. And now the season being far
 advanced, both *Belisarius* and *Narses* retired with their re-
 spective corps to winter-quarters ^k.

Milan
 closely be-
 sieged by
 the *Goths*.

ALL this while *Milan* was closely besieged by the *Goths*
 and *Burgundians*. *Mundilas*, who commanded in the town,
 acquainted *Belisarius* with the deplorable condition to which
 the city was reduced, who thereupon ordered *Martinus* and
Uliaris to march with a considerable body to their relief; but
 these two generals, advancing as far as the *Po*, encamped on
 the banks of that river, and, though earnestly solicited by
 their distressed friends to hasten to their assistance, they con-
 tinued there, excusing themselves to *Belisarius*, and pretending in
 the letter they wrote to him, that the *Goths* and *Burgundians*
 in *Liguria* being too strong for them, they did not think it ad-
 viseable to proceed farther, till they were joined by more forces.
 Upon the receipt of this letter, *Belisarius* ordered *John* and
Justin to join them with all expedition; which they refused to
 do, till they received the like orders from *Narses*; to whom
Belisarius immediately wrote on that subject, desiring that the
 public might not suffer by their private emulation. *Narses*,
 convinced of the reasonableness of this remonstrance, wrote
 to *John*, commanding him to obey the general's orders; but,
 during these delays, the *Romans* in *Milan* being reduced by
 famine to the last extremity, *Mundilas* was forced by his own
 men to accept the terms offered him by the *Goths*, who pro-
 mised to let the garison retire unmolested.

Milan
 taken by
 the *Goths*,
 and the ci-
 tizens
 massacred.

THUS was *Milan* surrendered to the enemy, who, in breach
 of the articles agreed on, made *Mandilas* and the garison
 prisoners of war, demolished the city, put all those to the
 sword who were able to bear arms, to the number of three
 hundred thousand, and, making the women slaves, gave them
 as a reward to the *Burgundians*. *Reparatus*, a prefect, and
 officer of great distinction, was cut in pieces, and his mangled
 body thrown to the dogs. *Bergantinus*, with a few more,
 escaped; and, passing through *Veneria* and *Dabnatia*, brought
 the melancholy news of this disaster to the emperor at *Con-*

^k PROCOF. l. ii. c. 11, 14.

Constantinople. *Martinus* and *Uliaris* returned with shame and disgrace to *Rome*, while the *Goths*, encouraged by this success, pursued their good fortune, and reduced all *Liguria*. *Belisarius* acquainted the emperor with what had passed, who, ascribing the loss of *Milan* to the disagreement between him and *Narses*, recalled the latter, and confirmed the former in the supreme command which he had conferred upon him in the beginning of the war¹. The recalling of *Narses* was a great disappointment to *Vitiges*, who had promised himself many advantages from the disagreement of the generals; but, finding his hopes defeated, and concluding, from the preparations *Belisarius* was making during the winter, that he intended to march against him early in the spring with all his forces, and besiege him in *Ravenna* itself, he was greatly perplexed what measures he should take to avert the impending storm, or to whom he should recur for assistance. He knew there was no depending upon the *Franks*, by whom he had been lately deceived, and who, he was well apprised, would, under some pretence or other, elude the most solemn treaties and engagements.

He therefore had recourse to *Varis* or *Varis* king of the *Lombards*, whom he endeavoured to draw to his assistance with the offer of a large sum, but, finding him unalterably steady to the alliance he had lately concluded with the emperor, he was advised to send ambassadors to *Chosroes* king of *Persia*, to try whether he could persuade that prince to invade the *Roman* territories; for such an enemy, said his counsellors, would make a powerful diversion, oblige the emperor to recall *Belisarius*, and make him lay aside all thoughts of extending his dominions in the West, since the security and defence of the Eastern provinces were of far greater consequence both to his interest and reputation. *Vitiges*, highly pleased with this advice, found two *Ligurian* priests, who undertook the journey to the *Persian* court, and, arriving safe there, persuaded *Chosroes* to make war upon the empire, by remonstrating to him, that, if he continued inactive, and suffered the *Goths* to be destroyed, and *Italy* reunited to the empire, the *Romans*, by that accession, would recover their ancient power, which they would not fail to employ against him, being still prompted by the same ambition, which had proved so fatal to his predecessors^m. *Vitiges* was overjoyed, when, upon the return of the ambassadors, he understood, that *Chosroes* was resolved upon a rupture.

HOWEVER, he received no great advantage from it; for, though it put a stop to the progress of the emperor's arms in

¹ PROCOF. l. ii. c. 25.^m Idem ibid. c. 22.

Italy, and obliged him to recal *Belisarius*, this did not happen till the unhappy *Vitiges* was taken prisoner, and almost all *Auximum Italy* brought under subjection to the emperor; for *Belisarius*, pursuing the war with great vigour while the embassy of *Belisarius*, dours of *Vitiges* were negotiating at the *Persian* court, sat down with eleven thousand men before *Auximum*, the metropolis of *Picenum*, and at the same time sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Cyprian*, one of his lieutenants, to reduce *Fasulæ*, which, together with *Auximum*, opened a passage to *Ravenna*, whither he intended to follow *Vitiges*, who, from *Rimini*, had retired to that city. As *Auximum* was strong by its situation on an high and steep hill, and defended by a numerous garison, it made a vigorous defence; but, *Belisarius* allowing the besieged no respite, they were, after some time, reduced to such streights, that they dispatched messengers to *Vitiges*, threatening to surrender, unless they were speedily relieved. Hereupon the king dispatched *Uraia*, with a strong body of *Goths*, to their assistance, assuring them, that, in a short time, he himself would follow with his whole army. *Urgia*, having passed the *Po*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Auximum*; but, finding all the avenues to the city well guarded, he encamped at the distance of seven miles from the *Romans*.

The IN the mean time the treacherous *Franks*, thinking both nations sufficiently weakened by their mutual hostilities, resolved to attack both, and decide the dispute, by seizing the country for which they disputed. Accordingly *Theodebert*, unmindful of the oaths he had taken both to the *Romans* and *Goths*, passed the *Alps* at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand, as we read in *Procopius*, or, as *Jornandes* will have it, two hundred thousand men, and entered *Liguria*. As no hostilities were committed by them on their march through that country, the *Goths* concluded, that they were coming to their assistance, and therefore took care to supply them with what provisions they could spare. Thus they passed the *Po* without opposition, and, having secured the bridge, marched strait to the place where a body of *Goths* were encamped, who, looking upon them as friends, admitted them into the camp. But they were soon convinced of their mistake; for the *Franks*, falling unexpectedly upon them, drove them with great slaughter from their camp, and seized on their baggage and provisions. A body of *Romans*, that lay at a small distance from the *Goths*, under the command of *John* and *Martinus*, observing the sudden flight of the *Goths*, and concluding that they had been defeated by *Belisarius*, flew to join him, when the *Franks*, falling unawares upon them,

and fall
both upon
the *Goths*
and *Romans*.

treated

treated them as they had done the *Goths*. As the *Romans* were not able, in that confusion, to recover their camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and thence dispatched a messenger to *Belisarius*, with an account of their misfortune. The *Franks*, thus become masters of both camps, found in them good store of provisions, and a considerable booty; but the provisions being soon consumed by their numerous army, and the country round about quite exhausted, they were obliged, by the famine that began to rage among them, and the diseases that were occasioned by their unwholesome food, and are said to have swept off one third of their army, to give over all thoughts of advancing farther into the country, or making any conquests in *Italy*, which thus early became, as it is now stiled, *The tomb of the French*. At the same time *Belisarius*, fearing the *Franks* might in the end be persuaded by the *Goths* to join them, wrote to *Theodebert*, expostulating with him in a friendly manner for his breach of faith, and telling him, that the emperor's affairs were not in such a desperate condition, as to render him incapable of resenting in due time, as he ought, affronts of this nature. *Theodebert*, moved with this letter, but more with the opprobrious language of his men, openly reviling him for suffering them to starve in a barren and impoverished country, decamped with such of them as were able to march; and, passing through *Liguria*, where he destroyed *Genoa*, and several other places, he returned home loaded with booty. *They re- turn home loaded with booty.*

ALL this time the two garisons of *Auximum* and *Fasula* held out with incredible resolution. The former, being reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved once more to solicit the king for relief; but, not being able to send any messenger out of the town, which was closely blocked up on all sides, they corrupted with a large sum a soldier in the *Roman* army, who was placed near the walls, to prevent the inhabitants from cutting the grass that grew there, the only food they now had, to carry a letter to the king, wherein they acquainted him with the condition to which they were reduced. The king returned answer, That, without fail, they should be relieved in a few days; and, with friendly words, encouraged them to bear but a little while longer their hardships, which he might call his own, since he felt them no less than they. The besieged were so encouraged with this answer, that they rejected all the offers made them by *Belisarius*. But, finding the king did not come to their relief, they dispatched the same soldier to him a second time, ac- *Auximum holds out with great obstinacy.*

^a PROCOPI. l. ii. c. 25. GREG. TUR. hist. l. iii. c. 32. MAR. AYGENT. chron. ad ann. 539.

quainting him, that, unless they were relieved in five days, they should be obliged to surrender. The king replied as he had done before, giving them hopes of a speedy relief. *Belisarius* in the mean time, who was well acquainted with the streights to which they were reduced, in order to discover what encouraged them to hold out with so much obstinacy, appointed some of his men to watch those, who came out of the town to gather grass, and to take, if possible, some of them prisoners. They had the good luck to surprize one, who, being brought before the general, owned to him, that, by means of one of his men, they had corresponded with the king, who had assured them, that they should be speedily relieved. Hereupon the soldier, by name *Barcensiris*, by nation a *Bessian*, was seized, and, upon his confessing the fact, delivered up to be punished by his countrymen, who condemned him to be burnt alive. *Belisarius*, finding them still obstinate, marched in person, at the head of a strong detachment, to demolish an aqueduct, which was near the walls, and supplied them with water. The besieged, sallying out to defend it, though quite spent with famine and hardships, made a great havock of his men; but were in the end, after a most obstinate dispute, driven back into the city. On this occasion *Belisarius* was in imminent danger of his life; but one of his guards saved him with the loss of his own hand. After all, the *Romans* found the aqueduct so strongly built, that they could not by any means demolish it; but *Belisarius* caused all the springs to be poisoned, hoping thereby to oblige them to surrender.

Fæsulæ The garrison in *Fæsulæ* held out against *Cyprian* with no less obstinacy; but in the end, despairing of relief, they surrendered upon terms. Hereupon *Cyprian*, leaving part of his army in the town, with the rest brought the inhabitants before *Auximum*, where *Belisarius* shewed them to the besieged, who, concluding from the surrender of that place, that the king was incapable of relieving them, desired to capitulate, offering to deliver up the town, on condition they might enjoy their lives and effects. This the general was inclined to grant; but the soldiers opposed it, declaring, that the wealth of the city was the due reward of their wounds, and the many toils and dangers they had undergone in the siege.

and at last At length it was agreed on both sides, that the soldiers should have one half, and that the other should remain to the inhabitants, who were to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. Upon these terms the gates were opened to the Ro-

Auximum.

mans, who took possession of the city in the emperor's name ?.

BELISARIUS did not continue long at *Auximum*; but marched from thence with his whole army to *Ravenna*, which he invested on all sides, both by sea and land, to prevent the importation of provisions. The place was defended by a very numerous garison, commanded by the king in person, who exerted all his courage and bravery in the defence of the metropolis of his kingdom; but, *Belisarius* pursuing the siege with incredible vigour, and great success, the kings of the *Franks*, especially *Theodebert*, alarmed at the progress of the emperor's arms, and not doubting but, if *Italy* were united anew to the empire, he would fall next upon them, dispatched embassadors to *Vitiges*, offering to assist him with an army of 500,000 men, on condition he would share the country with them. *Belisarius*, informed of this negotiation, in order to defeat the ambitious views of the *Franks*, sent embassadors to *Vitiges*, to put him in mind of the perfidy of the *Franks*, of which he had but a very fresh instance, and to assure him, that the emperor, on whom he might depend, was ready to grant him very honourable terms. The king, by the advice of the great men about him, rejected the proposals of the *Franks*, and shewed himself inclined to come to an agreement with the emperor. In the mean time *Belisarius*, to bring the king to his own terms, bribed with a large sum a citizen of *Ravenna* to set fire to a magazine of corn, which was the chief dependence of the besieged. This was done with such secrecy, that they knew not whether they ought to impute it to chance, or to design. They began to distrust each other, and some to conclude, that Heaven itself fought against them. At the same time *Belisarius* detached one *Thomas* with a body of troops against the *Goths* inhabiting the *Alpes Cottiae*, who, at his approach, submitted, with *Sisgis* their leader. Of this *Uraia* receiving intelligence while on his march to the relief of *Ravenna* with four thousand men, he changed his resolution, and went to attack *Thomas*, hoping to surprize him; but *John* and *Martinus*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Po*, suspecting his design, marched against him, and obliged him to retire into *Liguria*, where he continued, expecting better fortune.

VITIGES, upon his rejecting the offers of the *Franks*, had dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, to conclude a peace with the emperor upon the best terms they could obtain. These now returned, and with them two senators, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus*, sent by *Justinian* to conclude a

Terms pro- peace upon the following terms; to wit, that the country *posed by the* beyond the *Pa*, with respect to *Rome*, should remain to the emperor. *Goths*; but that the rest of *Italy* should be yielded to the

emperor; and the royal treasure of the *Goths* should be equally divided between him and the king. These conditions *Vitiges* and the *Goths* embraced with much joy; for they were already reduced to great straits. But *Belisarius*, not able to bear, that he should be thus bereft of the glory of ending the war, and carrying *Vitiges*, as he had lately done *Gelimer* king of the *Vandals*, captive to *Constantinople*, peremptorily refused to sign the treaty, and pursued the siege with more vigour than ever, without hearkening to the complaints of his officers and soldiers, who were quite tired with the length of the siege: he only obliged such of the officers, as were of opinion, that the town could not be taken, to express what they said in writing, that they might not deny it afterwards.

THE great men among the *Goths*, finding that *Belisarius* refused to obey the instructions he had received from *Constantinople*, and to sign the treaty, concluded from thence, that he designed to revolt from the emperor, and conquer *Italy* for himself. On the other hand, being weary of *Vitiges*, and unwilling to submit to *Justinian*, who, they apprehended, would transplant them into *Thrace*, or some other barren or of country, they privately agreed among themselves to declare *the West*. *Belisarius* emperor of the West; and accordingly dispatched a messenger to him, assuring him, that they were ready to swear allegiance to him. *Belisarius* abhorred in his heart the name of usurper; but nevertheless, to forward the surrender of the city, and put an end to the war, he pretended to accept of the offer, after having acquainted the chief officers of the army with all that passed, lest they should imagine, that he really designed to usurp the kingdom of *Italy*, and thereupon revolt from him.

IN the mean time *Vitiges*, having discovered the plot, and finding himself no ways in a condition to defeat it, commended the resolution of the *Goths*, and even wrote to *Belisarius*, encouraging him to take upon him the title of king, and assuring him of his assistance. Hereupon *Belisarius* pressing the *Goths* to perform their promise, ambassadors were dispatched to him from the chief men of the *Gothic* nation, requiring him, before they acknowledged him for their king, to swear, that he would treat the *Goths* with humanity, and maintain them in the enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This oath *Belisarius* took, and was thereupon by the *Goths* proclaimed king of *Italy*, and admitted into *Ravenna*.

into *Ravenna*. He behaved with great moderation towards the *Goths* in the city, not suffering his soldiers to do them any injury; but seized on the royal treasure, and secured the person of the king. The *Roman* army, when it entered *Ravenna*, appeared so inconsiderable, that the *Gothic* women, in beholding it, could not forbear spitting in their husbands faces, and reviling them as cowards. *Procopius*, from whom we have copied this account, and who was an eye-witness of the triumphal ingress of *Belisarius* into *Ravenna*, tells us, that he was thence convinced, that, in human affairs, success does not depend on multitudes of men, or their valour or strength, but that some higher and greater power steers, governs, and directs all things to the preordained ends ^q.

Year of
the flood
2828.
Of Christ
540.
Of Rome
1288.

IN the mean time *Chosroes* invading with a mighty army the *Roman* dominions in the East, *Justinian*, looking upon the *Persian* war as of far greater consequence than the *Gothic*, recalled *Belisarius* to take upon him the management of it. It was believed by some, that the jealousy, which, at the instigation of the court sycophants, the emperor, say they, began to entertain of *Belisarius*, prompted him to recal this general. *Procopius* writes, that he was accused to the emperor by the other generals, as if he aspired to the sovereignty of *Italy*; that the emperor gave no credit to such calumnies; but nevertheless recalled him, because he wanted a general of his abilities to conduct the *Persian* war. Be that as it will, *Belisarius*, in compliance with the emperor's orders, began, as soon as he received them, to prepare for his departure, to the great surprize of the *Goths*, who could not persuade themselves, that, to obey the emperor, he would relinquish a crown. They did all that lay in their power to divert him from his resolution, and intended journey, but to no purpose; for *Belisarius*, inviolably attached to the service of his master, having settled affairs in the best manner he could, set out for *Constantinople*, carrying with him *Vitiges*, and his wife *Matefuenta*, several of the *Gothic* nobility, and the royal treasure. He was received by the emperor without the least tokens of distrust, who nevertheless did not ordain him a triumph, as he had done on his return from the conquest of *Africa*. *Vitiges* the emperor treated with all the respect due to his rank, and conferred on him the dignity of patrician. The king died two years after, and, upon his death, *Justinian* married *Matefuenta* to *Germanus* his own nephew. The other great men among the *Goths*, whom *Belisarius* brought with him to *Constantinople*, attended that general to the *Persian* war. It is remarkable, that the emperor

He returns
to Constantinople,
with the
king, and
the royal
treasure.

^q *Procop.* l. ii. c. 29.

^{*} *Idem* *ibid.* c. 30.

ror caused the royal treasure of the *Goths* to be exposed to the view of the senate ; but would not shew it, as he had done that which *Belisarius* had brought out of *Africa*, to the people, fearing perhaps to heighten his reputation among the multitude, by whom he was already almost adored *.

UPON the departure of *Belisarius*, the chief men among the *Goths* dwelling beyond the *Po*, in a great assembly, resolved to raise one of their own nation to the throne, in the room of *Belisarius*. Accordingly, they applied themselves first to *Uraia*, the nephew of *Vitiges* ; but he, out of respect to his uncle, not caring to take upon him the title of king during his life-time, declined the burden ; but at the same time advised them to make choice of *Ildebald*, at that time governor of *Verona*, a man of great address, and experience in affairs both civil and military, and nephew to *Theudis* king of the *Visigoths*, who, in all likelihood, would espouse his cause. The *Goths*, pleased with the advice of *Uraia*, sent *Ildebald* immediately for *Ildebald*, and proclaimed him king. The new prince undertook, and not without success, the re-establishing of the *Gothic* affairs in *Italy*. He had at first no more than a thousand men ; but the *Goths* flocking to him from all parts, and with them great numbers of discontented *Romans*, his army in a short time grew very considerable. The *Romans* were highly displeased with the conduct of *Alexander*, who, from his clipping the coin, was nicknamed *Forficula*. He had been sent into *Italy* by the emperor, to state the accounts of the army ; in which office he disobliged both the soldiers and officers to such a degree, that they became very ill affected to the emperor, and great numbers of them, finding themselves defrauded, not only of the rewards they expected, but even of the pay that was due to them, abandoned the emperor's service, and fled over to the *Goths*. Besides, *Bessus*, *John*, and *Constantianus*, whom *Belisarius* had appointed to command the troops in *Italy*, disagreeing among themselves, nothing of any moment was undertaken by them.

HOWEVER, *Vitalis* governor of *Venetia*, having drawn together what troops he could, and taken into the emperor's pay a considerable body of *Heruli*, took the field, and, marching against *Ildebald*, met him in the neighbourhood of *Tedvisum*, where, in the battle that ensued, most of *Vitalis*'s men were cut in pieces, and he, with the few that escaped, obliged to save himself by a precipitate flight. After this victory, *Ildebald* made himself master of the whole province of

He gains a
victory
over the
Romans :

* PROCP. lib. iii. c. 1. JORN. de reb. Get. p. 95. MARCELL. 4th ann. 540.

Venetia : but he did not live long enough to improve his victory farther ; for, a contest arising between his queen and the wife of *Uraia*, the king, giving ear to the complaints of his wife, first accused *Uraia* of maintaining a private correspondence with the emperor, and afterwards, with the utmost treachery and ingratitude, caused him to be murdered. As, by the murder of so worthy a man, he incurred the displeasure of the whole nation, one of his guards, by name *Vilas*, a *Gepid* by nation, whom he had disoblged, by giving in marriage to another a woman whom he passionately loved, resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to revenge the injury. Accordingly, while the king was one day feasting the nobility, attended by his guards, *Vilas* gave him such a blow on the neck with his sword, that his head dropped on the table while he yet held the meat between his fingers †.

He causes Uraia to be murdered.
and is murdered himself.
 Year of the flood
 2889.
 Of Christ
 541.
 Of Rome
 1289.

ILDEBALD being thus dispatched, the leading men among the *Goths*, without loss of time, chose *Eraric*, by birth a *Rugian*, to succeed him. The *Rugians* were a *Gothic* nation ; but their tribe differed in manners and customs from that of the *Ostrogoths* ; whence the people and soldiery were with difficulty brought to acknowledge him for king, though they knew him to be a man of great valour, and experience in war. In the beginning of his reign, with the consent and approbation of the *Goths*, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, to sue, as he pretended, for a peace, upon the same terms that had been formerly offered to *Vitiges* ; to wit, that the *Goths* should hold all the provinces beyond the *Po.* and the *Romans* the rest of *Italy*. But the ambassadors had private instructions to acquaint the emperor, that *Eraric* was ready to deliver up *Italy* to him, upon condition he paid him a certain sum, and raised him to the dignity of a patrician †. This private negotiation was not known till after the king's death. However, the *Goths*, generally discontented with the government of their new king, began to think of deposing him, and raising another to the throne. They cast their eyes on *Tatila*, nephew to *Ildebald*, a person of extraordinary merit, and one who had eminently distinguished himself in war. He commanded at that time the *Goths* in *Tervisum* ; and, upon the news of his uncle's death, had sent to *Constantianus*, governor for the emperor in *Ravenna*, offering, upon assurance of indemnity, to deliver up to him both the place and the garison. *Constantianus* readily accepted the offer, and, having promised upon oath to perform the articles, a day was appointed for the surrender of the place. But in the mean time a messenger from the chief men among the *Goths*, arriving at *Tervisum*,

† PROCP. l. ii. c. 30.

‡ Idem, l. iii. c. 2.

acquainted

He is murdered, and Totila proclaimed king.

Year of the flood 2890.
Of Christ 542.
Of Rome 1290.

The Romans make an attempt upon Verona ;

acquainted *Totila* with the design they had formed of deposing *Eraric*, and raising him to the throne. *Totila* frankly discovered to them the agreement he had made with *Constantianus* ; but told them at the same time, that he was willing to accept of their offer, provided they dispatched *Eraric* before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. Upon the return of the messenger, the *Goths* fell immediately upon *Eraric* ; and, having murdered him after a short reign of five months, with one voice declared *Totila* king ^w.

THE emperor, informed of the death of *Eraric*, of the promotion of *Totila*, and of the distracted state of affairs in *Italy*, sharply reprimanded his officers, who commanded there, ascribing the whole to their indolence and bad conduct. Hereupon they assembled in *Ravenna*, where it was agreed in a council of war, that siege should be laid forthwith to *Verona*, at that time the chief city of the *Goths* ; and, upon the reduction of that place, the whole army should march against *Totila*, who was at the head of a small body in *Picenum*. Pursuant to this plan, the army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, marched, under the command of eleven generals, of whom *Constantianus* and *Alexander* were the chief ; and, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Verona*, encamped within seven miles of that city. *Marcianus*, a man of great interest in the country, and well affected to the emperor's service, had engaged a citizen of *Verona* to betray the place. A centinel, privy to the plot, was to open one of the gates in the night, and admit a party of *Romans*, who were to secure the gate, till the rest of the army came up. This was a dangerous undertaking, there being a strong garison in the town, and the safety of those who were to be sent on the party, depending intirely on the fidelity of the centinel. The service was therefore, to the great disgrace of the *Roman* name, declined by all the *Romans*, but with great joy undertaken by one *Artabanus* an *Armenian*, who, advancing at the head of one hundred men, was admitted within the gate, which he secured with some of them, while others killed the centinels on the walls, and made themselves masters of the adjoining houses. *Artabanus* immediately acquainted the generals with his success, requiring them to hasten the march of the army ; but the commanders, being advanced within five miles of the place, ordered the army to halt, till they had settled among themselves in what manner the plunder of so wealthy a city was to be divided. This occasioned great disputes ; so that the night was spent before they could agree.

^w PROCOF. l. ii. c. 3.

IN the mean time the *Goths*, who, hearing that the *Romans* were masters of one gate, had fled out at another, and retired to an high rock not far from the city, discovering from thence the small number of the *Romans* in the town, and the army yet at a distance, returned into the city by the same gate they had gone out at, and, falling upon the *Romans*, obliged them to abandon the gate, and fly to the battlements, where they defended themselves with unparalleled valour. By this time the commanders, having agreed about the plunder of the city, approached the gates; but, finding them shut, they shamefully retired, though their companions, overpowered with numbers, earnestly called out for their assistance. *Artabanes* therefore, and such of his men as were still alive, seeing themselves thus basely abandoned, and despairing of succour, leaped down from the walls. Those who fell on the stones were killed by the fall, or rendered incapable of saving themselves by flight; but *Artabanes*, with a few more, having the good luck to pitch upon the ground, got safe to the camp, where he upbraided the commanders with their ill conduct, and want of courage. The *Romans*, after this disappointment, having passed the *Po*, marched to *Faventia*, now *Faenza*, where they were met by *Totila* at the head of his small army, consisting only of five thousand men. Hereupon the *Roman* generals having called a council of war, *Artabanes* advised them not to despise the enemy, though far inferior to them in number, but to fall upon them before the whole body had passed the river *Lamone*, on which stands the town of *Faventia*. But the commanders disagreeing among themselves, as it generally happens when they are equal in power, *Totila* passed the river without opposition; so that the two armies approached each other in order of battle.

WHILE they stood thus drawn up, waiting the signal, one *Valiaris*, a *Goth* of a gigantic size, and proportionable strength, advancing before the ranks, challenged any *Roman* to a single combat. *Artabanes* accepted the challenge, and, at the first encounter, ran him through the right-side with his lance; but, imagining, as the *Goth* did not fall immediately, that the wound was not mortal, he gave him a second wound in the belly, when the head of *Valiaris's* lance, which stood upright, falling upon *Artabanes's* neck, unfortunately cut one of the arteries. The brave champion, however, not apprehending any danger, rode back to the army; but, as the blood could not be stopped, he died three days after, to the great grief of all the emperor's true friends, who, from his experience, courage, and prudence, promised themselves great things. He had served first with high reputation in the *Persian*

A single combat.

The death of Artabanes.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

san army; but, being taken prisoner by *Belisarius* in the castle of *Sisaurium*, with all the *Persians* under his command, and sent to *Constantinople*, he offered his service to the emperor, who sent him, with the *Persians* he had formerly commanded, to his army in *Italy*, where he distinguished himself, as we have related, in an eminent manner. The single combat was succeeded by a general engagement, in which the *Romans*, confiding in their numbers, behaved at first with great bravery. But three hundred *Goths*, who had been ordered by *Totila* to pass the river at some distance, falling unexpectedly upon the rear, pursuant to their orders, they began to give ground, imagining that body to be far more numerous than it really was. Hereupon *Totila* charging them in front with new vigour, they first fell into great confusion, and then betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The *Goths* pursued them with great slaughter, took a great number of prisoners, and all their ensigns, and obliged the few, who had the good luck to make their escape, to take refuge, with their commanders, in the neighbouring towns *.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated
anew.

TOTILA, to improve this victory, marched without loss of time to *Florence*, and invested that city; but a considerable army being sent from *Ravenna* to the relief of the place, *Totila* thought it advisable to raise the siege, and retire to *Micole*, a town about a day's journey from *Florence*. The *Romans*, leaving a small garison in the town, pursued them with the rest of their forces; and it was agreed, that one of the commanders, marching with all possible expedition after them, should keep them in play till the others came up. The lot fell upon *John*; but unseasonable disputes arising among the commanders, and a report being spread, that *John* was killed by one of his own men, the army halted; and in the mean time *John* being forced to engage the enemy with his own troops only, he was utterly defeated. When news of this defeat were brought to the army, seized with a sudden panic, they all dispersed, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Totila* treated the prisoners he took in this and the former engagement with so much humanity, that, most of them entering into his service, his army was by that means considerably increased †.

Tuscany
and some
other
provinces,
recovered
by the
Goths.

THE following year, the eighth of the *Gothic* war, *Totila*, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of all the strong places in *Tuscany*; and, marching from thence into *Campania* and *Sannium*, reduced and dismantled the strong town of *Beneventum*, and laid siege to *Naples*; during which several detachments from his army took *Cumæ*, and

* PROCOF. l. iii. c. 9.

† Idem ibid. c. 10.

recovered all *Brutia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, where they found considerable sums, which had been gathered for the emperor. The *Goths* having thus seized on the tributes; and the money that had been levied to pay the army, the emperor's troops were reduced to great straits, and thereupon began to mutiny, and refuse to take the field; so that *Constantianus* lay idle at *Ravenna*, *John* at *Rome*, *Bessas* at *Spoletum*, *Justin* at *Florence*, and *Cyprian* at *Perugia*, the places to which they had fled after the late defeat. The emperor, informed of the bad situation of his affairs in *Italy*, ordered a considerable fleet to be equipped, and a great number of forces to be raised, committing both to the conduct of *Maximinus*, whom he honoured with the title of *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy*; but, as he was a man quite unacquainted with military affairs, naturally timorous, and indolent, *Justinian* appointed *Demetrius* to command under him, who had formerly served under *Belisarius* as general of the foot. *Demetrius*, to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms in *Italy*, resolved to attempt the relief of *Naples*, already reduced to great straits. With this view, leaving *Maximinus* on the coasts of *Epirus*, he sailed with part of the fleet to *Sicily*; and there, as he had but a small number of forces with him, he assembled a great many vessels, with a design to terrify the enemy, who would conclude, that so considerable a fleet had a proportionable army on board; but his heart failing him after he had put to sea, instead of sailing directly to *Naples*, he steered his course to *Rome*, in order to raise soldiers, and then return to *Naples*; but, the *Romans* refusing to serve against the victorious king of the *Goths*, he was obliged either to lie idle, or to attempt the relief of *Naples* with the few troops he had brought with him.

THE latter expedient he chose; but *Totila*, having timely notice of his design, manned with incredible expedition a great number of light vessels, which, unexpectedly falling upon him as he was riding at anchor on the coast of *Naples*, sunk every ship of his fleet, and made all on board prisoners, except a few, who betook themselves to their boats, among whom was *Demetrius* himself. The besieged being greatly disheartened by this loss, *Conon*, who commanded in *Naples*, dispatched a messenger to *Maximinus*, acquainting him with the deplorable condition to which the city was reduced, and earnestly pressing him to hasten to their relief. *Maximinus* was already advanced as far as *Syracuse*; but could not be persuaded to stir from thence for some time. At length, being threatened with the emperor's displeasure, importuned by repeated messages from the besieged, and openly reviled for cowardice

Year of
the flood
2891.
Of Christ
542.
Of Rome
1291.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
sea.

Another
Roman
fleet de-
stroyed.

cowardice by the soldiers, he sent the fleet to *Naples* under the command of others ; but, indulging his natural timidity, staid himself behind. As the fleet put to sea in the depth of winter, it was, by a violent storm, driven ashore near the enemy's camp, who sunk the ships, and, without resistance, made what slaughter they pleased of the seamen and soldiers. Few of them escaped being either taken or killed. Among the prisoners was *Demetrius*, who, after the loss of his own fleet, had gone aboard that of *Maximinus*. *Totila* ordered him to be led, with a rope about his neck, to the town wall, and there obliged him to exhort the inhabitants to surrender, by assuring them, that they were to expect no further succours, and that all hopes of relief were lost with the navy.

Naples
surrenders.

AT the same time *Totila* offered them honourable terms, upon condition they submitted immediately ; which they did accordingly, and were treated by him with the utmost humanity. As they had been pinched with a long famine, *Totila*, apprehending they might endanger their lives by indulging at first their ravenous appetites, placed guards at the gates to prevent their going out, taking care at the same time to supply them sparingly with provisions, but increasing their allowance every day. Being thus, by degrees, restored to their former strength, he ordered the gates to be set open, and gave every one full liberty to stay, or retire to what place he thought fit. He treated *Canon*, and the garrison, in a most friendly and obliging manner : for, upon their pretending to return to *Constantinople*, he supplied them with ships ; and, having discovered, that their real design was to sail to *Rome*, and reinforce the garrison of that city, which he intended in the next place to besiege, he was so far from punishing them as they expected, or even upbraiding them for thus imposing upon him, that, on the contrary, the winds not proving favourable for a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and ordered a body of *Goths* to escorte them to *Rome*. He dismantled *Naples*, as he had done *Beneventum*, not caring to weaken his army by garisoning the many strong-holds that submitted to him².

Totila
writes to
the Roman
senate.

TOTILA, now master of *Naples*, and most of the fortresses in those parts, began to turn his thoughts upon *Rome*. In the first place, he wrote a letter to the senate, whom he earnestly desired to draw over to his party, taxing them in gentle terms with the ingratitude they had shewn to the family and nation of the great *Theodoric* and *Amalasuntha*. He advised and intreated them to return to their duty ; put them in

* EUTROP. l. iii. c. 9. Continuat. Marcell. ad ann. 543.

mind of the treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers ; and concluded by assuring both them and the people of his favour and protection, provided they returned to their allegiance. *John*, who commanded in *Rome*, would not suffer the senate to answer this, or receive more letters from *Totila*, who nevertheless found means to convey other papers into the city, which were posted up by night in the most frequented places. The *Arian* priests were suspected of holding a private correspondence with the *Goths* and their king, who professed the same doctrine, and on that account were banished *Rome*. *Totila*, finding his letters and manifestoes had no effect on the senate and people of *Rome*, resolved to pursue other methods ; and accordingly, having sent a detachment into *Calabria* to reduce *Otranto*, which had not yet submitted, he marched, with the rest of his forces, against the towns in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The city of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, about eighteen miles from *Rome*, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants ; and, upon his entering it, he put all the citizens to the sword, together with their bishop. Several other strong-holds in that neighbourhood he took by storm ; so that *Rome* was, in a manner, blocked up by land, all communication with the neighbouring country being cut off.

THE emperor, greatly perplexed at the bad news he received daily out of *Italy*, and unwilling to lose *Rome*, which sent again was now in imminent danger of falling anew into the enemy's hands, resolved to call *Belisarius* out of *Persia*, notwithstanding the success that attended him there, and send him again into *Italy*. Accordingly he wrote to *Belisarius*, ordering him to repair forthwith to *Italy*, and to take upon him the command of his armies in that country. *Belisarius* no sooner received this order, than, leaving *Comagene*, where he then was, he set out for the West. In his way through *Thrace*, he raised above four thousand men at his own expence ; and, arriving with them at *Salonæ*, he dispatched from thence *Vitalius* general of *Illyricum*, with a body of troops, to the relief of *Otranto* ; at whose approach the *Goths* retired ; so that the town was reinforced with fresh supplies both of men and provisions. As for *Belisarius* himself, he embarked in *Dalmatia*, and came by sea to *Ravenna*, whence he sent several parties against the cities of *Æmia* ; but without success, though they defeated a small body of troops dispatched by *Totila* to drive them out of that province. After this, they threw themselves into *Auximum*, then besieged by the *Goths* ; but, finding there were not sufficient provisions in the place to maintain so numerous a garrison, they resolved to sally out,

Auxi-
mum,
Firmum,
and Ascu-
lum, be-
sieged by
the Goths.

and march to *Pisaurus*, now *Pesaro*, which stood at a small distance, and was still held by the *Romans*. In their retreat, two hundred of them were slain by the besiegers; but the rest reached *Pisaurus*, whither *Totila* pursued them, hoping to take the place by storm; but, being vigorously repulsed by the garison, he returned to the siege of *Auximum*; and at the same time, finding that *Belisarius* was not in a condition to take the field, he sent out detachments to besiege *Firmum* and *Asculum*, two places of great importance in the province of *Picenum*.

BELISARIUS, chiefly concerned for *Rome*, appointed *Bessas* governor of that city, and sent *Artasiris* a *Persian*, and *Barbation* a *Thracian*, men of valour, and great experience in war, to command under *Bessas*, strictly injoining them to make no sallies, in case the town was besieged. Being himself utterly unable to relieve the besieged towns, or put a stop to the progress of the *Goths*, he dispatched *John* to *Constantinople*, with a letter to the emperor, wherein he acquainted him with the situation of his affairs in *Italy*, telling him at the same time, that, being destitute of men, arms, and money, it was impossible for him to prosecute the war. *Justinian*, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered new levies to be made, the veterans being all employed against the *Per-*
Rome be-
sieged by
Totila.
sians. But in the mean time *Totila*, pursuing his good fortune, took several strong-holds and cities of great consequence, to wit, *Firmum*, *Asculum*, *Auximum*, *Spoletum*, &c. and at length approached *Rome*, which he invested on all sides. As he drew near the city, *Artasiris* and *Barbation*, contrary to the express command of *Belisarius*, made a sally, thinking they should surprise the *Goths*; but they were themselves taken in an ambuscade, and, most of their men being cut in pieces, they narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The town had not been long besieged, when *Belisarius* was informed, that a considerable number of troops, sent by the emperor, were in full march to join him. Hereupon *Belisarius*, committing the care of *Ravenna* to *Justin*, marched with a small body of forces to *Epidamnus*, where he met them. Soon after, *Narses* the eunuch arrived with some auxiliary troops raised among the *Heruli*, and commanded by *Philimuth*, and other leaders of their own nation. With part of this reinforcement *Belisarius* sailed to the port of *Rome*, which he was very desirous of relieving; and sent the rest, under the command of *John*, into *Calabria*, with orders to drive the *Goths* out of those parts, and then join him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. *John* took some places; but, being afraid to pass by the city of *Capua*, or to make any attempt upon

upon it, though defended only by three hundred *Goths*, he did not, pursuant to his orders, join *Belisarius* at the time appointed ^a.

In the mean time *Rome* being so closely blocked up, that no provisions could be imported either by land or water, a great dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The unhappy citizens, having consumed every thing that could give them any

- nourishment, and even the grass that grew near the walls, were in the end obliged to feed on their excrements. Several, to avoid the calamities they groined under, laid violent hands on themselves. In this extremity they flocked in great multitudes to *Bessas* their governor, earnestly intreating him to supply them with food, and, if that was not in his power, either to give them leave to go out of the town, or to deliver them from their miseries by putting them to death. *Bessas* replied, That to supply them with food, was impossible; to let them go, unsafe; and to kill them, impious. To raise their drooping spirits, he assured them, that an army was hourly expected from *Constantinople*, which, under the command of *Belisarius*, would oblige the *Goths* to abandon the siege, and retire ^b. *Vigilius* bishop of *Rome* sent from *Sicily*, where he then was, several ships laden with corn, to relieve the city; but they were all intercepted by the enemy, who, after the reduction of *Naples*, kept a great number of vessels constantly cruising between *Sicily* and *Rome*. In the end, *Bessas* suffered such of the citizens as were willing to retire, to go out of the city, upon their paying him a sum of money; but most of them either died on the road, or, falling into the enemy's hands, were by them cut in pieces. *Belisarius*, well apprised of the miserable condition to which the besieged were reduced, used all possible means to relieve them; but fortune, or rather Providence, seemed to fight against him; for his attempts, however well concerted, proved all unsuccessful; which gave him so much uneasiness, that he fell into a fever, and was thought, for some time, to be in great danger.

In the mean time the besieged, no longer able to bear the miseries with which they were afflicted, and despairing of relief, began to mutiny, and press *Bessas* to come to an agreement with *Totila*; which he refusing to do, four of the *Isaurians*, who guarded the *Porta Asinaria*, letting themselves down from the wall by ropes fastened to the battlements in the dead of the night, while their companions were asleep, went to *Totila*, and undertook to receive his army into the city. The king with great joy embraced the overture, and,

^a Procop. l. iii. c. 9, 10.

^b Idem ibid. c. 17.

Rome be-
trayed to
Totila.

Year of
the flood
2895.
Of Christ

547.
Of Rome
1295.

He spares
the inha-
bitants ;
but plun-
ders the
city.

sending four *Goths* of great strength, intrepidity, and resolution, into the city with the *Isaurians*, he silently approached the gates with his whole army ; which being opened by the *Isaurians*, with the assistance of the four *Goths* within, he entered the city at the head of his troops. Upon the first alarm, *Bassas*, with the other commanders, and most of the soldiers, fled out at another gate. Such as remained behind, took sanctuary in the churches, whither the inhabitants likewise fled. *Totila*, who had kept his men under arms all night, and united in a body, through fear of an ambuscade, finding he had nothing to apprehend, went early in the morning to *St. Peter's* church, to return thanks for the success of the enterprize. His men, in their way, killed six-and-twenty soldiers, with about sixty of the inhabitants ; and this is all the blood that was shed ; for *Pelagius* the deacon, throwing himself at his feet when he entered the church, with the book of the gospels in his hand, earnestly intreated him to spare the inhabitants.

TOTILA, highly provoked against the inhabitants, refused at first to comply with his demand ; but was in the end prevailed upon to forbid his *Goths*, under the severest penalties, to put any, either of the citizens or soldiers, to death. However, he gave them full liberty to plunder the city, which they did for several days together, stripping the inhabitants of all their wealth, and leaving nothing in their houses but the naked walls. Thus many persons of great distinction, and among the rest *Rusticiana*, the widow of *Boetius*, and daughter of *Symmachus*, a matron of exemplary piety, were reduced to beg their bread from door to door. In the house of *Bassas* was found an immense treasure, which he had scandalously amassed during the siege, by selling to the people, at an exorbitant price, the corn that had been stored up for the use of the garrison. The *Goths* were for putting *Rusticiana* to death, because she had persuaded, as they pretended, the *Romans* to pull down the images, and destroy the statues, of *Theodoric*, to revenge, by that means, the death of her father and husband. But *Totila*, taking her and all the women under his protection, secured them against the cruelty and insolence of the soldiery. Thus was *Rome* recovered by the *Goths* in the year of the Christian æra 547. the twentieth of *Justinian's* reign, and the twelfth of the war. *Totila*, according to the most probable opinion, entered *Rome* on the seventeenth of *January*.

TOTILA, now master of the capital of *Italy*, sent for the senate ; and, putting them in mind of the favours they had

received from the *Goths*, and the severe treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers, he bitterly reproached them for behaving so ungratefully to their benefactors, and, in the transport of his passion, threatened to make them all slaves; but, his anger soon abating, he pardoned them at the intercession of *Pelagius*, and dismissed them untouched. Soon after, he dispatched *Pelagius*, and one *Theodorus* a *Roman* orator, as his ambassadors to *Justinian*, with letters full of respect, in which he desired to live in peace and amity with him, as *Theodoric* had done with *Anastasius*, promising, in that case, to respect him as his father, and to assist him, when wanted, with all his forces, against any other nation whatsoever. On the contrary, if the emperor rejected his offers, he threatened to level *Rome* with the ground, to put the whole senate to the sword, and carry the war into *Illyricum*. The emperor returned no other answer, than that he referred the whole to *Belisarius*, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleased. *Totila*, provoked at this answer, and at the defeat of a body of troops, which he had sent to open a passage into *Lucania*, resolved to demolish *Rome*, so as not to leave one stone upon another. Accordingly he began with the wall, of which he threw down a third part, and was ready to set fire to the most stately and beautiful buildings of the city, when he received a letter from *Belisarius*, dissuading him from the resolution he had taken. *Belisarius* laid great stress on the grandeur and majesty of that antient city, which being raised to such an height of fame and greatness by the industry and valour of so many celebrated and eminent men, posterity would look upon him, who destroyed it, as an enemy to mankind, since he deprived them of so many monuments of the worth and merit of their ancestors. He added, that if, in the end, the *Goths* should prove victorious, he would never forgive himself for destroying the most beautiful city in his dominions, nay, the most beautiful and magnificent in the whole world. On the other hand, if, in the course of the war, fortune should happen to abandon him, he would, by preserving so favoured a city, highly oblige the conqueror, who would not fail to make him a suitable return; whereas, by demolishing it, he would preclude himself from all favour.

TOTILA, having seriously considered the contents of this letter, and weighed, with attention, the arguments alleged by *Belisarius*, resolved to follow his advice; and, laying aside all thoughts of destroying *Rome*, he marched with his army into *Lucania*. The senate he carried with him; and the rest of the inhabitants, with their wives and children, he sent, under a strong guard, into *Lucania* before him, not leaving

all the inhabitants. a single inhabitant in *Rome*. Being arrived in *Lucania*, he reduced all that country, and then marched with his army towards *Ravenna* ^d. Upon his departure, *John* seized on *Tarentum*, which he fortified with a ditch cut through the isthmus. The city of *Spaletum* was likewise recovered by the *Romans*, being betrayed to them by one *Murtianus*, a *Roman* soldier, who pretended to be a deserter. *Belisarius* had continued all this time at *Portus*, about ten miles from *Rome*; but, being informed that *Totila* had bent his march towards *Ravenna*, and being very desirous of recovering once more the capital of *Italy*, he led his small army thither; and, finding the city quite destitute of inhabitants, and a third part of the walls leveled with the ground, he undertook the repeopling of the place, and began to repair the walls. He cleared the ditch round the city, which had been filled up by *Totila*; and, for the present, contented himself with heaping huge stones, one upon another, in the many breaches, which he had made in the wall. The whole work being finished in the space of twenty-five days, and the city supplied with great store of provisions, which *Belisarius* took care to have imported by water, the antient inhabitants, who had been dispersed up and down *Italy*, returned in flocks, and were kindly received by *Belisarius*, who restored to every one his own house and possessions, and promised an immunity from taxes to such as were willing to settle there.

Rome regained and fortified by Belisarius.

Totila returns against it; UPON these news, *Totila* hastened back to *Rome*, not doubting but, at his approach, *Belisarius* would abandon the place, and return to *Portus*, which was strongly fortified; but finding, contrary to his expectation, that the *Roman* general was determined not to quit the city, but to defend it to the last, he encamped at a small distance from the walls, and early next morning advanced in battle-array, and began the attack with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their general, defended themselves with no less valour and intrepidity: so that the fight lasted from morning to night, when the *Goths*, who had lost a great number of men, returned to their camp. The assault was renewed the three following days; but *Totila*, being constantly repulsed with great loss, abandoned the enterprize, and retired to *Tibur*; where he continued for some time, leaving *Belisarius* at full leisure to complete the fortifications of *Rome*; which he did accordingly, and once more sent the keys of the city to the emperor. But the *Goths*, who had hitherto extolled their king, and, equaling him to the greatest heroes of antiquity, had accounted themselves happy in the choice, began to com-

but is vigorously repulsed by Belisarius.

plain loudly of his conduct, and, with great liberty, to blame him for not having either intirely demolished *Rome*, or left a strong garison in it, to prevent its falling anew into the enemy's hands. The whole army grew so discontented, that, when he prepared to march to the siege of *Perugia*, they betrayed a great reluctancy to follow him thither, till, in a set speech, he made an apology for his late conduct, ascribing his bad success, not to any want of foresight, or neglect, on his side, but to the inconstancy of fortune, which in all human affairs, but more especially in matters of war, bears a chief sway. Having thus regained the esteem and affection of his soldiers, he left *Tibur*, and, marching with his whole army to *Perugia*, he sat down before that city.

UPON his departure, *John*, who had continued in those parts, being master of *Otranto*, hastened into *Campania*, and there set at liberty the *Roman* senators and their wives, after having routed a strong party of *Goths*, that had been left by *Totila* to guard them. Hereupon *Totila*, to be revenged on *John*, rising from before *Perugia*, hastened, over mountains, and through by-ways, into *Apulia*, where he then was; but, falling unadvisedly upon him in the night, the *Romans*, by favour of the darkness, made their escape, with the loss of no more than an hundred men, and got safe into *Taranto*. This was a great oversight in *Totila*; for, as his army was ten times their number, had he waited with patience till daylight, he might have surrounded them, and cut them off to a man. In the mean time *Belisarius*, having received from *Constantinople* a supply of twelve hundred men, sailed with them for *Sicily*, being informed, that *Totila* designed to pass over into that island, which was then quite unguarded. But *Totila*, instead of making any attempt upon *Sicily*, invested with his whole army *Rusciana*, a city of great strength in *Calabria*. *John put to flight by Totila,* *who be- sieges and takes Ru- sciana.*

HEREUPON *Belisarius*, leaving *Sicily*, sailed to *Otranto*, where he received a second supply from *Constantinople* of two thousand foot, under the command of *Valerian*. He then ordered *John* to join him with the body he commanded; and, having assembled a great number of transports, he set sail for *Rusciana*, with a design to relieve that place; but, finding the *Goths* drawn up on the shore, and ready to receive him, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Rome*, sending *John* and *Valerian*, with part of the forces, to lay waste *Picenum*, and by that means oblige *Totila* to raise the siege of *Rusciana*. But the king of the *Goths*, pursuing the siege with more vigour than ever, detached two thousand horse into *Picenum*, who, being joined by the *Goths* in that province, obliged the *Romans* sent by *Belisarius* to retire.

retire. In the mean while the garison of *Rufciano*, being reduced to great streights, and despairing of relief, submitted to *Totila*, who, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, treated them with great humanity, receiving such of them as were willing to serve under him into his army, and suffering the rest to retire unmolested whither they pleased. Only *Chalazar*, who had formerly broken his word to him, he put to death, after having caused his hands and privy parts to be cut off ^c.

Belisarius recalled. DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the *Persians* having gained considerable advantages over the *Romans*, *Justinian* was easily persuaded by *Antonia*, the wife of *Belisarius*, to recal her husband, and employ him anew against that nation. *Belisarius* therefore left *Italy*, having rather lost the reputation he had gained by his former expedition, than acquired a greater; for, during the five years he commanded against *Totila*, he scarce performed any thing worthy of notice, being, as it were, in a perpetual flight, and sailing from one sea-port to another ^f (K). Upon the departure of *Belisarius*, *Totila* returned before *Perugia*, which he took by storm; but, according to his custom, spared both the inhabitants and the garison.

The Franks break into Italy, AND now the *Franks*, who had long continued quiet, concluding the *Goths*, as well as the *Romans*, to be greatly weakened by such a long and destructive war, thought it high time to lay hold of the opportunity, and, breaking into *Italy*, to seize, without distinction, on the countries belonging to both. In the very beginning of the war, the *Ostrogoths*, as we have

* PROCOPI. l. iii. c. 23, 24.

^f Idem ibid. c. 24, 25.

(K) *Procopius*, in his books of the *Gothic* war, which were published while *Justinian* and *Belisarius* were yet alive, lays the whole blame on fortune; but, in the *anecdota*, or secret history, he, or some other writer, charges him with several mistakes, and, besides, accuses him of levying vast sums on the inhabitants of *Ravenna*, of *Sicily*, and of all the places that had submitted to the *Romans*, on pretence of punishing them for having once sided with the *Goths*. He adds, that *Herodian*, governor of *Syretum*, not being able to supply him with the money he required,

renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and delivered up the place to the *Goths*, having no other means to redeem himself from the importunity of the avaricious and ever-craving commander. The same writer ascribes the misunderstanding between him and *John*, which greatly retarded the emperor's service, to *Antonia*, the general's wife; who, to ingratiate herself with the empress *Theodora*, the declared enemy of *John*, pressed her husband to dispatch him by some means or other; which *John* being apprised of, declined, as much as he could, joining or assisting him.

related

related above, not able to make head at the same time against the *Romans* and the *Franks*, attempted to gain over the latter to their party, by yielding to them the provinces they held in *Gaul*. This *Justinian* was so far from opposing, that, on the contrary, carefully avoiding to give the *Franks* the least pretence of making war upon him, he solemnly confirmed them in the possession of the countries the *Goths* had yielded to them, renouncing in their behalf all claims to the said countries. Thus, adds our historian, the kings of the *Franks*, whom he commonly styles *Germans*, became masters of *Marseilles*, an antient colony of the *Phœaciens*, and of the other maritim powers, with the sea itself. And now, continues *Procopius*, they preside at the equestrian combats in the city of *Arles*, and coin the gold, which they draw from the mines of *Gaul*, not with the image of the emperor, as they have done hitherto, but with their own *. Thus the *Franks* became lawful sovereigns of the countries formerly held by the *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*; and behaved as such, according to the observation of *Procopius*, by presiding at the equestrian sports in *Arles*, at that time the capital of *Gaul*, and coining gold with their own images. But no favours, no grants, could make the *Franks* forget their natural treachery, or stand to their engagements, when they had the least prospect of advantage from their acting contrary to them. The *Ostrogoths* had yielded to them the rich countries, which they held in *Gaul*; *Justinian* had transferred to them the claim and title he had to those countries. By their treaty with the *Goths*, they were to assist them against the *Romans*; by their treaty with the *Romans*, they were to stand neuter; and both treaties they equally observed; for, thinking both nations greatly weakened by so long a war, they laid hold of that opportunity to fall upon both; and accordingly, entering the province of *Venetia*, belonging partly to the *Romans*, and partly to the *Goths*, they seized it for themselves. and make themselves masters of Venetia.

In the mean time *Totila*, having received a reinforcement of six thousand *Lombards*, commanded by *Ildiges*, one of their princes, resolved to march to *Rome*, and one more attempt the reduction of that city. *Belisarius* had left there three thousand chosen men, under the command of *Diogenes*, an officer of great experience, and known valour, who held out, for a considerable time, against the repeated assaults of the enemy. *Totila* invested the city on all sides, and, from the very beginning of the siege, made himself master of *Portus*; *sieged by* so that, all communication being cut off both by sea and land, he hoped to reduce the garison in a short time by fa-

and be-
trayed to
him a se-
cond time
by the
Isaurians

Year of
the flood
2898.

Of Christ

550.

Of Rome

1498.

~~~~~

Some of the  
inhabit-  
ants cut  
off in at-  
tempting  
to retire.

A body of  
the impe-  
rial troops  
lift them-  
selves in  
the army  
of Totila.

mine. But against this evil *Diogenes* wisely provided, by causing corn to be sowed within the walls ; so that the town would, in all likelihood, have held out till the arrival of the promised succours from *Constantinople*, had it not been betrayed a second time by the *Isaurians*. One of the gates was guarded by a body of that nation, who, being discontented for want of their pay, which they had not received for some years, and hearing that their countrymen, who had formerly betrayed the city, had been preferred and enriched by the *Goths*, resolved to follow their example ; and accordingly, some of them having first had a private conference with *Totila*, they opened, at the time agreed on, the gate which they guarded, and received him, with his whole army, into the city. As *Totila* had caused the trumpets to sound at the opposite gate, pretending to attack the city on that side, the garison hastened thither ; so that he met with no opposition.

WHEN the inhabitants found the town was taken, they fled out at the opposite gate towards *Centumcellæ*, the only strong place held by the *Romans* in that neighbourhood ; but great numbers of them, and likewise of the soldiers who took the same route, were cut off by the *Goths*, whom *Totila* had placed in ambushes on the road, not doubting but they would fly that way. *Diogenes* escaped with a slight wound ; but *Paul* a *Cilician*, whom *Belisarius* had appointed to command under him, retired with a body of four hundred horse to *Adrian's* tomb, and possessed himself of the bridge leading to *St. Peter's* church, now *Ponte Sant' Angela*. There they defended themselves with incredible valour against the enemy's whole army, till they had no provisions left ; when they resolved to fall out, and either open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy, or die in the attempt. Having made this resolution, they embraced and took leave of each other, as ready to die ; which *Totila* hearing, and dreading the effects of such a desperate resolution, thought it advisable to offer them terms. Accordingly he let them know by a messenger, that, upon their delivering up their horses and arms, and swearing never to serve more against the *Goths*, he was ready to grant them leave to return to *Constantinople* ; but that, if they chose rather to stay in *Italy*, and serve under him, they should have all their effects restored to them, and be treated upon the same footing with the *Goths*. They chose at first to return to *Constantinople* ; but afterwards, changing their mind, they lifted themselves among the troops of *Totila*. Only *Paul*, and one *Mindus* an *Isaurian*, begged leave to return home ; which *Totila* not only granted, but allowed them a safe conduct, and money to bear their charges.

About

About three hundred more of the garison, who had taken sanctuary in the churches, abandoning their asylum, submitted to *Totila*, upon his promising to spare their lives.

HE was formerly bent upon destroying *Rome*, as we have hinted above, but diverted from it by *Belisarius*. Now he ~~he~~ <sup>he repaired</sup> made it his chief study to embellish the city, repairing, at a <sup>what he</sup> great expence, what he had formerly destroyed. He recalled <sup>bad for-</sup> the senate, and restored them to their antient rank and splen- <sup>merly de-</sup> dor, invited the citizens to take possession of their estates, <sup>stroyed.</sup> supplied the city with plenty of provisions, and, peopling it with *Goths* and *Italians*, exhibited the *Circensian* games, after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, and presided at them in person. This, so different from his former conduct, was owing to the answer given him by the king of the *Franks*, when he asked his daughter in marriage; to wit, that he would not dispose of his daughter to any but a king; and that *Totila* ought not to be looked upon as such, since he was not able to preserve the capital city, but had been obliged to demolish part of it, and abandon the rest to the enemy <sup>n</sup>.

AND now *Totila*, once more master of *Rome*, dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, with proposals for a peace, offering, upon the emperor's relinquishing *Italy* to him, to assist him as a faithful ally against all other nation whatsoever. But *Justinian* was so far from hearkening to the overture, that he would not even admit the ambassadors to his presence. Hereupon *Totila*, determined to pursue the war with more vigour than ever, having left a strong garison in *Rome*, marched with the rest of his army to *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he invested; but, *Diogenes* making a vigorous resistance, it was agreed between him and *Totila*, that he should acquaint the emperor with his situation, and that if, by a time prefixed, he received no relief, the place should be delivered up; and thirty hostages were given. After this, he passed with his army into *Sicily*, and, in his passage, made an attempt upon *Rhegium*; but finding the place strongly garisoned, he left part of the army to block it up, in order to reduce it by famine; and with the rest crossed over into *Sicily*, after He takes having made himself master of *Tarentum*. As he was em- Taren- barking his forces, news were brought him, that *Ariminum* tum, and had been betrayed to the *Goths* he had left in *Picenum*. Having passes over crossed the streights, he landed without opposition at *Messina*; into Sicily. but, not being able to reduce that city, he laid waste the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. In the mean time the garison of *Rhegium*, being reduced to the

<sup>n</sup> PROCOR. l. iii. c. 36, 37.

last extremity for want of provisions, submitted upon terms, and delivered up the city to the troops left by *Totila* before it.

*JUSTINIAN*, alarmed at the progress *Totila* made, forgave *Artabanes*, who had lately conspired against him, and sent him into *Sicily*, to defend that island against the *Goths*, and, if possible, to drive them from thence. At the same time he named his nephew *Germanus* general against the *Goths* in *Italy*, allowing him a large sum to raise troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, whence he was to march into *Italy* with *Philimuth*

*Germanus*  
appointed  
general in  
Italy.

commander of the *Heruli*, and *John* then general of *Illyricum*. As *Germanus* was a man of a generous temper, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he soon raised a very considerable army, not only the *Romans*, but the barbarians, flocking to him from all parts. With this army, the best the emperor had ever sent into *Italy*, he hoped to add to the reputation, which he had lately acquired against the *Vandals* in *Africa*, the glory of driving the *Goths* out of *Italy*, and reuniting that country to the empire. This, he thought, he might the more easily accomplish, as he had married *Matajuntha*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand-daughter of *Theodoric*, who, he hoped, would draw great numbers of the *Goths* over to his party; for he designed to take her with him into *Italy*. The *Goths* were greatly despirited, when they heard, that a general of consummate experience, universally beloved by the soldiery, and so nearly allied to *Theodoric*, whose memory they adored, was to command against them. On the other hand, the *Romans* began to take courage anew; and such of them as had been dispersed by their frequent defeats, assembling in one body on the borders of *Istria*, waited his arrival there.

AND now *Germanus*, having drawn together all his forces in the neighbourhood of *Sardica*, ordered them to be ready within three days to march into *Italy*. But Providence had otherwise disposed of affairs; for *Germanus* was suddenly seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, and all his great designs. The emperor, upon the news of his death, which gave him the utmost concern, ordered *Justin*, the son of *Germanus*, and *John*, who had married his daughter, to lead the army into *Italy*. But, as the winter approached, and they wanted ships to convey the troops thither by sea, they marched into *Dalmatia*, and there put them into winter-quarters, taking up their own in *Salona*.

He dies.

<sup>1</sup> PROCOF. I. iii. c. 36, 37.

Idem ibid. c. 39.

IN the mean time *Totila*, having laid waste great part of *Sicily*, sat down with his army before *Syracuse*; but *Liberius*, whom *Justinian* had sent with a Squadron to protect that coast, having forced his way into the haven, relieved the garison with a considerable supply both of men and provisions. However, *Totila* pursued the siege with great vigour, though valiantly opposed by the *Romans* within, who, hearing that *Artabanes* was coming to their relief with a mighty fleet, would hearken to no terms.

BUT, the fleet being dispersed on the coast of *Calabria* by a violent storm, and *Artabanes* driven to the island of *Malta*, where, with much difficulty, he saved himself, *Liberius*, despairing of relief, abandoned *Syracuse* to the enemy, and conveyed the garison by sea to *Palermo*. And now *Totila*, all *Sicily* having no enemy in *Sicily* to oppose him, intirely reduced that island, and, leaving four strong garisons in it to awe the inhabitants, returned to *Italy*, loaded with booty<sup>1</sup>. Early in the spring, *Justin* and *John*, who had passed the winter in *Salonæ*, having drawn together their forces, set out on their march to *Ravenna*. But in the mean the *Slavi*, passing the *Danube*, either at the instigation of *Totila*, or prompted by a desire of booty, broke into the *Roman* provinces, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. This greatly retarded the march of the army, the *Roman* generals being obliged to send strong detachments against them; which in the end obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and return home. But, before the two generals reached the confines of *Italy*, they received orders from the emperor to proceed no farther, but to wait the arrival of *Narses*, whom he had appointed commander in chief of all his forces in those parts with an absolute and uncontrouled authority. But, while *Narses* was making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, *Totila*, having equipped a fleet of three hundred galleys, sent them to pillage the coasts of *Greece*, where they got an immense booty. They made a descent upon the island of *Corfu*; and, having laid it waste, they sailed to *Epirus*, where they surprised and plundered the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Anchialus*, and took upon the coast many ships, and some among the rest laden with provisions for the army of *Narses*.

AT the same time *Totila* blocked up the city of *Ancona* by sea, and land, and by that means soon reduced it to great straits; which *Valerian*, who was then in *Ravenna*, being well apprised of, he acquainted *John*, who, pursuant to the emperor's orders, was waiting the arrival of *Narses* in *Dalmatia*, with the condition the city was in, earnestly soliciting

/ <sup>1</sup> PROCEP. l. iii. c. 40.

who are  
defeated  
by sea, and  
forced to  
raise the  
siege.

him to hasten to the relief of the only place the emperor had in those parts, and promising to join him with all the forces under his command. *John* had been ordered not to stir from *Dalmatia* till the arrival of *Narses*; but, venturing on this occasion to disobey his orders, he put the flower of his army on board forty vessels, and sailed with them to *Ancona*, where *Valerian* joined him with a squadron of twelve ships more. Upon their appearing before *Ancona*, the *Goths*, having manned forty-seven of their best ships, sailed out against them; whereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Goths*, quite ignorant of sea-affairs, were utterly defeated, thirty-six of their ships being taken or sunk, with all the men on board, and the rest driven ashore, where they were set on fire by the *Goths* themselves, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The *Goths*, after this defeat, broke up the siege, and, retiring in great haste, left their camp, and part of their baggage, to the *Roman* generals; who, having reinforced the garison, returned, *Valerian* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. At the same time *Artabanes*, having assembled his fleet, which, as we have related above, had been dispersed by a storm, landed in *Sicily*, and, every-where driving out the *Goths*, recovered all the castles held by them in that island. These losses disheartened the *Goths*, and *Totila* himself, to such a degree, that he once more dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople*, offering to yield *Sicily* and *Dalmatia* to the emperor, to pay an annual tribute for *Italy*, and to assist the *Romans* as a faithful ally in all their wars. But *Justinian*, bent upon driving the *Goths* out of *Italy*, ordered the ambassadors to return home, without suffering them to appear in his presence<sup>m</sup>.

*The Goths make themselves masters of Corsica and Sardinia.* *TOTILA*, finding *Justinian* would hearken to no terms, began to levy new forces, and make vast preparations both by sea and land. Having equipped a considerable fleet, he sent it against *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, both which islands were soon reduced. On the other hand, the city of *Croton* in *Calabria*, which had been long besieged by the *Goths*, was relieved by the garison of *Thermopylae* in *Greece*, conveyed by sea into *Italy*. But now *Narses* drew near at the head of a formidable army, bringing with him an immense treasure to supply the wants of the troops, and to pay the emperor's forces in *Italy* their arrears, which had been due ever since the beginning of the war. His army consisted not only of *Romans* levied by him in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, but of barbarians, who had flocked to him from all parts. Besides, *Auduin*, king of the *Lombards*, sent him a body of five thousand

chosen men; *Philimath*, prince of the *Heruli*, joined him with three thousand of his countrymen; *Aruth*, another prince of the same nation, came to his assistance at the head of a chosen body of veterans. A great number of *Gepidae*, *Hunns*, *Persians*, &c. cheerfully followed his banner, some in acknowledgement of his former favours (for he had been always kind to the barbarians), and others in expectation of spoil and booty; for they were all convinced, that the *Goths* could not make head against so numerous an army, commanded by a general of great valour, and consummate experience. *NarSES*, on his entering *Dalmatia*, was joined by *John*, and the army under his command; but, being advanced as far as the confines of *Venetia*, the *Franks*, who, as we have related above, had seized on that province, refused him a passage; so that, not caring, at so critical a conjuncture, to provoke that nation, by the advice of *John*, who was well acquainted with those parts, he changed his route; and, marching along the sea-coast, got safe, with his whole army, to *Ravenna*, where he was joined by the remainder of the *Roman* forces, under the command of *Valerian* and *Justin*. *NarSES* arrives with a great army in Italy.

HAVING staid nine days in *Ravenna* to refresh his army, and appointed *Justin* governor of that city, he began his march towards *Rome*. Being arrived at *Ariminum*, *Ursilas*, governor of the place, sallied unexpectedly out upon him with part of the garison, as he was looking for a ford, attended by a small guard; but a party of *Heruli*, coming seasonably up, put the *Goths* to flight, and killed *Ursilas* in the pursuit. The *Romans* might have easily made themselves masters of the city, the garison being greatly disheartened by the death of their governor; but *NarSES*, pursuing his main design, and avoiding every thing that could retard it, proceeded on his march, the *Goths* suffering him to pass the river undisturbed. He left the *Via Flaminia*, being informed, that a strong body of *Goths* guarded the narrow pass in the mountains called *Petra Pertusa*, now the *Furlo*; and, turning to the left, pursued his march towards *Rome*. In the meantime *Totila*, having assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of that city, marched through *Tuscany* towards the *Apennine*, and, having reached that mountain, encamped at a village called *Tagiria*, with a design to give the *Romans* battle upon the first advantage that offered. He had scarce formed his camp, when *NarSES* came to encamp on the same mountain, at a small distance from the place which was memorable for the defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, and was called *Busta Gallorum*, because the *Gauls* slain by him were buried there.



*A day appointed for a general engagement.* NARSES, upon his arrival, dispatched a messenger to Totila, advising him not to contend with the whole strength of the empire, commanding the messenger at the same time, if he found Totila bent upon war, to bid him appoint a day for a pitched battle. Totila, without betraying the least fear, told the messenger, that the dispute must be decided with the sword; and that, eight days after, he would not fail to meet the Roman general. Narses, suspecting some design in this delay, made the necessary preparations, as if he were to fight the day following: and acted therein very wisely; for the

*He is met by Totila.*

next day Totila advanced with his whole army in order of battle. Narses had in the night detached fifty men to seize on an eminence at a small distance; which they did accordingly. But Totila, equally desirous to gain it, sent several detachments of horse, one after another, to dislodge them. The Romans stood their ground, and, being animated by the example of their leader, named Paul, who behaved with unparalleled bravery, they continually repulsed the enemy, and obliged them in the end to give over the attempt, though far superior to the Romans in number, and supported by fresh supplies.

*A single combat.*

WHILE both armies stood in battle-array, waiting the signal, a Goth, by name Cocas, who had formerly served in the emperor's army, advancing before the ranks, challenged any on the Roman side to a single combat. The challenge was readily accepted by one Anzelas an Armenian, who slew his insulting adversary at the first encounter; and, returning to his companions, was received with joyful shouts by the whole army, who looked upon his success as an omen of their future victory. Totila, being informed, that a body of two thousand horse, whom he had long expected, were near at hand, in order to gain time, desired an interview with Narses; but, before the place was agreed on where they were to meet, the two thousand horse joined the army; and then Totila drew off his troops, and ordered them to refresh themselves, as if he did not intend to engage that day, it being already noon; but, soon after, he suddenly led them out against the enemy, hoping, by so unexpected an onset, to surprise them. However, Narses, who suspected his design, and therefore had kept his men in battle-array, received him with great resolution.

*The Goths defeated.* BOTH armies fought for some time with a fury hardly to be expressed; but in the end the Gothic horse being put to the rout, and retiring in great confusion among the foot, their infantry was by that means thrown into such disorder, that they could never afterwards rally. Narses, observing the enemy's army thus disordered, encouraged his men to

make

make a last effort; which the *Goths* not being able to withstand, they betook themselves to flight, leaving six thousand of their men dead on the spot. *Totila*, finding the day irrecoverably lost, fled, attended only by five horsemen; but was pursued, and mortally wounded, by a commander of the *Gepidae*, named *Asbadar*. However, he continued his flight till he arrived at a place called *Capra*, where he halted, and had his wound dressed; but he expired soon after, and was privately buried by those who attended him in his flight. As *Asbadar*, who gave him the mortal wound, did not know him, the report of his death was not believed by the *Romans*, till, a *Gothic* woman having discovered the place where he was buried, they opened the grave, and viewed the body <sup>a</sup> (L).

*Totila killed.*

*His character.*

*TOTILA* is highly commended by all the writers of those times, not only for his valour, but for his humanity, temperance, moderation, and, above all, for his justice and equity. Upon his accession to the throne, he found the affairs of the *Goths* in a most deplorable condition; but brought them, in the eleven years he reigned, almost to the same state, in which *Theodoric* had left them. *Totila*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, though a *Goth*, lived with the *Romans* like a father with his children, without making the least alteration in their laws, or form of government. *Procopius*, though a *Greek*, and consequently no friend to the *Goths*, could not help extolling, on several occasions, his mildness and clemency to the vanquished. The same writer often commends him as a great lover of justice and equity. In the many cities he reduced, he took particular care, that no affront should be offered to the women; and even put to death one of his officers for abusing the daughter of a *Roman* in *Calabria*, though he was a man of known valour, and the whole army interceded in his behalf: his estate, which was very considerable, he bestowed on the woman, to make some amends for the affront that had been offered her. In short, all the writers who speak of *Totila*, represent him as a person endued with every good quality becoming a prince.

<sup>a</sup> PROCOF. l. iv. c. 28, 29.

(L) Thus *Procopius*. But other writers tell us, that *Totila* was mortally wounded in the engagement; that he withdrew to have his wound dressed, but died under the cure; and that his men missing him, and concluding he was killed, betook themselves to a precipitate flight (2).

(2) *Evagr.* l. iv. c. 24. *Niceph.* l. xvii. c. 13.

Teia  
chosen  
king.

He endeavours in  
vain to  
draw the  
Franks to  
his assistance.

SUCH of the *Goths*, as had the good luck to escape the swords of the *Romans*, fled over the *Po*, and assembling at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, chose *Teia* for their king. He was deservedly esteemed one of the most valiant men of their nation, and had, on several occasions, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. His first care was, to assemble the *Goths*, who, after the late defeat, had taken refuge in the several strong-holds beyond the *Po*. Having secured the treasure, which his predecessor had left in *Pavia*, he endeavoured to draw the *Franks* to his assistance by the offer of a large sum, and by representing to *Theodebald* their king, that, if the *Romans* once recovered *Italy*, they would, in the next place, attempt, under some specious pretence, to drive them out of *Gaul*, to which they had no better claim, than the *Goths* had to *Italy*. The speech, which the ambassadors of the *Goths* made on this occasion to *Theodebald*, has been transmitted to us by *Agathias* °, and is well worth perusing. But the *Franks*, says *Procopius*, could not be prevailed upon to lend the *Goths* any assistance, choosing rather to seize on *Italy* for themselves, than to employ their arms in securing it either to the *Goths*, or the *Romans* P.

Narfes  
takes several  
towns.

IN the mean time *Narfes*, informed that the *Goths* had raised *Teia* to the throne, and that he was assembling his countrymen beyond the *Po*, detached *Valerian*, with part of the army, to watch their motions, and prevent, if possible, their uniting, while he himself marched with the rest towards *Rome*. On his march, he made himself master of *Narnia*, *Spoletum*, and *Perugia*; and then, approaching *Rome*, invested it with his whole army. *Totila*, before the arrival of *Narfes* in *Italy*, had burnt great part of the city; and, not having a sufficient number of men to guard the whole circuit of so large a place, he had surrounded with a new wall that part of it near *Adrian's* tomb, which seemed to him the most strong and defensible. Into this fortress or castle, as we may call it, the *Goths* retired with their best effects, at the approach of *Narfes*, leaving but a small number of men to defend the walls, where they seemed weakest; so that the *Romans*, by the help of scaling-ladders, got into the city without opposition. Then *Narfes* marched against the castle, which held out for some time; but the garrison, despairing of relief, surrendered in the end, upon a promise from *Narfes*, that their lives should be spared. Thus was *Rome* once more recovered by the *Romans*, and the keys sent again to the emperor.

Narfes  
takes  
Rome.

The cruelty  
of the  
Goths.

AND now the *Goths*, despairing of being able to maintain themselves in *Italy*, vented their rage on the *Roman* senators,

° AGATH. l. i. p. 27.

P PROCOF. l. iv. c. 34.

killing.

killing them where-ever they fell into their hands. Such of that body as had been confined by *Totila* to *Campania*, and were now returning to *Rome*, upon the report, that the city was in the emperor's hands, were all murdered by the *Goths* quartered in those parts. *Totila*, upon his leaving *Rome* to march against *Narses*, had taken with him, as hostages, the children of the principal *Romans*, to the number of three hundred, and sent them beyond the *Po*; and now *Teia*, finding them there, ordered them all to be put to the sword. At the same time *Ragnaris*, a *Goth*, who commanded in *Calabria*, cut in pieces fifty *Roman* soldiers, who had been delivered to him as hostages. *Teia*, during the siege of *Rome*, had conveyed the best part of the royal treasures to the castle of *Cumæ*, and secured it there with a strong garison. Hereupon *Narses* detached from *Rome*, where he continued to repair the ruins in the walls, a strong detachment to besiege *Cumæ*, and at the same time another to attempt the reduction of *Centumcellæ*.

BUT *Teia*, fearing the royal treasure might fall into the enemy's hands, resolved at all events to relieve the city of *Cumæ*, where it was lodged. Pursuant to this resolution, he drew together all his forces, and, passing the *Po*, bent his march through *Tuscany*. *Narses*, informed of the route he had taken, detached the greater part of his army to keep him at bay, till *Cumæ* had submitted. But he, avoiding the nearest way, and fetching a great compass by the sea-coast, got, without meeting the enemy, into *Campania*. Hereupon *Narses*, recalling his forces, marched with his whole army into *Campania*, with a design to oblige the *Goths*, if they attempted the relief of *Cumæ*, to come to a general engagement. Both armies encamped at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, being parted by the river *Draco*, now *Sarno*, and continued there two months, *Narses* not daring either to pass the river, the *Goths* being masters of the bridge, or retire, lest they should relieve the city of *Cumæ*. But at length *Narses* having erected on his side of the river several wooden towers, whence the *Goths* were galled with continual showers of arrows, and, by a fleet sent him from *Sicily*, cut off their communication with the sea, they were forced, through want of provisions, to abandon their camp, and retire to a neighbouring mountain, by *Procopius* called *Mons Lactarius*. Thither *Narses* followed them; but, not thinking it safe to attack them, he made himself master of all the avenues leading to the mountain, and by that means reduced them to such straits, that they resolved in the end to put the whole to the issue of a battle.

PURSUANT to this resolution, they came down unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, and gave a beginning to one of the

A bloody  
battle.

most bloody battles, if *Procopius* is to be credited, that ever was fought. The *Goths*, like men in despair, exerted their utmost efforts; and the *Romans* chose rather to die on the spot, than shamefully yield to an enemy so much inferior to them in number. During the action, *Teia* gave most surprising proofs of his valour and conduct, such as equaled him, in the opinion of *Procopius*, to the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Being well apprised, that the whole lay at stake, and that the fate of *Italy* depended upon the success of that day, he placed himself in the first rank, to encourage his men by his example. The *Romans*, discovering him, and knowing that his death would put an end to the dispute, and, in all likelihood, to the war, directed their whole force against him, some attacking him with their spears, and others discharging at him showers of darts and arrows, which he received on his shield, killing in the mean time great numbers of the enemy, who, with all their efforts, were not able to make him retire, or yield one inch of ground. When his shield was so loaded with darts, that he could not easily wield it, he called for another, and, renewing the fight, made a great slaughter of the *Romans*. Thus he shifted his shield three times; but, in the third change, having left his breast exposed, he was, in that moment, wounded with a javelin, and instantly died of the wound, falling in the place where he had stood from the beginning of the battle, and upon heaps of the enemy, whom he had killed with his own hand.

*Teia slain.*

THE *Romans*, seeing him fall, cut off his head, and, fixing it upon a long pole, carried it about, exposed to the view of the *Goths*, not doubting but, disheartened at that sight, they would yield in the end, and retire. But, notwithstanding the death of their king, they continued the fight, till, night coming on, both armies were obliged to retire. Early next morning they engaged anew, and fought with unparalleled bravery, till night again parted them. The third day, the *Goths*, despairing of being able to overcome the *Romans*, so much superior to them in numbers, resolved to come to an agreement with them; and accordingly sent deputies to *Narses*, offering to lay down their arms, provided such of them, as chose to live in *Italy*, were allowed to enjoy their estates and possessions without molestation, as subjects of the empire; and those, who were willing to retire elsewhere, were suffered to carry with them all their goods and effects. These terms being readily agreed to by *Narses*, and the other commanders of the army, the *Goths*, laying down their arms, either repaired to their respective dwellings in *Italy*, or, abandoning that country, retired with their effects elsewhere, after

The *Goths*  
submitted to  
the emperor.

after having promised never to bear arms against the Romans <sup>9</sup>.

Thus ended the dominion of the Goths in Italy, in the twenty-sixth year of Justinian's reign, the eighteenth of the Gothic war, and of the Christian æra 553. after they had reigned sixty-four years in that country from Theodoric to Teia.

SUCH of the Goths, however, as had been left by Teia in the strong-holds, refusing to stand to the agreement made by their countrymen, had recourse to the Franks, who, thinking this a favourable opportunity of seizing on Italy for themselves, promised to assist them against the Romans to the utmost of their power. Accordingly, they entered Italy, notwithstanding their alliance with the emperor, to the number of sixty thousand men, most of them the subjects of Theudebald king of Metz, under the conduct of the two brothers Leutharis and Bucelinus, giving out, that they were come to assist the Goths, but with a view to make themselves masters of Italy, ly.

with the assistance of those whom they pretended to protect. Narfes, informed of their march, resolved to reduce, if possible, before their arrival, such towns as were still held by the Goths. Having therefore left part of his army before Cumæ, which city Teia had committed to the charge of his brother Aligern, who refused to deliver it up to the Romans, even after the agreement, he marched into Tuscany, where the cities of Volaterræ, Pisæ, Fæjulæ, and several others, submitted to him; but Lucca held out with great obstinacy, the Goths there expecting to be relieved by the Franks. But the march of their pretended allies being retarded by the troops, which Narfes had sent to dispute with them the passage of the Po, the city, after three months siege, was obliged to submit. By this time Aligern, being reduced to great straits in Cumæ, began to consider with himself, that if the Franks, who were coming to his assistance, should in the end drive the Romans out of Italy, the Goths would be no gainers by their victory, since it was not to be doubted, but the Franks, whose treachery was well known, instead of reinstating the Goths, would secure the country in dispute to themselves. He therefore judged it more reasonable to deliver it up to the antient owners, than to strangers; and accordingly, opening the gates to the Romans, he put them in possession of the town, and the royal treasure of the Goths.

THERE were still remaining seven thousand Goths, who, being headed by one Regnares, had seized on a strong-hold near Capua, called Cassinum. Against them Narfes marched with his whole army; but, finding he could not storm the

Cassinum,

<sup>9</sup> PROCOPIUS. l. iv. c. 34. 35.

They deliver up  
the place  
to Narses.

place without great loss of men, he resolved to reduce it by famine. The *Goths*, who had laid up great store of provisions, held out all the winter; but, early in the spring, *Regnares* demanded a conference with *Narses*; which being granted him, he insisted upon such unreasonable terms, that the general dismissed him with indignation. This *Regnares* resented to such a degree, that, having gained an hill near the walls, he let fly an arrow at *Narses*, with a design to kill him; but, having missed his aim, the general's guards sent a shower of arrows after him, with one of which being mortally wounded, he was carried by his own men into the castle, where he died two days after. The besieged, disheartened by the death of their leader, submitted, upon promise that their lives should be spared. *Narses*, being admitted into the place, spared their lives, agreeably to his promise; but, to prevent their raising any further disturbance in *Italy*, he sent them all to *Constantinople*. As for the *Franks*, who had entered *Italy* under the conduct of *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*, their numerous army was intirely destroyed, partly by the sword, and partly by sickness, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place; so that now all *Italy* was anew brought under subjection to the emperor, and united to the Eastern empire, some of the *Goths* retiring elsewhere, but most of them remaining in *Italy*, where they continued to enjoy, pursuant to their agreement with *Narses*, the lands and possessions which they held there.

*NARSSES*, who had delivered that country from the dominion of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Justinian* to govern it as a province of the Eastern empire; which he did, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, till the year 568. when *Narses* he was recalled by the emperor *Justin II.* the successor of *Justinian*, at the instigation of his wife *Sophia*; and *Longinus* was sent to govern *Italy* in his room. As *Longinus* introduced a new form of government, we shall, in a few words, acquaint the reader with the alterations he made, and then proceed to the history of the *Lombards*, with which that of the exarchs, the successors of *Longinus*, is inseparably interwoven. The provinces of *Italy* had, ever since the time of *Constantine the Great*, been governed by *consulares*, *correctores*, and *praesides*, no alteration in the government having been made, either by the emperors who reigned after *Constantine*, or by the kings of the *Goths*. But *Longinus*, being sent to succeed *Narses* with an absolute power and authority, suppressed those magistrates, and, in their room, placed, in each city of note, a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of

Year of  
the flood  
2916.  
Of Christ  
568.  
Of Rome  
1316.

duke. The city of *Rome* was not more honoured than any other ; for *Longinus*, having abolished the very name of senate and consuls, appointed one to govern that metropolis with the title of *duke*, common to the governors of the other cities. For himself, he took the title of *exarch*, which, by the *Greeks*, was given to those who presided over a diocese, and consequently over the many provinces, of which the diocese was composed (M). This title was adopted by the successors of *Longinus*, who, residing, as he had done, at *Ravenna*, were thence called the *exarchs* of *Ravenna*. They governed all *Italy*, naming and removing the dukes at their pleasure ; and to them the people had recourse in all matters of moment. *Longinus* was sent by *Justin* to govern all *Italy* ; but great part of that country, in the first year of his government, was seized on by the *Lombards*, called in by *Narses*, as we have related at large elsewhere \*. This magistrate maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the East in *Italy* for the space of an hundred and eighty-three years, that is, from the year 568. when *Longinus* was sent into *Italy*, to the year 751. when *Eutychius*, the last exarch, was driven out, and *Ravenna* taken, by *Astolphus* king of the *Lombards*. The exarchs, who governed *Italy* during this time, were in all seventeen ; to wit, *Longinus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Romanus*, *Cullinicus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Joannes Lernius*, *Eleutherius*, *Isaacius*, *Theodorus*, *Olympius*, *Theodorus*, *Joannes*, *Theophylactus*, *Joannes Tyzacopus*, *Scholasticus*, *Paulus*, and *Eutychius* †. But, as the *Lombards* were the only people that invaded *Italy* during their time, and with whom they waged war in defence of that country, we cannot, without repeating the same things, separately deliver their respective histories ; and therefore shall now, pursuant to our plan, resume the history of the *Lombards*, in which the reader will find whatever has been transmitted to us concerning the exarchs, till the taking of *Ravenna* by *Astolphus*, and the end of the exarchate.

Vide supra, p. 504.

† SCALIG. isagog.

(M) Thus likewise in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, which was formed upon the model of the civil government, the bishop, who was put over one single province, was styled metropolitan ; but he, who governed a diocese, and consequently several provinces, was distinguished with the title of exarch,



## S E C T. II.

*The History of the Lombards, from the Death of Clephis, to Desiderius, taken Captive by Charlemagne.*

**I**N the foregoing chapter, we have delivered the history of the *Lombards*, from their first original to the death of *Clephis*, the successor of *Alboin*, and second king of *Italy*<sup>a</sup>; and shall now proceed to the history of the other princes of that nation, to *Desiderius* their last king, taken captive by *Charlemagne*. The *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephis*, who had treated them with great cruelty, resolved to be no more governed by kings; and accordingly chose none for the space of ten years, but, during that time, lived subject to their dukes, as we have related elsewhere<sup>b</sup>. The most powerful among these dukes, uniting their forces, entered *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. *Gontran* king of *Orleans* dispatched a considerable army against them, under the conduct of *Amatus* a patrician; who engaged them, but was cut off with the greater part of the army. After this victory, the *Lombards* ravaged *Burgundy* without controul, made a dreadful slaughter of the *Burgundians*, who attempted to oppose them, and then returned home, enriched with an immense booty. Encouraged with this success, they returned soon after, and laying the country waste, advanced as far as *Fibrodunum* or *Ambun*, where they were met by *Ennius*, called also *Mummulus*, at the head of a strong body of *Burgundians*, who cut them off almost to a man<sup>c</sup>.

Receive a  
great  
over-  
throw  
from the  
Franks.  
The  
Saxons  
and Lombards  
dis-  
agreed.

**A**BOUT this time, that is, about the year 578. the *Saxons*, who, as we have related elsewhere<sup>d</sup>, had attended the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and were, by an agreement with *Alboinus*, to share with him his future conquests, falling out with their old friends and allies, resolved to quit *Italy*, and return to their own country. They pretended to live quite independent of the *Lombards*, and in a distinct body; which the *Lombards* not consenting to, they left *Italy* with their wives and families, and took their route homewards through *Gaul*. But *Mummulus*, one of *Gontran*'s captains, meeting them on the confines, killed a great number of them, took many prisoners, and forced the rest to repass the *Alps*. However, they returned anew; and, having, with a considerable sum, purchased a passage of *Mummulus*, who met them at the *Rhone*, they

<sup>a</sup> Vide supra, p. 496—512.

<sup>b</sup> Vide supra, p. 511, 512.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. TUR. l. iv c. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Vide supra, p. 506.

returned

returned to their antient seats; but found them possessed by *The Suani*, who, unwilling to quarrel with them, offered Saxons them two thirds of the lands. This offer being rejected with indignation by the Saxons, a bloody battle was fought, in which twenty thousand Saxons were killed, and on the side of the *Suani* only four hundred and eighty. The Saxons, who remained alive, being about six thousand in number, renewed the battle; but were again defeated, and obliged to submit to the terms, which the *Suani* were pleased to grant them.

BUT to return to the *Lombards*: Three of their dukes, to wit, *Amo*, *Zabaz*, and *Rhodanus*, notwithstanding the overthrow their countrymen had lately received in *Gaul*, broke anew into that country, and, dividing themselves into three bodies, laid it waste far and near. But *Mummulus*, falling upon them before they could unite their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and return through by-ways into *Italy*. Thither a party of *Franks* followed them, who made themselves masters of a strong-hold in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, and, having killed *Ragilo*, who came to oppose them, pillaged the country to the very gates of *Tient*. But *Euin*, duke of that city, falling out unexpectedly against them, cut most of them off, with their leader *Charammichis*, and pursued the rest to the *Alps*, which they passed, leaving their booty behind them, and returned home.

AT the same time the *Lombards* extended their conquests in *Italy*, and, having defeated the forces of the exarch *Longinus*, reduced the cities of *Sutri*, *Bommarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, and several others of less importance. But, in the mean time, *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Justin*, dying, *Mauritius*, who was chosen in his room, alarmed at the progress the *Lombards* made in *Italy*, resolved to put a stop to their victories, and, if possible, to drive them quite out. With this view, he recalled *Longinus*, whom he judged no-ways equal to such an undertaking, and sent *Zamaragdus* in his room, a person of great prudence, and well skilled in military affairs. *Zamaragdus* landed at *Ravenna* with a considerable army in the beginning of the year 584. and, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of *Braxillus*, now *Brissello*, a place of great strength on the *Po*. He likewise prevailed upon *Droctulf*, an officer of great experience, to revolt from the *Lombards*, who had raised him, though by nation a *Suevian*, to the rank of a duke, and to bring over with him a considerable number of men. At the same time *Mauritius*, concerting other measures to deliver

PAUL. DIAC. de gest. Long. l. iii. GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 36.

Italy

Italy from the yoke of the *Lombards*, had recourse to *Childebert* king of the *Franks*, and, with a large sum, prevailed upon him to engage in the war against the *Lombards*.

The royal  
authority  
restored  
among  
them, and  
Autharis  
made king.

Year of  
the flood  
2913.  
Of Christ  
585.  
Of Rome  
1333.

He retakes  
Brissello.

THIS confederacy, and the vast preparations made both by *Zamaragdus* and *Childebert*, alarmed the *Lombards* to such a degree, that, apprehending they should not be able to withstand two such powerful enemies, so long as they continued divided, as it were, into so many petty kingdoms, they resolved to restore their ancient form of government, to submit anew to the authority of a single person, and to commit to him the whole management of so dangerous a war. Pursuant to this resolution, they assembled in 585. and, with one voice, raised *Autharis*, the son of *Clephis*, to the throne. *Autharis*, with his valour and prudence, so established the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it lasted for the space of two hundred years. He had no sooner mounted the throne, than he undertook the recovery of *Brissello*, being resolved, as it was a place of the utmost importance, to force it, by all means, out of the enemy's hands. But *Droctulf*, who was in the town, and expected, if he were taken, to be treated with the utmost severity by the *Lombards*, made such a vigorous defence, that the siege continued a long time; but, the garison being in the end reduced to great straits, *Droctulf* found means to withdraw in the night, and repair to *Ravenna*, with such of his men as were able to follow him. *Autharis*, being thus master of the place, dismantled it, that it might no longer serve as a place of refuge to the enemy, in case it should fall again into their hands. After the reduction of *Brissello*, he put his troops into winter-quarters, the season being already far advanced, and employed himself till the following spring, partly in settling the affairs of the kingdom, and partly in making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign.

His con-  
sult to  
wards the  
dukes.

IN the first place, he took upon him the name of *Flavius*, and ordered it to be used, in imitation of the *Roman* emperors, by all the *Lombard* kings his successors<sup>h</sup>. In the second place, considering that the dukes, who, for the space of ten years, had ruled with an absolute sway over their respective dukedoms, would not willingly part with all their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments; but obliged them to contribute one moiety of their revenues towards the maintenance and support of his royal dignity, suffering them to dispose of the other as they pleased. He reserved to himself the supreme dominion and authority, and took an oath of the dukes, that, in time of war, they would

<sup>g</sup> PAUL. DIAC. de ge<sup>a</sup>. Long. l. iii. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, c. 8.

readily

readily assist him to the utmost of their power. Though he could remove the dukes at his pleasure, yet he deprived none of their dukedoms, except in cases of treason, nor gave them to others, but when their male issue failed<sup>1</sup>. And this was the origin of the fiefs in *Italy* (A). Having settled matters with the dukes in the manner we have related above, he enacted several wholesome and seasonable laws against theft, rapine, murder, adultery, and other crimes, which, at that time, prevailed among his subjects. He was the first of the *Lombard* kings, who, renouncing paganism, embraced the

<sup>1</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 8. SIGON. de reg. Ital. l. i. REGIN. l. i. p. 517.

(A) Some have imagined, that fiefs were first introduced by the *Lombards*, and, in imitation of them, adopted by other nations. But they are therein certainly mistaken, since it is manifest from *Aimonius* (1) and *Gregory of Tours* (2), that fiefs had been introduced into *Gaul* by the *Franks* some years before the reign of *Autharis*, who first established them in *Italy*. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that in the year 574. that is, eleven years before *Autharis* was raised to the throne, king *Gunttran* deprived one *Erpon* of his dukedom, and created another in his room (3). *Paulus Æmilius* and *Cujacius* observe, that, when dukedoms were first instituted in *Gaul*, the king removed the dukes at his pleasure; but that a custom afterwards obtained, that they were not to be removed, unless convicted of treason, or some other enormous crime. At last the kings, by an oath, confirmed them in the dukedoms, which at first they held only during pleasure (4). Thus were fiefs first introduced by the *Franks* into *Gaul*, and a few years after by the *Lombards*,

in imitation of the *Franks*, into *Italy* (5). However, it must be owned, that fiefs, in some degree, owe their origin to the *Roman* emperors, who, for the greater security of the frontiers of the empire, used to grant to the officers and soldiers lands on the confines, as a reward for their long service. By this grant, which was called *beneficium*, the soldiers were encouraged to defend, with all their might, the frontiers of the empire, since they defended, at the same time, their lands and estates (6). All the customs and laws, which were afterwards introduced and published concerning fiefs, are owing to the *Lombards*, who gave them a certain and regular form; so that, among all other nations, successions, acquisitions, investitures, and every thing else relating to fiefs, were regulated by the customs and laws of the *Lombards*. Hereupon a new body of laws sprung up, which were called *feudal laws*, and still are in some provinces of *Italy*, especially in the present kingdom of *Naples*, the chief part of the jurisprudence.

(1) *Aimon.* l. i. c. 14.

(2) *Greg. Tur.* l. iv. c. 45.

(3) *Idem.* l. vii. c. 27.

(4) *l. x. p. 19.*

(5) *Paul. Æmil. de reb. R. inc. l. i. c. 1. de j. u. p. princ. p. 38.*

(6) *Molin. in conj. Paris. t. t. de feud. rum.*

(7) *V. l. 2*

*Lamprid. apud Lousseau des offices, l. i. c. 1. num. 14.*

*He embraces the Christian religion.* Christian religion; and his example was followed by most of his subjects. But, as they were all instructed by *Arian* bishops, they continued long infected with that heresy; which occasioned great disputes between them, and the orthodox bishops of the cities subject to them.

*Childebert king of the Franks enters Italy; but is persuaded by Autharis to retire.* **AUTHARIS**, having settled the affairs of his kingdom during the winter, received news early in the spring, that *Childebert* king of the *Franks* had, pursuant to his agreement with the emperor *Mauritius*, passed the *Alps* at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon, being well apprised, that he had not sufficient strength to withstand him in the field, he ordered his dukes to provide their cities with strong garisons, and to wait on their walls the arrival of the enemy, sending at the same time ambassadors to *Childebert*, with rich presents, to sue for peace. This conduct was attended with the wish for success; for *Childebert*, considering it would prove a very tedious and difficult undertaking to lay siege to so many cities, accepted the presents sent him by *Autharis*, and returned home. Of this the emperor *Mauritius* loudly complained, and, reproaching *Childebert* with breach of faith, insisted upon his returning the money he had received, to wit, fifty thousand *solidi*, for making war upon the *Lombards*, if he did not, within a time prefixed, perform his engagements. Hereupon *Childebert*, unwilling to return the money, and, on the other hand, thinking himself bound in honour to perform some remarkable service in favour of his ally, worthy of so large a sum, raised a far more numerous army than he had before; and, having supplied them with every thing necessary for the expedition, he ordered them to march, under the conduct of his best generals, into *Italy*. *Autharis* had formerly, as we have related above, declined coming to a battle, and, acting only defensively, had kept his troops within the fortified towns. But now, considering, that if he should have the good luck to crush so powerful an enemy, other nations, as well as the *Franks*, would be thereby deterred from invading his dominions, he resolved to alter his conduct, and meet the enemy in the open field. With this view, he drew together all the forces he had; and, having encouraged them with a seasonable speech, he marched in quest of the enemy, and offered them battle. The challenge being readily accepted by the *Franks*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expressed; but the *Franks* were in the end utterly defeated. The *Lombards* pursued them in their flight with great slaughter, and obliged such of them as had the good luck to escape, to take refuge among the barren mountains, where most of them perished with hunger and

*He returns; but his army is intirely defeated.*

and cold; so that very few of them got safe to their own country.

CHILDEBERT, to revenge the loss of this army, sent another, twenty thousand men strong, under the conduct of *Anduald*, *Olo*, and *Cedinus*, three generals of known valour, and long experience in war. *Olo* laid siege to a strong castle called *Bilitio*, where he was killed with an arrow, and most of his men cut off in a sally by the besieged. *Cedinus* took some strong-holds in *Cisalpine Gaul*, now *Lombardy*. And *Anduald*, advancing as far as *Verona*, laid some open places in ashes, carrying with him the inhabitants into captivity, contrary to the articles of the treaty between him and the emperor. But, in the mean time distempers beginning to rage among the *Franks*, occasioned by the hot season, and want of provisions, and the *Lombards* keeping, as they had done formerly, within their fortified towns, the generals of the *Franks* thought it advisable to return home, lest the *Lombards* should fall upon them, after their army had been considerably weakened by the distempers that daily swept off great numbers. On their return, they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced first to sell their cloaths, and at last their arms, to purchase provisions<sup>k</sup>. *Autharis*, thus delivered from all fear of so powerful an enemy, resolved to employ his whole strength in subjecting such provinces of *Italy*, as were still held by the *Romans*. He had already made himself master of all the hither *Italy*, except the dukedom of *Rome*, and the exarchate, which was at that time governed by *Romanus*, who had succeeded *Zamaragdus*, and comprised the present *Bolognese*, *Romagna*, the duchy of *Urbino*, and great part of *Picenum*, now *La Marca*. The provinces which make up the present kingdom of *Naples*, were still in the hands of the *Romans*, the chief cities being governed, according to the form of government which *Longinus* had introduced, by their dukes, who were all immediately under the exarch. But the most powerful among them, to wit, the dukes of *Naples*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, *Taranto*, and *Gaeta*, despising the exarchs, ruled with an almost arbitrary sway; which has induced some to imagine, that these cities were absolutely free; whereas nothing is more certain in history, than that they acknowledged the emperor for their sovereign, though they often refused to obey the exarch.

As these provinces lay at a great distance from *Pavia*, the royal seat of the *Lombards*, and could receive speedy succours by sea, in case they were attacked, the emperors kept but small garisons in the cities, being obliged to employ all the forces

<sup>k</sup> GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 47. PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 9.

Autharis  
reduces  
Samnium  
and the  
city of Benevento.

The first  
duke of  
Benevento.

Autharis  
dies.  
Year of  
the flood  
2938.  
Of Christ  
590.  
Of Rome  
1338.

they could spare in the *Persian* war, which lay heavy upon them at the same time. Of this *Autharis* was well apprised, and therefore, leaving *Rome* and *Ravenna* behind him, which were defended by numerous garisons, in the spring of the year 589. he appointed his troops to rendezvous at *Spoletum*, and, pretending to march elsewhere, turned all on a sudden, and entered *Samnium*, which province, together with the city of *Benevento*, he reduced almost without opposition. Encouraged with this success, he over-ran all *Calabria*; and, advancing as far as *Rhegium* on the farthest point of *Italy*, he rode into the sea; and, striking with his lance a pillar, that stood near the shore, *Thus far*, said he, *shall the bounds of the Lombards extend*. This pillar was still standing in the days of our historian, and known by the name of *Autharis's pillar*<sup>1</sup>. *Autharis*, on his return into *Samnium*, reduced that province to a dukedom, appointing *Zoto*, or *Zotto*, first duke of *Benevento*, which he made the metropolis of *Samnium*<sup>m</sup>. Thus to the two famous dukedoms of *Friuli* and *Spoleti* was added a third, which, in process of time, became as much superior to the other two, as they exceeded the other dukedoms of *Italy* (B). *Autharis*, after the reduction of *Samnium*, resolved to carry the war into the exarchate, and the dukedom of *Rome*; but, apprehending he might be diverted anew by *Childebert* king of the *Franks* from pursuing his conquests, he thought it advisable to conclude a peace, if possible, with so troublesome and powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched ambassadors to *Guntran*, uncle to *Childebert*, hoping, by his mediation, to lay the foundations of a lasting peace with the king of the *Franks*. *Guntran* readily interposed; but *Autharis* did not live to see the success of the mediation, being in the mean time taken off by poison.

He died in *Pavia* on the thirteenth of *September* 590. after having reigned about six years; but the author of his death was never known<sup>n</sup>. *Autharis* had married *Theudelinda*, the daughter of *Garibald* king of the *Boioarians*; but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon the news of his

<sup>1</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 16.    <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>n</sup> Idem, c. 18.

(B) Some authors, and among the rest *Camillus Peregrinus*, are of opinion, that the dukedom of *Benevento* was founded before the time of *Autharis* (7); but all agree, that *Zotto* was the first

who governed that city and province with the title of duke. This dukedom, by degrees, extended its limits, so as to comprise the far greater part of the present kingdom of *Naples*.

(7) *Cam. Per. in dissert. de duc. Benevent. dissert. 1.*

death,

death, assembled in *Pavia* to choose a new king; but, not being able to agree among themselves in the choice, they referred the whole affair to *Theudelinda*, having first settled among themselves, that the person she should choose of the dukes for her husband, should be invested with the royal dignity: so great was the opinion they had of the wisdom and prudence of that excellent princess! who, to shew herself worthy of the confidence they reposed in her, after having consulted the wisest men of the nation, by their advice, bestowed herself and the kingdom on *Agilulf* duke of *Turin*, *Agilulf* a person of extraordinary merit, and nearly related to the late *chosen* king. Her choice being applauded by the whole nation, *Agilulf*, after his marriage, was crowned king of the *Lombards* in a full assembly held at *Milano* in the month of *May* 591.

In the first year of his reign died *Zotto*, the first duke of *Benevento*, of whom we find nothing in history worthy of notice, except his plundering and destroying the famous monastery of *Monte Casino*, built about sixty years before by St. *Benedict*, and already wonderfully enriched with the donations of several princes\*. Upon his death, *Agilulf* appointed *Arechis*, cousin to *Gisulphus* duke of *Friuli*, to succeed him *second* in the dukedom of *Benevento*. The dukes, according to the regulations introduced by *Authari*, could only in cases of treason be deprived of their dukedom; and, upon their death, they were succeeded by their male issue, if the king judged them capable of so great a command. If the duke died without issue male, the king was at full liberty either to choose another in his room, or to suppress the dukedom: and truly several dukedoms were suppressed by the present king, the dukes having attempted to shake off all dependancy, and to usurp an absolute power in their respective districts. The example of *Agilulf* was followed by his successors, who, declining to appoint new dukes in the room of those who died without issue male, reduced, by degrees, the dukedoms to a very small number. During the government of *Arechis*, which lasted for the space of fifty years, that is, from the year 591. to 641. the bounds of the dukedom of *Benevento* were greatly extended, for, at that prince's death, they reached on one side to the city of *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum*, at the foot of mount *Garganus* in *Apulia*.

BUT to return to *Agilulf*: He was, soon after his election, persuaded by *Theudelinda*, who had been brought up in the catholic religion, to renounce the errors of *Arius*; and his example was followed by great numbers of his subjects, some of them abjuring paganism, and others the doctrine of *Arius*, *Agilulf* embraces the catholic faith.

\* GREG MAG. dialo. l. ii. c. 17. Abb. DE NUZZI chron. Casin. l. i. c. 2.



to embrace the orthodox faith. Hence *Theudelinda* is highly commended by *Gregory the Great*, who inscribed to her the four books of the lives of the saints, which he had composed. She had done all that lay in her power to induce *Authari*, her first husband, to profess the catholic faith; but to no purpose, that prince refusing to quit the religion in which he had been brought up<sup>p</sup>. *Agilulf*, in the third year of his reign, was forced to turn his arms against his own countrymen; for two of the dukes, to wit, *Minulf* duke of the island of *St. Julian*, and *Gaidulf* duke of *Bergamo*, revolting from him, claimed an absolute authority in their respective districts. *Agilulf* marched against them, and, having found means to get *Minulf* into his power, he put him to death, because he had formerly revolted to the *Franks*, and joined *Childebert* in the irruption he made into *Italy*. As for *Gaidulf*, he besieged him in the city of *Bergamo*; but, upon his suing for peace, and submitting, he received him again into favour. About the same time *Ulfaris*, another duke, but of what place, we are not told, refusing to acknowledge the authority of *Agilulf*, raised great disturbances, which were quelled not without bloodshed; but *Ulfaris* not only obtained his pardon, but was confirmed by the king in his dukedom<sup>q</sup>.

WHILE the arms of *Agilulf* were thus employed against the rebellious dukes, *Romanus*, who, as we have related above, had succeeded *Zamaragdus* in the exarchate, laying hold of so favourable an opportunity, broke the truce which he had lately made, and surprised several cities belonging to the Lombards. Hereupon the king, drawing together all his forces, marched against the exarch, who, at his approach, retired to *Ravenna*, leaving small garisons in the towns he had taken. Upon his retreat, *Agilulf* easily recovered the cities he had seized. Only the city of *Perugia* held out for some time, being defended by *Maurisius* duke of the place, who had delivered it up to the *Romans*; but, in the end, the city was forced to surrender. *Maurisius* attempted to make his escape; but was taken, and, by the king's order, put to death<sup>r</sup>. From *Perugia* *Agilulf* marched into the *Roman* dukedom, and, having laid it waste, encamped with his army at a small distance from the city; but *Theudelinda*, at the earnest request of *Gregory the Great*, then bishop of *Rome*, prevailed upon her husband to grant a peace to the inhabitants of that city, and retire<sup>s</sup>. The prisoners taken by the Lombards on this occasion, were all ransomed by *Gregory the Great*, the other catholic bishops generously contributing to

<sup>p</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 2.      <sup>q</sup> Idem, l. iv. c. 14.      <sup>r</sup> Idem  
ibid.      <sup>s</sup> GREG. MAG. l. iv. ep. 33. & l. vii. ep. 30.

so good a work \* (C). In *Sicily* one *Stephen*, sent from *Con-stantinople* to guard the coasts of that island, committed such *barbarous* and unjust acts of violence and injustice, as hardly *could* be contained, says *Gregory the Great*, in one volume. He therefore earnestly intreats the empress to acquaint her husband with these grievances, that, by speedily redressing them, he may avert the judgments, that must otherwise fall upon him, and his family. He concludes his letter by telling her, it were far better *Italy* should want supplies of money, than that they should be raised in so scandalous a manner; and that the emperor's ministers, being at such a distance from their master, promised themselves impunity, though guilty of the greatest extortions; and therefore defeated all his endeavours for concluding a peace with the *Lombards*, which, they knew, would take away all pretence of levying such heavy taxes. A peace, however, was soon after concluded, by means of the holy prelate, between *Agilulf* and the exarch *Callinus*, who, upon the death of *Romanus*, had been sent from *Constantinople* to succeed him.

At the same time *Theodebert*, the successor of *Childebert*, was in the end persuaded, not only to conclude a peace, but to enter into an alliance, with the king of the *Lombards*. This peace with the *Romans* and *Franks* proved very seasonable; for, soon after, three of the dukes, rebelling, raised great disturbances in the kingdom, and gave rise to a civil war. These were *Zangrulf* duke of *Verona*, *Gaidulf* or *bel*; but *Gandulf* duke of *Bergamo*, and *Wernecaut* a third duke, but of what place, we are not told. *Agilulf*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow; and, having taken them prisoners, he ordered them all three to be put to death, in order to deter, by their punishment, the other dukes from

*concludes a peace with the Romans and Franks.*

*Three dukes rewar. but are overcome by Agilulf, and put to death.*

\* GREG. MAG. l. iv. ep. 33 & l. vii. ep. 30.  
ep. 33.

Idem l. iv.

(C) *Paulus Diaconus* takes no notice of the ravages committed by the *Lombards* in the dukedom of *Rome*; but supposes them to have returned to *Pavia* after the taking of *Perugia*. However, from the letters of *Gregory the Great*, who flourished at that time, it is manifest, that they invaded the *Roman* dukedom, and laid it waste with fire and sword, for several months together. From a letter of this bishop to the empress *Constantina*

it appears, that the inhabitants of those parts suffered more from the emperor's officers, than from the *Lombards* themselves; that the *Corficans* in particular were loaded with such taxes, as obliged them to sell even their children, in order to raise money for the collectors; and that thereupon they repaired in great numbers to the *Lombards* in *Italy*, leaving the island, in a manner, desolate.

The war  
with the  
Romans  
renewed ;

from  
Agilulf  
takes  
several  
cities.

following their example. While he was yet engaged in this domestic war, the exarch *Callinicus*, with a manifest breach of the treaty, which had been lately concluded, surprised the city of *Parma*, in which he found a considerable treasure, and took the king's daughter, and her husband *Godescalc* prisoners. This breach of faith in the exarch provoked the king of the *Lombards* to such a degree, that he resolved to pursue the war, which had been thus begun by the *Romans*, with the utmost vigour, and not to lay down his arms, till he had driven them, if possible, quite out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this resolution, he entered into an alliance with *Chagan* king of the *Avars*, who was to make a power by diversion in *Thrace*, while *Agilulf* carried on the war in *Italy*.

The king of the *Lombards*, having raised a considerable army, and finding that the exarch declined meeting him in the field, marched from *Milan*, where his troops had assembled, to *Cremona*, which city he invested on all sides. The *Roman* persons made a vigorous resistance, but, despairing of relief, they were obliged, after having held out for a month, to deliver up the place, which, by the king's orders, was levelled with the ground. From *Cremona* he led his army, reinforced by a body of *Slavs* sent him by his ally the king of the *Avars*, against the cities of *Paavia* and *Mantua*, which were both taken, plundered, and laid in ashes, the gardens being allowed to retire to *Ravenna*, and the inhabitants to what place they thought fit. While *Agilulf* thus pursued his conquests in *Italy*, *Chagan*, breaking into *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages there, and, having overrun both that province, and all *Mesfia*, approached the imperial city with his numerous army ; which alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that they thought of quitting *Europe*, and retreating with their best effects to *Chalcidon*, and other places in *Asia*. But, in the mean time, *Chagan* was obliged to return home by a plague, which broke out in his army, and carried off seven of his sons in one day. Upon his departure, he offered to release all his prisoners, of whom he had twelve thousand, at a crown a head ; but his offer being rejected by *Mauritius*, who was a prince of a narrow, parsimonious temper, *Chagan*, in great indignation, caused all the captives to be put to the sword. During this war died the exarch *Callinicus*, who had first begun it, as we have related above ; and in his room was sent *Zamaragdus* to govern *Italy* a second time, with orders from the emperor to set at liberty the king's daughter, with her husband, and to restore the whole treasure that had been seized by his predecessor in the city of *Parma*. By this obliging behaviour, *Agilulf* was so far won,

as to grant the *Romans* a truce from the month of *September* A truce  
till the following *April* w. with the

DURING the truce, *Agilulf*, having assembled the chief *Romans*.  
men of the nation at *Milun*, declared, in their presence, his *Agilulf*  
son *Adalwald*, or, as others call him, *Aldonald*, yet an infant, takes his  
his colleague, and caused him to be crowned in the open circus, son *Ada-*  
with great solemnity. After this, the peace was renewed *luald* for  
with *Theodebert* king of the *Franks*, whose ambassadors were his col-  
present at the inauguration of the young prince, and a per- league.  
petual league concluded between the two nations. And now Year of  
the truce with the *Romans* being expired, the *Lombards* be- the flood  
gan hostilities anew, setting on two important posts, to wit, 2953.  
*Orbitum* and *Unguinum*, but the exarch, with twelve Of Christ  
thousand *Soldiers* prevailed upon the king to restore them, and Of Rome  
to renew the truce for a whole year, which the king employed 1353.  
in embellishing and fortifying *Ferrara*, till that time an incon-  
siderable village, but conveniently situated on the *Po*, and on *Ferrara*  
that point surrounded by *Agilulf* with wall, and in breadth a *umbello* of  
with several stately buildings; by which it was, it is said, *Agilulf*  
degrees one of the most considerable cities in the world, and has continued as such ever since. In the meantime, the truce  
between the king and the exarch expiring, *Theodebert* pre-  
vailed upon the king to renew it for three years longer.

BUT, notwithstanding this truce, the north part of *Italy*  
did not enjoy the tranquillity they had procured themselves;  
for *Cacanus* king of the *Huns*, leaving *Pannonia*, made a sudden  
sudden irruption into the dukedom of *Friuli*, destroying all *into*  
with fire and sword. Her upon duke *Gilf*, having drawn the duke-  
together what forces he could, marched out against him, but, dom of  
in the battle that ensued, he was overpowered by the enemy, *Friuli*.  
and cut off with most of his men. *Cacanus*, elated with  
this victory, laid siege to *Forum Julu*, the metropolis of the *Forum*  
dukedom, which was betrayed to him by *Remilda*, the de *Julu* be-  
ceased duke's widow, upon his promising to marry her; for *trayed to*  
she is said to have been greatly taken with the comeliness of *them*.  
the young prince in seeing him from the walls; but he, in-  
stead of performing his promise, caused her to be put to an  
ignominious death, after having abused her himself, and  
caused her to be in like manner abused by several of his sol-  
diers, to gratify, as he said, her vicious inclination. The  
duke's sons, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodwald*, and *Grimwald*, found  
means to make their escape on horseback; but the latter,  
being yet a child, was overtaken by some of the enemy's  
horse, and delivered to the custody of one of them, while  
the others pursued the rest. But, while the *Hunn* rode before

Their  
cruelty to  
the inha-  
bitants.

him leading his horse, he all on a sudden gave him such a blow on the head with his sword, that he left him dead on the spot; and then, riding full speed, overtook his brothers, and, together with them, reached a neighbouring castle. The *Hunns*, upon their departure, carried with them all the inhabitants who had fallen into their hands, giving out, that they designed to allot them lands in *Pannonia*; but, having reached the confines, they put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity \*.

The ex-  
arch mur-  
dered.

WHILE the *Hunns* were thus ravaging the dukedom of *Friuli*, great disturbances happened in *Byzantium*; for *Joannes Lemigius*, who had been sent by the emperor *Heraclius* to succeed *Lamaragdus* in the exarchate, levying heavier taxes on the people than they had formerly paid, the multitude, rising all on a sudden, broke into the palace, and there were the exarch to pieces, together with the judges, who had called together for the administration of justice. When news of this mutiny were brought to *Naples*, *Joannes Gerosipinus*, who governed that city for the emperor with the title of duke (D), thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity

\* GREG. MAG. l. iv. ep. 33.

(D) The present kingdom of *Naples* was, at this time, held partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Lombards*. The dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by its own duke, who was subject to the king of the *Lombards*; *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gatta*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, and other smaller dukedoms, were governed by their dukes, according to the polity introduced by *Longinus* the first exarch. These dukes were subject to the exarch, and he to the emperor. The dukedom of *Naples* had at first very narrow bounds; for it comprised only the city of *Naples*, and its territory. But it was greatly enlarged by the emperor *Mauritius*, who

added to it the islands of *Ischia*, *Nisida*, and *Procida*, and afterwards the cities of *Cumæ*, *Stabia*, *Surrento*, and *Amalfi* (8); which were comprised under the dukedom of *Naples* till the time of pope *Adrian* and *Charles the Great*, as is evident from a letter of that pope quoted by the learned *Camillus Pellegrinus* (9). This dukedom being, by such additions, become a province, the name of *Campania* was given it, and the duke took the title of *dux Campaniæ*, or duke of *Campania*; which title *Gregory the Great* often bestows on *Scholasticus* and *Gudiscalus*, dukes of *Naples* (1). This dukedom held out against the *Lombards*, after they had reduced almost all the cities in that part of *Italy*; nay, it

(8) Greg. Mag. l. ix. ind. 4. ep. 53. *finib. duc. Benevent. p. 32.*

(9) Camill. Pellegrin. dissert. de *Greg. Mag. l. ii. ind. 11. ep. 1, 2, & 15.*

Portunity of shaking off all dependence, and making himself absolute lord of the city committed to his charge. Accordingly, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the inhabitants for their prince, and provided the city with a strong garrison, not doubting but forces would soon be dispatched against him either from *Ravenna* or *Constantinople*. And truly *Heraclius*, upon the first notice he had of the murder of the exarch, and the rebellion of the duke, appointed *Eleutherius* his chamberlain, a person highly esteemed for his prudence and valour, to succeed *Lemigius* in the exarchate, injoining him to appease the mutiny in *Ravenna*, and then march, with all the troops under his command, against *Composinus*, the rebellious duke of *Naples*. *Eleutherius*, arriving at *Ravenna*, punished with death such as he found guilty of the murder of his predecessor, and, having thus quelled the tumult, he set on march for *Naples*, with all the troops he could assemble. He took his route through *Rome*, where he was received with high demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who were greatly attached to the emperors, and bore an utter aversion to the *Lombards*. From *Rome* the exarch pursued his march to *Naples*, where he was, for some time, vigorously opposed by the garrison; but having, in the end, made *Naples* himself master of the city, he put the duke to death, and, reduced, appointing another in his room, returned to *Ravenna* (E). and the duke put to death.

\* GREG. MAG. I. iv. c. 34. ANASTAS. bibliothec. in Deusedit. CAMIL. PEL. in dissert. de duc. Benevent. p. 33.

was never by them intirely subdued, but only obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the dukes of *Benevento*, who, in process of time, became very powerful. The dukes, who governed *Naples*, were usually appointed by the emperor himself; but, upon urgent occasions, the exarch was empowered to name a new duke. Thus *Eleutherius*, having put *Composinus* to death, appointed another in his room; and, several years before, the duke of *Naples* being dead, and the two dukes of *Benevento* and *Spoleto* uniting their forces, with a design, as was supposed, to fall upon the

dukedom of *Naples*, *Gregory the Great*, apprehending that, if the *Lombards* made themselves masters of that dukedom, they would easily reduce the rest of *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, wrote to *John* bishop of *Ravenna*, earnestly intreating him to represent to the exarch the danger that dukedom was in, and prevail upon him to send, without loss of time, a new duke (2).

(E) Some modern writers tell us, that *Composinus* not only made himself master of *Naples*, but likewise of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and several other cities, with their territories; that he caused him-

(2) *Greg. Mag. I. ii. indic. 10. ep. 32*

DURING these disturbances, *Azilulf* died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He was the first of the *Lombard* kings who embraced the catholic faith; and, his example being followed by great numbers of his subjects, the *Lombards*, by that means, became less odious to the inhabitants of *Italy*, and their government more tolerable. By the advice of his queen *Theudelinda*, he rebuilt the churches, which had been ruined in the former wars, repaired the monasteries, and enriched both with large possessions, there being few churches or monasteries in his dominions, which could not shew some monuments of his piety and munificence.

Adaluald  
succeeds  
his father  
Agilulf  
in the  
kingdom of  
the Lom-  
bards.

Year of  
the flood  
2963.  
Of Christ  
615.  
Of Rome  
1363.

AGILULF was succeeded by his son *Adaluald*, whom he had taken some years before for his successor, as we have related above. As he was yet very young, he suffered himself to be intirely governed by his mother *Theudelinda*, who applied herself wholly to works of piety and religion; so that, during his reign, the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity. But great disturbances happened in the exarchate; for *Eleutherius* the exarch, elated with the success that had attended him against the duke of *Naples*, and forgetting that virtue and moderation, which till then had recommended him to the esteem of the emperor, and all the *Romans*, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the sovereignty of *Italy*. The great distance between him and the emperor, the authority he had in those parts, and the war with the *Saracens*, in which the emperor was then engaged, offered him, he thought, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his design. Having therefore, in the first place, gained the affection of the soldiery by several popular acts of condescension, but, above all, by paying them their arrears, which had been long due, he resolved to set out for *Rome* with his whole army, and cause himself to be

<sup>2</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 2.

self to be acknowledged king of the countries he had usurped; that he was first crowned with an iron crown at *Bari*, and afterwards with a golden crown at *Naples*. They add, that the *Norman* princes, who reigned in *Naples*, following his example, were first crowned at *Bari* with an iron crown, and afterwards at *Palermo* with a crown of gold

(3). But it is plain from history, that *Compsenus* was never master of *Apulia* or *Calabria*, which, at this time, were held by the *Lombards*; and that he only seized on the city of *Naples*, and its territory, being taken, and put to death, by *Eleutherius*, before he had time to make himself master of other places (4).

(3) *Beut. li. hist. Bar. p. 12.*

(4) *Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. 20.*

acknowledged there king of *Italy*. He was encouraged to this by the news he received of the death of *Deusdedit* bishop of that city; for he thought, that, while the people were busied in the election of a successor, he might, with great ease, seize on the city, and then influence the election, so as to have one of his own friends raised to that see. But on his march he was informed, that *Boniface*, the fifth of that name, was already elected; which obliged him to alter his measures: for, having commanded the army to halt, he made them a plausible speech, inveighing against the disorders and abuses which then prevailed, promised to redress them to their satisfaction, and assured them of his favour and protection.

HAVING by this speech attached them, as he imagined, Eleutherius to his interest, he openly assumed the title of king, telling them, at the same time, that he was marching to *Rome*, in order to be vested there, as in the most proper place, with the ensigns of royalty. The army was not a little surprised at the conduct of their general; but did not, however, openly oppose it till some days after, when, arriving at *Luccoli*, they began to mutiny; and, no longer looking upon Eleutherius as their general, but as a traitor and usurper, they slew him, and, sending his head to the emperor at *Constantinople*, returned to *Ravenna*. *Heraclius* appointed *Isaaccius*, a patrician, to govern *Italy* in his room. In the beginning of his administration, one *Gregory* a patrician, who governed for the emperor in those parts which bordered on the duchy of *Friuli*, pretending great kindness for *Tato*, who in that dukedom had succeeded his father *Gisulf* or *Gilulf*, killed by the *Hunns*, as we have related above, invited the youth to *Optigerium*, where he resided, in order to adopt him there, as he pretended, for his son. *Tato*, not suspecting the least treachery, readily complied with the invitation, taking with him his second brother *Caco*, and several other persons of distinction. But they had no sooner entered the town, than *Gregory*, having caused the gates to be shut, ordered his men to fall upon them. The two brothers, and their followers, defended themselves for some time with great courage, killing great numbers of the aggressors; but, being pursued from street to street, overpowered with multitudes, and quite spent, they were in the end all cut off. *Gregory*, by this inhuman piece of treachery, hoped to make himself master of the whole duchy, the two remaining brothers, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, being yet very young. But their uncle *Grafulf*, informed so what had happened, hastened to *Forum Julii*, and, taking

• PAUL. DIAC. l. iv c. 15.



upon himself the administration, ordered matters so, that *Gregory* thought it adviseable to make no further attempts. *Grasulf* kept the dukedom for himself, and the two brothers *Radoald* and *Grimwald*, not thinking themselves safe while in his power, fled to *Arelis* the second duke of *Beneventum*, by whom they were kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank <sup>b</sup>. This happened, according to some, during the exarchate of *Eleutherius*, and soon after the death of *Agilulf*.

IN the eighth year of *Adalwald's* reign, one *Eusebius* was sent by the emperor *Heraclius*, with the character of ambassador, to conclude a lasting peace with the king of the *Lombards*, and to settle other affairs of great importance. He, having gained the confidence of the king, either of his own head, or in compliance with his private intructions, presented him, as he came out of the bath, with a draught, which soon deprived him of the right use of his senses, and brought him to a kind of melancholy madness. While he was in this condition, *Eusebius*, pretending that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy against him, advised him to put the most powerful among them to death. The king followed his advice, and immediately caused twelve of the chief nobility to be inhumanly massacred; which alarmed the rest to such a degree, that, taking up arms, they removed both him, and his mother *Theudelinda* from the government, and raised to the throne *Ariovald* duke of *Turin*, who had married *Gundeberg* the sister of *Adalwald*. This revolution occasioned great disturbances among the *Lombards*, and rent their kingdom into two parties. *Ariovald* was supported by the nobles, who had deposed *Adalwald*, and all the bishops beyond the *Po*, who earnestly laboured to draw the rest to their party. On the other hand, *Honorius* bishop of *Rome* espoused with great zeal the cause of the deposed king, and left no stone unturned to have him restored to the throne, being prompted thereto by the regard he had for *Theudelinda*, to whose piety the catholic religion was highly indebted, and by his aversion to *Ariovald*, who held the tenets of *Arius*, and had been brought up in that persuasion. He found means to gain *Isaaccius* the exarch over to his party, and prevailed upon him to join the friends of *Adalwald* with all the troops under his command. He likewise obliged, with severe menaces, the bishops who had espoused the cause of *Ariovald*, to abandon that prince, and declare for *Adalwald*. But, in spite of the utmost efforts both of the pope and the exarch, *Ariovald*

*Adalwald*  
deposed,  
and *Ariovald*  
chosen in  
his room.  
Domestic  
troubles  
among  
the *Lom.*

<sup>b</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 15.    <sup>c</sup> Vide SIGON. ad ann. 623.

maintained himself on the throne; and, *Adalwald* dying suddenly, some say of poison, an end was put to the domestic troubles, that threatened the kingdom of the *Lombards* almost with utter destruction. *Theudelinda* was so affected with the misfortunes of her son, that she fell into a consumption, which, in a short time, brought her to her grave. She was a princess no less commendable for her exemplary piety, than for the excellent endowments of her mind, and worthy, on account of both, to be ranked among the most illustrious women mentioned in history.

*Ariovald* reigned nine years after the death of *Theudelinda*, during which time the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad. Only some disturbances happened in the royal family, which gave the king no small uneasiness. One of the chief lords at court, by name *Adalulf*, having solicited the queen, with whom he was passionately in love, to comply with his unlawful desire, and his proposal being rejected by her with the utmost indignation, the lover, apprehending she would discover the whole to her husband, resolved to be beforehand with her, and prepossess the king against the virtuous princess. Accordingly, pretending great zeal for his safety, he assured him, that the queen was conspiring against his life with *Tato* duke of *Eturia*, who was to marry her after his death. Hereupon *Ariovald*, transported with rage and jealousy, without further inquiry, ordered the innocent queen to be kept under close confinement in the castle of *Amullum*, where she continued, till *Clotair* king of the *Franks*, pitying her condition, expostulated with her husband for thus treating one of the royal blood of the *Franks*, and stripping her of her dignity, upon the deposition of a single evidence. *Ariovald* replied, That he was fully convinced of her guilt; whereupon the ambassadors of the *Franks*, pursuant to their instructions, proposed the trying of the cause by a single combat between the accuser, and one of the queen's friends, according to the custom that then prevailed among the *Lombards*, and most of the northern nations. As the king could not well reject this proposal, *Adalulf* was obliged to enter the lists against one *Pillo*, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Carell*, who having with great ease overcome the accuser, the queen was released, and restored to her former dignity.

Not long after, *Ariovald* died; and, as he left no issue male behind him, the dukes assembled, upon the news of his death, to choose another in his room; but, not being able to agree in the choice, they resolved to pay the same regard to

<sup>a</sup> PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 15.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
the flood  
2975.  
Of Christ  
627.  
Of Rome  
1175.

and Rotharis  
is chosen in  
his room.

Year of  
the flood

2984

Of Christ  
636.

Of Rome

1384

~~~~~

Rotharis
the first
lawgiver
among the
Lombards.

Gundeberg, which they had formerly paid to *Theudelinda*, allowing her to choose whom she pleased for her husband, and their king. Hereupon *Gundeberg* made choice of *Rotharis* duke of *Brescia*, a person equal in every respect to that same station, but tainted with the *Arian* heresy; whence, in his time, there were two bishops in most cities of *Italy*, the one catholic, and the other *Arian*. He is no less commended by the writers of those times for his equity and moderation, than for his valour and prudence, and was the first who gave written laws to the *Lombards*. His example was followed by the other kings his successors; so that, in process of time, a new volume of laws appeared, called the *Lombard laws*, which prevailed in all the provinces subject to that nation, that is, all over *Italy*, except the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and dukedoms of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Garda*, and *Amalfi*, and the maritim cities of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*, which continued subject to the emperors, the *Lombards* being masters of all the other cities and provinces. The *Lombards* had no written laws till the time of *Rotharis*; but had been governed by customs handed down to them by tradition. *Rotharis* therefore, in imitation of the *Romans* and *Goths*, undertook the publishing of written laws; and to those he enacted, many were added by the succeeding princes (F). *Rotharis*, the first lawgiver among the *Lombards*, having summoned, in the year 622 a general diet in *Pavia*, enacted, with the approbation of his nobles, several laws, which he caused to be committed to writing, and inserted in an edict. This edict, containing no fewer than three hundred and eighty-six laws, was published in the eighth year of king *Rotharis*'s reign, that is, in the year 630. In all the provinces under his dominion, especially in the dukedom of *Benvento*, which was reputed at

DIAC I IV C IX

(F) The incomparable *Grotius* prefers the method, which the *Lombards* followed in making laws, to that which was practised by the *Romans* themselves. Among the latter the emperor was the sole lawgiver, so that whatever pleased him, had the force of a law. But the *Lombard* kings did not assume that power to themselves, since their

laws were enacted in public assemblies, convened for that purpose, after they had been maturely examined, and approved of, by all the lords of the kingdom. From these assemblies were excluded the ecclesiastic order, and the people; so that the legislative power was lodged in the king and the nobles alone (5)

(-) *Constitutio proleg ad hif. Corb.*

this time, as it had greatly extended its bounds, the best part of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. The example of *Rotharis* was followed by the other *Lombard* kings his successors, especially by *Grimoald*, *Luitprand*, *Rachis*, and *Astolphus*; but the laws of *Rotharis* far exceeded in number those of the other princes (G). The reign of king *Rotharis* is not only memorable

(G) To the laws of king *Rotharis*, comprised in the above-mentioned edict, is prefixed the following preface: "Here begins the edict, which, with the advice of my principal judges, we have composed, I, in the name of God, king *Rotharis*, the seventh king of the nation of the *Lombards*, in the eighth year of my reign, the second indiction, and, since the coming of the *Lombards* into the province of *Italy* under *Alboin*, at that time, by divine clemency, king, the seventy-sixth. Given at *Pavia* in the palace. How great our care and anxiety is, and has ever been, for our subjects, the following decree sufficiently declares." He then says, that he thought it incumbent upon him to make those laws, in order to relieve the poor from the oppression they groaned under, and to restrain the insolence of the rich, and of men in power, that every one might live in peace, and enjoy his property undisturbed. He declares, that these, and no other laws, should, for the future, be in force, reserving, however, to himself the power of adding such other laws to them, as should be approved of by the wise men of the nation. He orders all controver-

sics, that were not yet decided, and such as should arise after the twenty-second day of *November*, the day of the publication of the edict, to be determined according to the laws comprised in it; but at the same time forbids the causes already decided to be re-examined, and orders the parties to acquiesce to the sentence given by proper judges. He concludes by declaring, that no other copy or copies should be of any authority, but such as were written, revised, or approved of, by *Ansuald* his notary, to prevent, by that means, litigious persons from taking advantage of the mistakes, to which writers or copyists are liable (6). In the famous monastery of the *Benedictines* at *Cava*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, is still to be seen, amongst other monuments of antiquity, an antient manuscript in *Lombard* characters, containing, besides this edict of *Rotharis*, the laws of the other *Lombard* kings, and those likewise of the *French* and *German* emperors, who were kings of *Italy*. In the edict of *Rotharis*, after the preface, come the titles of each chapter, and then the chapters or law, in all three hundred and eighty-six, according to the order of the preceding chapter. To the laws of *Rotharis*, and

(6) *Vide Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. ii. ann. 443.*

He reduces
the Alpes
Cottiz,
and several
cities.

able for the laws that prince enacted, but for the conquests he made ; for, not thinking himself bound by the treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the exarch, he broke on a sudden into the *Alpes Cottiz* ; and, having, almost without opposition, made himself master of that province, he led his army against the cities of *Opitergium*, now *Oderzo*, and *Treviso*, which he easily reduced, with all the cities in the province of *Venetia*, till that time held by the *Romans*. *Isaacius*, then exarch, alarmed at this sudden and unexpected invasion, drew together all his forces ; but, not having been able to assemble them in time to cover the above-mentioned

of the other *Lombard* kings his successors, the *Roman* laws in the end gave way. *Justinian* indeed had taken care to have the volumes of his laws spread all over *Italy*, and, annulling all other laws, had ordered them alone, and the *novellæ constitutiones*, to be observed. But, in spite of all the pains he had taken to establish them, their authority ended in *Italy* almost with his life ; for, that country being in great part reduced by the *Lombards* in the reign of *Justin*, the successor of *Justinian*, the *Roman* laws were only observed in such places, as continued subject to the emperor, that is, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Rome*, in the small dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gacta*, and *Amalfi*, and in some maritim towns of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*. The *Lombards*, to the reign of *Rotharis*, were governed only by their antient customs. As for the natives of *Italy* subject to the *Lombards*, they were allowed to retain the *Roman* laws, but such only as were contained in the *Theodosian* code, which was in greater repute among the *Lombards* than the *Justinian* code. The former, therefore, and the compendium made by order of *Alaric*, were the only books that

had any authority, either among the *Lombards*, or the *Visigoths*, at this time masters of Spain. In *Rome* the popes strove with all their power and might to maintain the authority of the *Justinian* laws, having much at heart the interest of the emperor, to whom they chose rather to live subject, than to the *Lombards*. Their zeal for the service of the emperors was, as the learned *Pietro Giannone*, a most impartial writer, rightly observes, nothing at the bottom but self-interest. As the emperors lived at a great distance, they could not easily discover or defeat the design the popes had of making themselves, by degrees, masters of *Rome* ; whereas, if the *Lombards* had once got possession of that city, they must have laid aside all thoughts of ever usurping the sovereign authority over the metropolis of *Italy*. Hence *Rome* was no sooner threatened by the *Lombards*, than the popes, pretending great zeal for the emperor's service, solicited succours with great earnestness, both from the emperor and the exarch. By this means they preserved *Rome*, not for the emperors, but for themselves, as we shall relate hereafter.

places, he broke with great violence into the dominions of the *Lombards*, laying them waste with fire and sword. *Rotharis* was then busied in the siege of *Perugia* : which city he had no sooner reduced, than he marched with his whole army in quest of the exarch, whom he met on the confines of *Æmilia*, and offered him battle. The exarch accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated, eight thousand of them being killed on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight. From this time to the reign of *Luitprand*, no acts of hostility passed between the exarchs and the kings of the *Lombards*, the latter being satisfied with their new conquests, and the former glad to enjoy unmolested the territories which remained under the dominion of the emperors.

Gives the exarch a total overthrow.

Year of the flood 2986.

Of Christ 638.

Of Rome 1386.

As for this time *Mauritius*, who had been by *Heraclius* appointed duke or governor of *Rome*, taking advantage of the distressed state of the empire, occasioned by the usurpation of *Heraclius*, and the invasion of the *Saracens*, usurped the sovereignty of the city committed to his charge. But an end was soon put both to his life and usurpation; for the exarch *Isaacius* was no sooner informed of what had passed at *Rome*, than he dispatched against the usurper one of his officers, a person of great authority, with a considerable sum of money, and at the head of his best troops. This commander, marching up to the walls of the city, caused a declaration to be read, wherein *Mauritius* was proclaimed a rebel, and not only a pardon promised, but a considerable gratuity, to all who should quit the traitor, and return to their duty. Upon this encouragement, *Mauritius* was abandoned by all his troops, and forced, as he had no other resource, to take sanctuary in a church; but he was dragged from thence, and, by an order from the exarch, beheaded, after he had been for some time kept in chains. Not long after, *Isaacius* died, and *Theodorus Calliopa* was sent by the emperor to succeed him in the exarchate. *Theodorus* governed *Italy* with great applause for the space of seven years, that is, from the year 643. to 650. when *Olympius* was appointed exarch in his room. *Olympius* gained several advantages over the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, and at last drove them out of that island; but died in the third year of his exarchate, being quite spent and worn out by the toils and fatigues he underwent in that expedition. Upon his death, the emperor *Constans II.* sent *Theodorus Calliopa* to govern *Italy* once more. In the second year of the exarchate of *Olympius*, that is, in 652. died king *Rotharis*, after he had governed the *Lombards* for the space of sixteen years with such

Arbellion in Rome suppressed by the exarch.

King Rotharis dies.

Year of the flood 3000. Of Christ 652. Of Rome 1400.

prudence, equity, and moderation, that he was deservedly esteemed the most illustrious prince of his age. He himself professed the doctrine of *Arius*; but allowed his subjects full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they liked best; and therefore took care, that, in all the cities of his kingdom, there should be constantly two bishops, the one catholic, and the other *Arian*.

Arechis the second duke of Benevento dies. Aio his son succeeds him; but he is killed by the Slavonians;

IN the fifth year of the reign of king *Rotharis*, that is, in 641. died *Arechis* the second duke of *Benevento*, after he had governed that dukedom for the space of fifty years, and so enlarged it at the expence of the *Romans*, thit on one side it reached to *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum* in *Apulia*^h. He was succeeded by his son *Aio*, whom he had taken for his partner in the government five months before his deathⁱ. *Aio* was a man of very slender parts, and sometimes, as *Paulinus Diaconus* insinuates, distracted in his mind; which that writer ascribes to a potion given him by the *Romans*. His father therefore, sensible of the incapacity of his son, recommended him on his death-bed to *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, the sons of *Gisulf* duke of *Friuli*, who, as we have related above, had fled to him, and were now in the flower of their age. These *Arechis* looked upon as his own children, and therefore appointed them by his last will to succeed him in the dukedom, in case his son should die without issue male^h. While *Aio* governed the dukedom, the *Slavonians*, passing by sea from *Dalmatia*, which they had seized, into *Italy*, landed at *Sipontum*, and laid waste great part of *Apulia* (H). Upon their landing in *Apulia*, they encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sipontum*, and surrounded their camp with deep ditches, which they covered with branches of trees, laying some earth and green turf over them. As *Apulia* was for the most part subject at that time to the duke of *Benevento*, *Aio*, hearing of their invasion, marched against them with what troops he could assemble, without waiting the return of *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, who were then absent. But, having attacked their camp, he fell into one of the above-mentioned ditches, and

^h Vide PAUL. ÆMIL de reb. Franc. p. 132. AC. l. iv. c. 15.

ⁱ PAUL. DIACON. l. iv. c. 15. ^h Idem ibid.

(H) They dwelt originally on the banks of the *Borysthenes*, now the *Nieper*, in *European Sarmatia*, and from thence advancing to the *Danube*, they passed that river in the reign of

Justinian, and made themselves masters of that part of *Illyricum* which lies between the *Drave* and the *Save*, and is to this day from them called *Sclavonia*.

was there slain by the enemy, after he had governed the dukedom five months with his father, and one year alone.

RODOALD, hearing what had happened, assembled with ^{who are} incredible expedition a considerable body of forces; and, ^{defeated} ing upon the enemy before they had the least intelligence of ^{by Rodo-} his march, he gave them a total overthrow, and drove them quite out of the dukedom. Having thus revenged the death ^{fourth} of *Aio*, he took, together with his brother *Grimoald*, ^{the duke of Be-} possession of the dukedom, pursuant to the last will of *Aiechis*, ^{nevento.} who had appointed them to succeed himself and his son. These two princes governed jointly for the space of five years, during which time they laid siege to *Surrento*, still held by the *Romans*; but the inhabitants, encouraged by *Agapitus* their bishop, made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Lombards*, ^{ic.} having attempted in vain to take the place by storm, raised the siege, and returned home. *Rodwald* died in *Surrento*, in the year 647. but his brother *Grimoald* held the dukedom sixteen years after his death, and is said to have gained several victories over the *Napolitans* and *Romans*, and to have greatly extended the bounds of his dukedom. *Grimoald*, After he had governed the dukedom five years with his bro- ^{the fifth} ther, and sixteen alone, he possessed himself of the throne, ^{duke, in-} and reigned nine years more over the whole nation of the ^{larges the} *Lombards*, as we shall relate hereafter. ^{dukedom}

BUT to return to the *Lombard* kings. *Roberts* was suc- ^{Rotharis} ceeded by his son *Rodwald*, who, as he was a prince of a ^{peaceable} peaceable disposition, performed nothing which authors have ^{his son} thought worth transmitting to posterity. He was content, as ^{Rodwald,} his father had been, with the *Arian* heresy, which occasioned some religious contests between him and the orthodox bishops, but these disturbances were soon appeased. He had reigned four years with his father; but scarce reigned one after his ^{who is} father's death, being killed by a *Lombard*, whose wife he had ^{murdered} debauched. He had married *Gundiberg* the daughter of *Ariulf* and *Theudelinda*, but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon his death, assembled, in order to choose a new king, when the choice fell on *Aribert* or *Aribert* the ^{Aripert} son of *Gundald*, and brother of *Theudelinda*. The only ^{choosing} thing we find recorded of him in history, is his building in *Pavia* the oratory of St. Saviour. He died, after he had reigned, according to *Paulus Diaconus* ^m, nine years, though *Sigonius* allows him but five at most. He left two sons be- ^{He divides} hind him, *Partharis* and *Gundebert*, between whom he most ^{the king-} imprudently divided his kingdom. *Partharis*, the eldest, ^{dom be-}

¹ Vide CAMIL. PEL. in dissert. duc. Benev. p. 54. & UGHEL. de archiepisc. Surrent. p. 34.

^m PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 18.

between his two sons *via*. But the latter, not satisfied with the part allotted him, *Partharit* began to quarrel with his brother; and, being pushed on by his ambition, and encouraged by the evil counsellors about him, he resolved in the end to drive his brother from the throne, and make himself master of the whole kingdom.

He was well apprised, that he could not accomplish this with his own strength; and therefore he dispatched *Garibald* duke of *Turin* as his ambassador to *Grimoald* duke of *Benevento*, at that time by far the most powerful of all the Lombard dukes, inviting him to his assistance, and promising to give him his sister in marriage, if he succeeded in the undertaking. But the duke of *Turin*, acting quite contrary to his instructions, instead of persuading *Grimoald* to assist his master, advised him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and to decide the controversy between the two brothers, by driving them both out, and seizing on the kingdom for himself. He told him, That the two brothers were young, rash, and un-experienced; that the affairs of the Lombards required a prince of prudence, valour, and experience; and that, the disagreement between the two princes would, in all likelihood, end in the ruin of the whole nation. *Grimoald*, being naturally of an active and ambitious temper, was easily persuaded to follow the advice of the ambassador; and accordingly, having raised a considerable army, he marched at the head of it towards *Pavia*, leaving his son *Romuald* to govern the dukedom in his absence. Being arrived as far as *Placentia*, he dispatched *Garibald* to acquaint the king with his arrival. The inconsiderate prince received the news of his approach with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and, being at a loss where he should lodge and entertain his supposed friend and ally, *Garibald* told him, that his own palace was the only proper place for the reception of a person, to whom he had promised his sister in marriage. He added, that, if he did not repose an entire confidence in *Grimoald*, or had the least suspicion of treachery, he ought, for his greater safety, to receive him with armour under his royal robes. The king put on armour accordingly, and the duke, with unheard-of treachery, returning to *Grimoald*, advised him to be upon his guard, since the king was coming to meet him in armour, no doubt with a design to murder him. *Grimoald* could not persuade himself, that the king had any such design, till they met, when, upon their embracing each other, he found that *Gundebert* was really in armour; and, not doubting in the least but that it was with a design to murder him, in order to be beforehand with him, he drew his sword that instant, and killed

and the unhappy prince on the spot. Upon his death, he seized on the royal palace, and the treasures lodged there, causing himself to be acknowledged king of the Lombards in his room.

GUNDEBERT left a son named *Rambert* or *Reginbert*, who was privately conveyed away, and brought up with great care by the friends of the deceased king, *Grimoald* making no great inquisition after him, as he was but an infant. *Partharit* no sooner heard of his brother's fate, than, abandoning *Milan* in the utmost confusion, he fled to *Chagan* king of the *Avars*, and took refuge in his court. He left his queen *Rodelind*, and his son *Garib*, yet an infant, to shift for themselves; so that they both fell into the hands of *Grimoald*, by whom they were sent to *Benevento*, and kept under confinement in that city. The inhabitants of *Milan*, finding themselves abandoned by their king, opened their gates to *Grimoald*, who, having taken possession of that important place, marched from thence to *Pavia*, where, in the latter end of the year 662 he was with one voice proclaimed by the people king of the *Lombards*. To gain the affection of the *Lombards*, and by that means establish himself more firmly in his new kingdom, to the great joy of the whole nation, he married *Gundebert*, sister to the two unhappy young prince. He then sent back his army to *Benevento*, having first distributed considerable sums among them, but kept with him some of his most trusty friends, whom he raised to the first employments of the kingdom.

THE new king, though confirmed in the power he had usurped by the general consent of the nation, yet, reflecting on the fickleness and inconstancy of the multitude, did not think himself safe, so long as *Partharit*, his competitor, resided at the court of the king of the *Avars*, at that time a powerful prince. He did not doubt but the banished king would watch all opportunities of attempting the recovery of his paternal kingdom, and would, in such an attempt, be seconded by great numbers of the *Lombards*. To prevent therefore the disturbances that would thence ensue, he dispatched ambassadors to *Chagan*, complaining of the protection he had given to his rival, and threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith banish him his dominions. The king *Partharit* of the *Avars*, though greatly affected with the misfortunes of the unhappy prince, yet did not think it advisable to engage in a war for his sake, and therefore, to avoid it, commanded him to quit his dominions. *Partharit*, seeing him-

^a PAUL DIAC. l. iv. c. 18, 19.

self thus abandoned by his friend and ally, and not knowing where to find an asylum, resolved, in that desperate condition, to throw himself upon the honour and generosity of his greatest enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched one of his trusty friends, by name *Unulf*, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his resolution, and obtain leave for him to reside at *Pavia*. *Grimoald*, highly pleased with the confidence the unfortunate prince reposed in him, and glad of such an opportunity to shew his generosity, complied with the request, and ordered an house to be got ready for him in *Pavia* every-way fit for his reception. Upon his arrival, he received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness; but, observing that the multitude attended his entry with unusual marks of joy, and that persons of distinction flocked to him night and day, and seemed, in a manner, to respect him still as their prince, he began to be apprehensive, lest they should attempt to restore him to the throne.

THIS jealousy increased daily, and at length wrought upon him so far, that, after some time, he placed a guard upon him; and his fears, by degrees, getting the better of his generosity, he one day sent private orders to the guard to dispatch him the following night. These orders, however private, did not escape the vigilancy of his trusty friend *Unulf*, who, acquainting *Partharit* with them, advised him to change cloaths with him, and, thus disguised, to attempt his escape. *Partharit* followed his advice, and, having by that means deceived the centinels, he passed the *Tesino* undiscovered; and, finding, on the other side the river, horses and guides provided for him by the care of *Unulf*, he escaped first to *Hafta*, thence to *Turin*, and at last into *Gaul*. *Grimoald*, being informed the next morning of what had happened, was so far from punishing *Unulf*, that, on the contrary, he bestowed the highest commendations upon him for his unshaken fidelity, leaving it to his choice either to stay at home, or follow his master. *Clotaire III.* then king of the *Franks*, was so touched with the misfortunes of *Partharit*, and his family, that the following year he sent a powerful army into *Italy* to replace him on the throne. *Grimoald*, well apprised that he was far inferior in strength to the *Franks*, had recourse to the following stratagem: At their approach he pretended to fly, leaving his camp well stored with all manner of provisions, especially with wine. Hereupon the inconsiderate *Franks*, instead of pursuing the enemy, began to plunder the camp; and, finding in it great plenty of provisions, they abandoned themselves to eating and drinking; which when they had done to excess, they betook themselves

but afterwards orders him to be put to death.

He makes his escape.

The Franks espouse his cause;

to rest, without the least apprehension of an enemy. But *but receive* *Grimoald*, returning in the dead of the night, fell upon them a total overthrow while they lay fast asleep, and made such a dreadful havock *werthrow*. of them before they could betake themselves to their arms, Year of that few of them were left alive to carry home the news of the flood their defeat.

GRIMOALD, thus happily delivered from one war, was soon involved in another. Hitherto the emperors, neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of reuniting it to the empire, being well satisfied if they could but keep the few provinces and cities they held there, to wit, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the dukedom of *Rome*, and those of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, with some cities of *Calabria* and *Brutium*. But *Constans*, the son of *Constantine*, and the grandson of *Heraclius*, having settled the affairs of the empire into parties and factions, resolved to employ his whole strength in driving the *Lombards* quite out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this resolution, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out into *Sicily*; and, not satisfied with appointing the best officers, he had to command in this expedition, he left *Constantinople*, and, coming into *Italy*, put himself at the head of his army (1). He landed at *Tarentum* in the spring of the year 663. and thence marched directly to *Benevento*, being joined on his march by the troops in the dukedom of *Naples*. This unexpected invasion with a very considerable army, commanded by the emperor in person, struck the *Lombards* of *Benevento* with such terror and consternation, that they abandoned several places in *Apulia*, and among the rest *Luceria*, which *Constans* destroyed. From *Luceria* the emperor marched to *Accrenza*;

3011.
Of Christ
663.
Of Rome
1111.

He takes
some pla-
ces, and be-
sieves Be-
nevento.

° PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 2—5.

(1) Some writers tell us, that, having murdered his brother *Theodore*, he was so haunted with ghastly spectres, and terrible dreams, that, being no longer able to bear the sight of the place where the murder had been committed, he left *Constantinople*, and repaired to *Italy*, hoping to find there some relief for his tormented conscience. Others ascribe his departure from the imperial seat to the hatred which the *Constan-*

tinopolitans bore him, on account of his having embraced the tenets of the *Monothelites*; and add, that he designed to transfer the seat of the empire from *Constantinople* to *Rome* (7). But the most credible writers, and among the rest *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Paulus Diaconus* (8), suppose him to have undertaken his journey into *Italy* upon no other account, but to drive the *Lombards* quite out of that country.

(7) *Vide Sigon, de regn. Ital. ad ann. 663.*

(8) *P. u.*

but, not being able to take it by storm, on account of its strong situation, he pursued his march without loss of time to *Benevento*, and invested the place with his whole army. *Romuald* the son of *Grimoald*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, immediately dispatched *Gesuald*, who had been his guardian, to acquaint his father with the danger he was in, and to solicit succours. In the mean time the *Lombards* not only repulsed with great vigour the *Romans* in their repeated assaults, but killed great numbers of them in the sallies they daily made. *Grimoald* no sooner heard, that the city was besieged, than he assembled, with incredible expedition, all his forces, and, putting himself at their head, he marched to the relief of his son. He dispatched back *Gesuald*, to give him notice, that, in a very short time, he should be relieved, and to encourage him to hold out till his arrival (K).

He raises the siege, and is defeated in his retreat. IN the mean time the emperor, hearing the king of the *Lombards* was within a short march of him, raised the siege, and began, in great haste, his march to *Naples*. But *Mitula* duke of *Capua*, meeting him at the river *Calore*, cut off great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest, together with the emperor, to save themselves by a precipitate flight. To revenge this disgrace, *Sabur rus*, one of the emperor's generals,

(K) *Gesuald* was unfortunately taken by the *Romans*, as he was attempting to get into the besieged city, and carried before the emperor, to whom he ingeniously owned, that he was sent by the king to acquaint the besieged, that he was in full march, and already very near, with a powerful army, to relieve them. The emperor, perplexed, and greatly alarmed, at these news, resolved to conclude a peace with *Romuald*, that he might retire unmolested to *Naples* before the arrival of the king. But, in order to obtain better conditions, he commanded *Gesuald* to go to the walls, and tell *Romuald*, that his father could not possibly come to his relief, threatening to put him to a cruel death, if he refused to obey. *Gesuald* promised to do as he required; but when *Romuald* appeared upon the walls,

with undaunted courage, and a loud voice, that the *Romans* there present might likewise hear, *Take courage*, he cried, *and banish all fear; for your father is near at hand with a powerful army to relieve you. This night he will reach the river Sangro. I earnestly recommend to you my dear wife and children; for I am in the hands of a perfidious enemy, who this moment will put me to death.* The emperor, highly provoked at this generous and bold action, instantly caused his head to be cut off, and with an engine to be thrown into the town, where it was taken up, and carried to *Romuald*, who, having kissed it with great affection, and bathed it with his tears, caused it, together with the rest of the body, which was soon after found, to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence.

engaged

engaged to give the *Lombards* a total overthrow, and put *Grimoald* himself to flight, provided he were allowed but twenty thousand men, with an unlimited command. *Constans* having granted him his request, he encamped at the pass of *Formiæ*, now, as is generally supposed, *Mola di Gaeta*, with a design to cover the emperor's march, who intended to visit *Rome*, and, when he was out of danger, to go in quest of the enemy. In the mean time *Grimoald*, arriving with his army at *Benevento*, and being there informed of the boasting engagement of *Saburru*, resolved to march directly against him, and offer him battle; but, his son *Romuald* earnestly intreating him to suffer him to command the army in his room, he complied with his request, and detached the young prince with the flower of his army, who, meeting *Saburru* in the neighbourhood of *Formiæ*, fell upon him with great intrepidity. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, who behaved very gallantly, made a vigorous stand; so that the victory continued a long time doubtful.

BUT, while both armies were fighting with the utmost fury, a *Lombard*, by name *Amolungus*, engaging a *Roman* horseman, first struck him from his horse, and then, lifting him up on the point of his spear, held him over his head in the sight of the *Roman* army; which struck them with such terror, that they began to give ground; and, being vigorously pressed by the *Lombards*, they abandoned in the end the field of battle, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. *Romuald*, having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, returned to the field of battle, and from thence to *Benevento*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at the gates by the king his father, and received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants, as the deliverer of his country. In the mean time *Constans*, arriving at *Rome*, was received there with extraordinary marks of honour, no emperor having, for a long time, set his foot in that city. He spent twelve days in visiting, or rather in plundering, the remarkable places of that great metropolis; for he stripped her of all her most valuable ornaments in gold, silver, brass, and marble, not sparing even the coverings of churches, which he caused to be conveyed by sea into *Sicily*, in order to transport them from thence to *Constantinople*. He himself went by land to *Naples*, and from thence to *Rhegium*, where his army was a third time defeated by the *Lombards*. From *Rhegium* he crossed over into *Sicily*, and fixed his residence at *Syracuse*, where he was murdered in the bath by his own people in 668. so that the inestimable wealth and plunder which he had brought

The Lombards make themselves masters of several cities. from *Rome*, being left in *Sicily*, was, soon after his death, seized by the *Saracens*, and carried to *Alexandria*. After his departure from *Italy*, the *Lombards*, wholly intent upon improving their late victories, made themselves masters of *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Brindisi*, and all the places in the country now known by the name of *Terra d'Otranto*, which were added to the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Grimoald*, to reward *Mitula* duke of *Capua*, who had defeated the *Romans* in their retreat from *Benevento*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at the same time appointed him to succeed the late duke *Zotbo* in the dukedom of *Spoletum*; which two dukedoms he governed for many years.

The duke of Friuli revolts. WHILE *Grimoald* was employed against the *Romans* in the dukedom of *Benevento*, *Lupus* duke of *Friuli*, taking advantage of his absence, oppressed his people in a most enormous manner; and, not satisfied with the wealth, which, by heavy taxes, he extorted from them, he broke into the territories of the *Venetian Lombards*, and there plundered the church of *Aquileia* of all its rich ornaments. For this the king, upon his return to *Pavia*, resolved to call him to a severe account; which he apprehending, renounced his allegiance to *Grimoald*, and openly revolted. *Grimoald* was determined at all events to punish him with exemplary severity; but, being unwilling to lead his *Lombards* against their countrymen, or suffer them to imbrue their hands in the blood of each other, he employed *Chagan* king of the *Hunns* to make war upon him, who broke into his territories the following year at the head of an infinite multitude, and laid them waste far and near. This *Lupus* did not tamely suffer; but, drawing together what forces he could, he marched against the *Hunns*, and, engaging them four days successively, made a dreadful havoc of the undisciplined multitude; but, in the fifth engagement, his men being tired out, and quite spent, they were, after a most obstinate dispute, in which *Lupus* himself was killed, overpowered, and put to flight. Upon the death of *Lupus*, and the defeat of his army, *Chagan* over-ran the whole country, and laid it waste without controul. But *Grimoald*, who had employed the king of the *Hunns* only to punish the rebellious duke, sent ambassadors to put him in mind of their agreement, and require him to retire with his forces, since there was no further occasion for them in the dukedom of *Friuli*, or the territories of the *Lombards*. *Chagan* answered plainly, That he would not quit a country which he had conquered with his arms, and the blood of so many of his subjects. *Grimoald*, provoked at this answer, resolved to drive him out

He is killed by the Hunns.

by force ; and accordingly marched against him at the head of a very considerable army ; but, as it was far inferior in numbers to that of the *Hunns*, in order to make it appear more numerous than it really was, he mustered his troops in the presence of *Chagan's* ambassadors, and made the same men pass thrice before him in different cloathing. By this device they appeared to be treble the number they really were ; and such they were, by the ambassadors represented to the king, who thereupon, in great fear, retired to his own dominions^r.

Upon the retreat of *Chagan*, *Wurnesid*, son to the deceased duke, attempted, with the assistance of the *Slavonians*, to possess himself of his father's dukedom ; but *Grimwald*, having defeated the *Slavonians*, and killed *Wurnesid*, appointed one *Welcar* to succeed *Lupus* in the dukedom of *Friuli* ; and at the same time married *Theodorata* the daughter of *Lupus*, to his son *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*^s. About this time *Alczeus*, one of the princes of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and, repairing to *Pavia*, offered his service to *Grimwald*, who, thinking he might prove very serviceable to his son against the *Romans*, sent him to *Benevento*, in which dukedom several cities were allotted to him and his followers, as we have related elsewhere^t.

AND now *Grimwald*, having no wars on his hands, and no enemy to fear, applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. The laws of king *Rotharis*, which had been published twenty-four years before, were by this time become familiar, not only to the *Lombards*, for whom they had been made, but likewise to the natives of *Italy*, who chose to follow them, though they had never been forbidden the use of the *Roman* laws ; but these laws, in process of time, proving, as it generally happens, defective, and some of them being thought too severe, *Grimwald*, in the sixth year of his reign, undertook the revising of the edict of *Rotharis*, and, in a general diet held in the year 668. with the consent and approbation of his nobles, repealed some laws, enacted others in their room, and published a new edict^u, containing eleven chapters, which is still to be seen in the above-mentioned code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*. *Grimwald*, having thus performed all the duties of an excellent prince, was, to the great grief of

^r PAUL. DIAC. lib. v. c. 17—20.

^s Idem ibid.

c. 21.

^t Vide supra, p. 515, 516.

^u PAUL. DIAC. l. v.

c. 12. & SIGON. de regn. Ital. l. ii. ad ann. 668.

Grimoald the Lombards, unexpectedly snatched away by the following dies. accident : He had been let blood in one of his arms, and, as Year of he was, nine days after, bending a bow, the vein opened, the flood and, all possible means for closing it proving ineffectual, he 3020. bled to death *. He was a prince of uncommon parts, and Of Christ 672. in every respect equal to the high station to which he was Of Rome raised. Though he had been brought up in the principles of 1420. *Arius*, he renounced the errors of that heresiarch, and embraced the catholic religion, yielding to the arguments of *John* bishop of *Bergamo*, a prelate of great piety and learning. The example of *Grimoald* was followed by the kings his successors, who all professed the catholic religion ; so that *Arianism* was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole nation of the Lombards.

Garibald He died in the year 672. the ninth of his reign, leaving succeeds : behind him, besides *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, another but is driven out by son, by name *Garibald*, to whom, though yet very young, even out by he bequeathed on his death-bed the kingdom of the Lombards. Partharit, From his excluding *Romuald*, authors conclude that prince to have been his illegitimate son. Be that as it will, *Garibald* did not long enjoy his new dignity ; for he had scarce mounted the throne, when *Partharit*, who was still in *Gaul*, hearing of the death of his rival, hastened into *Italy*, and, being received with extraordinary joy by great numbers of Lombards, he advanced, attended by crowds of followers, to *Pavia*, and was there received by the inhabitants, and the great men of the nation, as their lawful sovereign, *Garibald* having withdrawn to his brother in *Benevento*, after a short reign of three months. *Partharit*, thus restored to the throne, recalled his wife *Rodelinda*, and his son *Cunipert*, who, ever since his expulsion, had been in exile at *Benevento*. Having reigned alone in great peace and tranquillity for the space of eight years, in the latter end of the year 680. he took his son *Cunipert* for his partner in the kingdom, and reigned with him ten years more. During their joint reign, *Alachis* duke of *Trent*, openly revolting, assumed the title of king of the Lombards. Hereupon *Partharit*, marching against him with all his forces, besieged him in his own city ; but *Alachis*, sallying out with the flower of his troops, obliged the king to raise the siege, and save himself by flight. However, *Alachis*, finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his men, who refused to bear arms against their lawful sovereign, thought it adviseable to submit, upon promise of pardon ; which *Partharit* granted him, at the earnest request of his

who takes
Cunipert
for his
partner.

son *Cunipert*, who had a great friendship for the duke, with whom he had been brought up from his infancy; nay, the young prince, in order to win him by kindness, not only prevailed upon his father to take him anew into favour, but to create him duke of *Brescia*, adding that dukedom to the dukedom of *Trent*. The king on that occasion told his son, That, by his good offices, he did not so much oblige a friend, as strengthen an enemy; but nevertheless he could not help complying with his request.

SOME time after, *Partharit* died, a prince highly com-
mended by our historian for his piety, justice, moderation,
and, above all, for the great care he took of the poor*. *Year of the flood*
Three years before his death, *Deodorus Calliopa* the exarch was
recalled, and one *John* sent to govern *Italy* in his room. *3038.*
Alachis, duke of *Trent* and *Brescia*, was no sooner informed of
the death of *Partharit*, than, unmindful of the favours he
had received at the hands of *Cunipert*, he resolved to drive him
from the throne, and place the crown upon his own head,
agreeably to what *Partharit* had foretold his son, while he was
studying to gain him by kindness. The rebellious duke, hav-
ing drawn into the conspiracy two brothers, *Aldo* and *Gran- Of Christ*
so, the two most considerable citizens of *Brescia*, and sever- 690.
al other *Lombards*, while the king was absent, seized on the *Of Rome*
royal palace of *Pavia*, and took upon himself the title of king. 1438.
Hereupon *Cunipert*, who was quite unprovided, not imagin-
ing the duke could be guilty of such treachery and ingrati-
tude, fled to an island in the lake *Larius*, now *Lago di Como*,
and there fortified himself in the best manner he could. In
the mean time the usurper, behaving in a most despotic and
tyrannical manner, highly disobliterated all his subjects, even
those to whom he was chiefly indebted for the crown he wore.
As he was one day telling money in his closet, he happened to
let a piece drop, which the son of *Aldo*, who was present,
officially took up, and gave him. The tyrant, in receiving
it, *Your father*, said he, *has many such pieces, which, ere it*
be long, shall be all mine. *drives Cu-*
nipert
from the
throne.

As the son of *Aldo* was but a child, the tyrant was not upon his guard; but the boy, remembering what he said, upon his return home, told it to his father, who concluding from thence, that his death, and the ruin of his family, would be the reward of all his services, if he did not, by some means or other, prevent them, consulted with his brother *Gran- so*, and his other friends, about deposing the usurper. They all

* PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 36.

Cunipert
restored.

agreed to seize on the city of *Pavia*, and recal their lawful sovereign the first time *Alachis* should go out to take the diversion of hunting. This they did accordingly, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, especially of the clergy, whom the tyrant had chiefly disoblighd.

War be-
tween him
and Ala-
chis.

ALACHIS, finding upon his return the gates shut against him, and *Cunipert* possessed of the royal palace, fled into *Istria*; and, having raised a considerable army there, he returned at the head of it, not doubting but he should be able to drive *Cunipert* anew from the throne. The king, hearing of his return, drew together all his forces, and, meeting the usurper in the plains of *Coronata*, he challenged him to a single combat, in order to save the lives of many innocent men, who must otherwise perish; but, *Alachis* refusing the challenge, the two armies began to prepare for a general engagement. While they were drawn up, and *Cunipert* ready to charge the enemy, one *Zeno*, a deacon of the church of *Pavia*, greatly attached, as were all the ecclesiastics, to the king's person, and firmly persuaded, that the welfare of the church depended upon his safety, with the greatest earnestness imaginable, begged leave to put on his armour, and counterfeit his person: *If I perish*, said he, *the loss will be small*; but *upon your safety depends the welfare both of the church and state*. The king being, with difficulty, prevailed upon by the tears and intreaties of his friends to accept the proposal, *Zeno* put on his armour, and appeared in it so like the king, whom he resembled in shape and stature, that he could hardly be distinguished from him; so that, when the two armies joined battle, *Alachis*, mistaking him for the king, engaged him with the utmost fury; and, having, with great ease, overcome and slain him, in the highest transports of joy imaginable, he ordered his head to be cut off, and exposed to the view of both armies on the point of a spear; but, finding it was the head of a priest, and not of the king, his joy was succeeded by a violent rage and passion, in which he vowed to emasculate all the ecclesiastics, in case he obtained the victory.

Alachis
killed, and
his army
defeated.

IN the mean time *Cunipert*, observing that his men, disheartened with the report of his death, began to give ground, shewed himself to them, and, by shewing himself, encouraged them to such a degree, that, returning to the charge, they renewed the fight with fresh vigour. However, *Cunipert*, to avoid the effusion of blood, sent a second time to *Alachis*, inviting him to decide the quarrel by a single combat; but, he declining anew the challenge, the two armies fought with the utmost fury, till, *Alachis* being slain, his men, disheart-
ened

ened by his death, fled in the utmost confusion. Most of them were cut off in the flight, and the rest drowned in the *Adige*. The army of the dukedom of *Friuli*, which *Alachis* enticed to his party, while they were marching to the assistance of the king, withdrew in the beginning of the battle, scrupling either to fight against him, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or against their lawful sovereign. *Cunipert*, after this victory, which put an end to the civil war, returned in triumph to *Pavia*, having first caused the deacon *Zeno* to be interred with the greatest pomp and solemnity. He afterwards built, in honour of St. *George*, a magnificent monastery in the field where the battle had been fought.

CUNIPERT, having thus happily suppressed so dangerous a rebellion, reigned in great peace and tranquillity all the year dies. 703. when he died, universally lamented; for he was a prince, says our historian, of a most comely aspect, of a sweet temper, engaging behaviour, great courage, and extraordinary piety². He had married *Hermelinda*, a princess of the blood royal of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and had by her one son, named *Luithbert*, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom; but, as he was then an infant, he committed him to the care of *Asprand*, a person of great distinction among the *Lombards*, and highly esteemed for his wisdom. *Luithbert*, or rather *Asprand*, had scarce governed eight months, when *Ragumbert* duke of *Turin*, taking upon him the title of king, defeated *Asprand* in battle, and caused himself to be acknowledged by the whole nation; but he died the same year, and was succeeded by his son *Aripert*, in whose reign *Luithbert*, assisted by several dukes, attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but he was utterly defeated by the usurper, and taken prisoner, in a battle fought at a small distance from *Pavia*. *Rotharit* duke of *Bergamo*, who had espoused with great zeal the cause of the king, fled, after the defeat of the army, to his own city, in which he was closely besieged by *Aripert*, who, having in the end made himself master of the place, sent the duke to *Turin*, where he was soon after put to death by his orders.

LUITBERT, his young competitor, met with no better treatment; for he soon after ordered him to be stifled in a bath. As for *Asprand*, whom, above all others, the tyrant was desirous of getting into his power, he fled first to the above-mentioned island in the lake *Larius*; but, being informed, that a strong detachment was marching against him, he fled from thence to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* to *Theu-*

¹ PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 38—41. ² Idem ibid.

His cruelty.

Is liberal to the churches.

debert duke of the *Bosorari*, with whom he continued for the space of nine years. *Aripert's* men reduced the island ; but, not finding *Asprand* there, they returned to *Aripert*, who transported with rage at his disappointment, put out the eyes of *Sigibrand* the son of *Asprand*, and at the same time caused the nose and ears of his wife *Theudesata*, and daughter *Aurona*, to be cut off. *Asprand* had another son, by name *Luitprand* ; but the tyrant spared him, as he was yet a child, and sent him to his father, Providence reserving him, as our historian observes, for great things ^a. *Aripert*, notwithstanding the acts of cruelty he practised in the beginning of his reign, is said to have ruled afterwards with great clemency and equity. He was a great friend to the ecclesiastics, and very liberal to the churches, which he enriched with ample donations. To the church of *Rome* he restored many lands, especially the patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiae*, which had been seized on by king *Rotharis*. We are told, that he sent the instrument of this donation to the bishop of *Rome* written in golden letters ^b (1). In the ninth year of his reign, *Asprand* returned

^a PAULI DIAC. I. v. c. 18-21. & I. vi. c. 22.
I. vi. c. 28.

^b Idem,

(L) The lands and estates which the churches acquired, not only within the district of their respective cities, but in distant countries, were styled patrimonies, as were likewise the hereditary estates both of princes and private persons, but with this difference, that the prince's estate was called *patrimonium sacrum*, as appears from several constitutions of the *Justinian* code (9). The *patrimonium sacrum* was what we now call the king's domain. As for the churches, so many profuse donations were made to them, both by princes and private persons, that, in process of time, they acquired great estates, which, according to the stile of those times, were called *patrimonies*. Thus, in the letters of pope *Gregory the Great*, frequent mention

is made, not only of the patrimony of the church of *Rome*, but of the church of *Milan*, *Remini*, *Ravenna*, and several others. The churches of great cities, such as *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Milan*, where the emperor's officers, and other illustrious persons, resided, acquired patrimonies, not only within their own district, but in distant countries ; whereas the churches of smaller cities, whose inhabitants had but moderate fortunes, and their estates within their own limits, had no patrimonies out of their districts. The church of *Rome*, above all others, acquired, by degrees, immense patrimonies, not only in *Italy*, but in the most distant provinces of *Europe* (1). In the time of *Gregory the Great*, that church held ample patrimonies in

(9) *Cod. Justin. l. xii.*

(1) *Vide Ammirat. in opuscul. discept. viii.*

turned into *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, raised by *Asprand* the duke of the *Boioarii*, who, having espoused his cause *returns* *is* with to *Italy*.

Sicily; for *Gregory*, in a letter to *Justin* governor of *Sicily* for the emperor, intreats him to cause the corn of the patrimony of *St. Peter* to be, without delay, conveyed to *Rome*, where there was great scarcity. The church of *Rome* had likewise a patrimony in *France*, and another in *Dalmatia*, of which the latter was committed to the care of one *Antoninus*, a subdeacon, and the former to that of a priest named *Candidus*, whom *Gregory*, in one of his letters, earnestly recommends to queen *Brunichild*, and likewise to king *Childebert* her son. In a letter to *Candidus*, he shews him how the revenues of that patrimony are to be disposed of; nay, from the letters of the same pope it appears, that the church of *Rome* had, in his time, a patrimony in *Africa*; for, in a letter to *Gennadius* exarch of that province, he returns him thanks for taking care of the patrimony of *St. Peter* there, and in particular for sending such as depended upon him to till the lands, which had been abandoned by the tenants. In *Italy* the patrimonies of the *Roman* church were almost without number. In the province of the *Alpes Cottiae* she had a large patrimony, which was seized, and for a long time possessed, by the *Lombards*; but restored to her by king *Aripert* in the time of pope *John VII.* *Aripert* king of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, restored the patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiae* belonging to the apostolic see, but

for a long time possessed by the *Lombards*, and sent the donation to *Rome* in golden letters (2). This donation was, according to the same writer, confirmed by king *Luitprand*. Other patrimonies were held by the same church, as appears from the letters of several popes, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Naples*, in the territories of *Salerno* and *Nola*, in the provinces of *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Liguria*, *Tuscany*, &c. That these patrimonies might be the more respected, the bishops gave them the names of the saints which each church had in special veneration. Thus the possessions of the church of *Ravenna* were called the patrimony of *St. Apollinaris*, those of *Rome*, *Milan*, *Naples*, &c. the patrimony of *St. Peter*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Apremus*, &c. The name of patrimony did not import any sovereignty or jurisdiction; for the pope, as well as the other bishops, held their patrimonies of the prince in whose state they lay, paying the same taxes and impositions as other subjects. It is true, that, in some places, those who had care of the patrimonies of *St. Peter*, attempted to take the administration of justice into their own hands: but this no prince would suffer; and besides, *Gregory the Great* forbid all attempts and encroachments of that kind, on pain of excommunication (3). In the year 681. the emperor *Constan-*

(2) *Paul. Diac. l. vi. c. 28. l. iii. tit. 17.*

(3) *Id. At Mart. mon. ad jus can.*

with great warmth, resolved to assist him with all his strength in revenging the cruel treatment his wife and children had met with at the king's hands. *Aripert* met him on the con-

tine Pogonatus granted an exemption from all tribute for the patrimonies of the *Roman* church in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and the tribute paid for the patrimonies of the same church in *Lucania* and *Abruzzo* was remitted by *Justinian* the successor of *Constantine*, in 687. But *Leo Isauricus*, provoked against the bishop of *Rome*, on account of his hindering the imperial edict against the worship of images from being put in execution, first revoked the exemptions granted by his predecessors for the patrimonies in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and afterwards, as the bishop continued to oppose the edict, he seized on those patrimonies, and ordered the revenues to be paid in to the exchequer. The church of *Rome* possessed, as we have observed, several patrimonies in the different provinces of *Italy*; and this gave rise to a great mistake among the writers of later times, who, confounding the patrimonies which the church of *Rome* held in those provinces with the provinces themselves, have supposed the provinces of the *Alpes Cottiae*, of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, and part of *Tuscany* and *Campania*, to have belonged to the church of *Rome*. Into this mistake several eminent authors have fallen, and among the rest *Scipio Ammiratus*, who, though otherwise a most exact and accurate writer, supposes king *Ari-*

pert, by the donation we have mentioned above, to have restored and confirmed to pope *John VII.* the province of the *Alpes Cottiae* (4); whereas it is evident from the words of the historian, that the king restored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony which she had in that province, and not the province itself, which reached as far as *Genoa*, and comprised a great tract of country, in which were many cities of note, and places of great importance. It is surprising any one should imagine, that the king of the *Lombards* would have divested himself of such a country, and given it to the pope, whom he knew to be greatly attached to the emperors of the East, the implacable enemies of the *Lombards*. But of this subject we shall speak more at large hereafter, on occasion of the many famous donations made to the church of *Rome* by *Charlemagne* and *Lewis the Pious*, where it will appear, that what we read in them of *Naples*, *Benevento*, and *Salerno*, ought to be understood of the patrimonies which the church of *Rome* had in those dukedoms, and not of the dukedoms themselves, it being certain, that the dukedom of *Benevento* came first under the dominion of the church in the year 1052. by way of exchange made between the emperor *Henry II.* and pope *Leo IX.* for the church of *Bamberg* (5).

(4) *Scip. Ammiratus, opusc. dissert. vii. Napoli, l. iv. scđ. 4.*

(5) *Vide Pietro Giann. List. civil. di*

finer with an army no way inferior to his. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted till night parted the combatants. The next day *Asprand* was for renewing the fight; but *Aripert*, though he had not lost near so many men as his adversary, yet, declining, for reasons unknown to our historian, a second engagement, left the enemy masters of the field of battle, and retired to *Pavia*. Being pursued by *Asprand*, whose men were no less encouraged by his retreat, than *Aripert's* were disheartened, he abandoned *Pavia*, with a design to pass into *Gaul*, and there hire a new army, carrying with him for that effect the best part of his treasures; but, attempting to swim cross the *Tesino*, he was drowned in that river. *Aripert* His body was found the next day, and buried with great pomp in the church of *St. Saviour*, founded by *Aripert*, the first of that name. His brother, by name *Guntbert*, fled to the king of the *Franks*, and continued at his court to his death. *Raginbert*, the eldest son of *Guntbert*, governed the city of *Orleans* for the king of the *Franks* in the time of our historian. The throne being vacant by the death of *Aripert*, *Asprand* was placed on it by the unanimous consent of the whole nation; but, he dying three months after his accession, his son *Luitprand* succeeded him in the kingdom of the *Lombards*. *Asprand* But, before we speak of his reign, we shall relate what happened till his time, worthy of notice, in the other provinces of *Italy* subject to the *Lombards*. *declared king.*

In the year 677. died *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, and was succeeded by *Grimoald* II. his son, to whom he left that dukedom greatly enlarged by the addition of *Taranto*, *Brindisi*, *Bari*, and their territories, which he took from the emperor of the East, as we have related above. *Grimoald* governed, with his brother *Gisulph*, not quite three years; and, upon his death, *Gisulph* held the dukedom alone fourteen years more. All we find recorded of him in history is his laying waste, upon what provocation we know not, the territory of *Rome*. *Gisulph*, dying in 694. was succeeded in the dukedom by his son *Romuald* II. who ruled twenty-six years, during which time he greatly harassed the *Neapolitans*, and, by a stratagem, made himself master of *Cumæ*, belonging to them. Hereupon *Gregory* II. then bishop of *Rome*, apprehending that metropolis to be in danger, did all that lay in his power to persuade the duke to restore *Cumæ*, offering him even a considerable sum in lieu of it. But his offers, and every other fair means, proving ineffectual, the bishop in the end thundered against him the sentence of excommunication; but, finding that *Grimoald* made no more account of his excom-

munications, than his offers, he had recourse to *John* duke of *Naples*, whom he advised to attack the city in the night; which he did accordingly, and, having made himself master of the place, he put three hundred *Lombards*, with their gaffald, to the sword, and took five hundred more prisoners, whom he carried with him to *Naples*. As for the city, he sold it to the bishop, as had been agreed on beforehand, for seventy pounds weight of gold^d. *Romuald* died in 720. and was succeeded by his son *Adelai*, who governed only two years, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

The dukes
of Friuli,

In the dukedom of *Friuli*, *Welcar*, who had been appointed duke by *Grimuald*, as we have related above, was succeeded by *Landar*, and he by *Rodoald*, in whose absence one *Ansfrid* seized on the dukedom, and soon after, aspiring to the crown, began to make vast preparations for so great an undertaking. But *Cunipert*, who reigned then, being privately acquainted with his design, found means to intercept him as he was going to *Verona*. However, he spared his life; but sent him into banishment, after he had caused his eyes to be put out. In the mean time *Rodoald* dying, his brother *Aldo* succeeded to the dukedom; which he governed, according to our historian, but one year and seven months^e, tho' *Sigonius* will have him to have held it seven years. *Aldo*, who by *Paulus Diaconus* is stiled only protector of the dukedom, was succeeded by *Ferdulf*, who was killed by the *Sclavonians*, with all the nobility of the dukedom, except *Munichis*, who had the good fortune to make his escape. One *Corvulus* was then appointed duke by king *Aripert*, whom he soon disoblged, and was on that account deposed, and deprived of his sight. In his room was raised to the dukedom one *Pemno*, who, seeking for the sons of the nobility killed by the *Sclavonians*, brought them up with his own children^f. During this time died *Mitula*, who had been rewarded by king *Grimuald*, as we have related above, with the dukedom of *Spoletto*, for his gallant behaviour against the emperor *Constans*. He was succeeded by his son *Faroald*, who governed jointly with his brother *Wachilap*^g. To return, after this short digression, to *Luitprand*.

and of
Spoletto.

Luit-
prand.

Year of
the flood
3059.
Of Christ

711.
Of Rome
1459.

THAT prince, from the very beginning of his reign, gave great instances of his courage and prudence. He had scarce mounted the throne, when one of his kinsmen, named *Rothars*, conspiring against him, invited him to a banquet at his house, where he had assassins concealed, who, upon a sig-

^d PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 44. & JOAN DIAC. apud Ugheill. de episc. Neap. p. 86. ^e PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 17. ^f Idem

^g Idem ibid. c. 24, 25.

^h Idem ibid. c. 30.

mal agreed on beforehand, were to rush into the room where the king was, and dispatch him. But *Luitprand*, receiving private intelligence of the treason that was hatching against him, sent for *Rotharis* to the palace, who, finding himself discovered, drew his sword on a sudden, with a design to kill the king; but he defended himself with great bravery, not shewing the least tokens of fear or surprize, till his guards, coming in at the noise, dispatched the traitor. He sometimes suffered himself to be transported by his courage beyond what was prudent in a prince, on whose safety depended the welfare of his subjects. Thus, being informed that two of his attendants had conspired against his life, and only watched a favourable opportunity of putting their design in execution, he one day walked out with them alone into a thick wood, and there, drawing his sword, he upbraided them with their treachery, and told them, that they now had what they so long wished for, the king alone; and therefore might try, if they pleased, to compass their wicked design. These words, with the king's generosity, and their own guilt, made such a deep impression upon their minds, that they threw themselves disarmed at his feet, and, owning the whole truth, acknowledged themselves unworthy of mercy. The generous prince, however, not only forgave them but, receiving them into favour, preferred them afterwards to great employments^b.

HAVING thus won his enemies at home by his kindness, and strengthened his interest abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the *Bavarii*, who had received and entertained him and his father in their districts, he applied himself, in imitation of his predecessors *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*, to the making of new laws, for the better regulation of his kingdom, and administration of justice. Having therefore, in the first year of his reign, convened a general diet in *Pavia*, with the consent and approbation of his nobles, and the judges from all parts of his kingdom, he enacted several laws, which he added to the edicts of *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*. In the following years he published many others, as occasion required, so that, next to *Rotharis*, he ought to be accounted the chief lawgiver of the *Lombards*. His first edict was published the last day of *February*, in the eleventh indiction, and the first year of his reign, as appears from the preface

^b PAUL DIAC l v c 38 ¹ Idem, l vi c 58. BERNARD SACCUS, hist l i c 1 ix c 5 SIGON reg Ital. ad ann. 713.

prefixed to it (M); and several others he published the following years; so that his laws amounted in the end to an hundred and fifty-two. But the wisdom this prince shewed in settling his kingdom with excellent laws, and his other extraordinary parts, were not a little eclipsed by his unbounded ambition; for, not satisfied with the large and extensive dominions left him by his predecessors, he undertook to drive the

(M) The preface is couched in the following words: "Where-
 " as our most mighty predecessor,
 " and most eminent king, Ro-
 " tharis, published an edict for
 " the Lombards, wherein he pru-
 " dently caused the following
 " words to be inserted; *If the*
 " *princes of the Lombards, our*
 " *successors, find any thing super-*
 " *fluous in this edict, they may*
 " *leave it out, and, with the*
 " *assistance of God, add what*
 " *they think wanting:* after
 " him, the most glorious king
 " Grimoald accordingly added
 " and left out what to him
 " seemed fit; and we, following
 " his example, and inspired, as
 " we hope, by God, have de-
 " creed to be added and omitted
 " such things, as, according to
 " the law of God, seemed to
 " us proper: therefore, in the
 " name of the Omnipotent God,
 " I Luitprand, the most excel-
 " lent, the Christian and Catho-
 " lic, king of the nation of the
 " Lombards, beloved of God, in
 " the first year of my reign, the
 " day before the calends of
 " March, in the eleventh in-
 " diction, together with all the
 " judges from the parts of Au-
 " stria and Neustria, and bor-
 " ders of Thuscia, with others of
 " my faithful Lombards, and all
 " the people assisting, am pleased
 " with the following regulations,
 " which to us have appeared good,

" according to the fear and love of
 " God." Then follow the six
 " chapters of the edict, whereof the
 " first bears this title, *De successione*
 " *filiarum*. In the fifth year of
 " his reign he published another
 " edict, and a great many more
 " in the following years, which
 " are all to be seen intire in the
 " manuscript code lodged in the
 " monastery of Cava, with seven
 " other chapters added to them,
 " under the following titles: I. *De*
 " *mercede magistrorum*. II. *De muro*.
 " III. *De annona*. IV. *De opera*.
 " V. *De caminata*. VI. *De furno*.
 " VII. *De puteo*. The laws of
 " Luitprand are in all an hundred
 " and fifty two, as appears from
 " the above-mentioned code; but
 " the compiler of the three books
 " of the laws of the Lombards has
 " thought fit to insert in that work
 " only an hundred and thirty-seven
 " of them, to wit, forty-eight in
 " the first book, and eighty-nine in
 " the second. As for the third
 " book, it is chiefly composed of
 " those laws which were made by
 " the emperors who reigned in
 " Italy, as successors to the kings
 " of the Lombards; for several laws
 " were enacted by them, not as
 " emperors or kings of France, but
 " as kings of Italy, or of the Lom-
 " bards; and hence the Lombard
 " laws were never of any force in
 " France, nor the French laws in
 " Italy.

Romans quite out of Italy; which in the end occasioned the ruin of the kingdom of the Lombards in that country: for the popes, growing jealous of their too great power, and finding the emperors of the East incapable of making head against them, or putting a stop to their conquests, had recourse to a foreign nation, which raised a new empire in Italy upon the ruins of the kingdom of the Lombards, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

LUITPRAND, pushed on by his ambition, watched all opportunities of enlarging his dominions at the expence of the emperors; and in the fifth year of his reign a very favourable one offered: for *Leo Isauricus*, who at that time reigned in the East, having, by his famous edict, forbidden the worship of images, and ordered them to be every-where pulled down, the people were so provoked at that innovation, that, in several places, they openly revolted, and, falling upon the emperor's officers, drove them out of the cities. In the East, *Germanus* patriarch of *Constantinople* opposed the emperor's design with great warmth, but *Leo* caused him to be deposed, and *Anastasius* to be raised to that see in his room, ordering at the same time all the images in the imperial city to be pulled down, and publicly burnt. He strictly enjoined his officers in the West, especially the exarch of *Ravenna*, to see his edict punctually obeyed in their respective governments. In compliance with these orders, *Scho'astius*, then exarch, began to pull down the images in all the churches and public places in *Ravenna*, which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that, taking arms, they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the worship of images.

THUS a kind of civil war being kindled in the city, *Luitprand* thought he had now a favourable opportunity of making himself master of the seat of the exarch, not doubting but the conquest of such an important place would be followed by that of the whole exarchate. Having therefore drawn together all his forces, he unexpectedly appeared before *Ravenna*, and closely besieged it. The exarch little expected such a surprize, as a friendly correspondence had been maintained for many years between the exarchs and the Lombard kings. However, he defended the place with such courage and resolution, that *Luitprand*, despairing of success, broke up the siege, and led his army against *Clasfis* at a small distance from *Ravenna* which he took, plundered, and leveled with the ground. The loss of this place, and the severe treatment the inhabitants met with from the king, threw the citizens of *Ravenna* into the utmost consternation,

He takes
and plun-
ders Ra-
venna.

Year of
the flood
3070.

Of Christ
722.

Of Rome
1470.



which *Luitprand* being informed of, he resolved to take advantage of their fears, and, returning before *Ravenna* while the inhabitants were thus disheartened, to attempt once more the reduction of that place. Accordingly he led his whole army against it, and, by frequent attacks, tired the inhabitants and garison to such a degree, that the exarch, finding they could hold out no longer, and despairing of relief, privately withdrew. *Luitprand*, informed of his retreat, attacked the town with more violence than ever, and, having carried it by storm, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty, as it had been for a long time the seat of the *Roman* emperors, of the *Gothic* kings, and the exarchs. The king stripped it of most of its valuable monuments of antiquity, and caused, among the rest, an equestrian statue of an emperor, of wonderful workmanship, to be conveyed to *Pavia*, where it is to be seen to this day. The reduction of *Ravenna* was followed by the surrender of several cities of the exarchate, which *Luitprand* reduced to a dukedom, appointing *Hildebrand*, his grandson, to govern it with the title of duke, and giving him, as he was yet an infant, *Peredeus* duke of *Vicenza* for his guardian *.

THE conquest of *Ravenna*, and the greater part of the exarchate, did not a little alarm *Gregory II.* bishop of *Rome*. He was then at variance with the emperor, whose edict against the worshipping of images he had opposed with all his might, and by that means provoked *Leo* to such a degree, that he had threatened to drive him from the see, and send him into exile. However, the pope, no less jealous of the power of the *Lombards*, than all his predecessors had been, resolved, by some means or other, to put a stop to their conquests. The only prince in *Italy*, to whom he could have recourse, was *Ursus* duke of *Venice*, the *Venetians* making already no inconsiderable figure. To him accordingly he wrote a very pressing letter, conjuring him to assist his worthy son the exarch, and, for the love of the holy faith, to attempt with him the recovery of the exarchate, which the wicked nation of the *Lombards* had unjustly taken from his sons *Leo* and *Constantine* emperors. *Ursus* and the *Venetians*, moved with the pope's letter, and at the same time greatly alarmed at the growth of so powerful a neighbour, promised to assist the exarch with the whole strength of their republic; and accordingly fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending it was designed for the service of the emperor against the *Saracens*. At the same time the exarch, who had taken refuge in *Venice*, abandoning that place, as it were in despair of bringing the duke

* PALL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 32. & ANAST. BIBLIOTH. in Greg. II.

over to his party, raised, in the places still subject to the emperor, what forces he was able; and, having got together a considerable body, he marched with them towards *Imola*, giving out, that he designed to besiege that city; but, turning on a sudden towards *Ravenna*, as had been agreed on between him and the *Venetians*, he laid siege to it by land, while they invested it almost at the same instant by sea.

• *Piredeus* defended the town for some time with great courage and resolution, obliging all those, who were able to bear arms, to repair to the walls. But the *Venetians* having, in spite of all opposition, forced open one of the gates on the side of the sea, the city was taken, and *Piredeus* slain, while he was attempting, at the head of a choice body, to drive the enemy from the posts they had seized. As for *Hildebrand*, he fell into the hands of the *Venetians*, who, having thus recovered *Ravenna* to the emperor, returned home, leaving the exarch in possession of the city. *Luitprand* was then at *Pavia*, but the town was taken before he could assemble his troops to relieve it¹.

• AND now *Gregory* bishop of *Rome*, to whom the recovery of *Ravenna* was chiefly owing, persuading himself, that the emperor would, out of gratitude, give ear to his remonstrances and admonitions, began to solicit him with more pressing letters than ever to revoke his edict against the worship of images, but *Leo*, well apprised, that the bishop, in all the measures he had taken, had been more influenced by a regard to his own interest, than to that of the empire, instead of hearkening to his remonstrances, was still more provoked against him for thus obstinately opposing the execution of his edict. Being therefore resolved at all events to have it observed in *Rome* itself, and, on the other hand, not doubt- ing but the pope would oppose it to the last with all his might, in order to remove all obstacles, he sent three officers to *Rome*, with private orders either to dispatch the pope, or to take him prisoner, and convey him to *Constantinople*. At the same time he wrote to *Mauritius* duke of *Rome*, secretly in- joining him to assist his three officers in their undertaking; but no favourable opportunity offering to put their design in execution, the emperor, in the year 725 recalled *Scholasticus*, and sent *Paul* a patrician into *Italy*, to govern in his room, with private instructions to encourage the above mentioned officers with the promise of great rewards, and to assure them of his protection.

BUT in the mean time the plot was discovered, and two of the conspirators apprehended by the citizens of *Rome*, and

¹ PAUL DIAC I vi c 32.

The ex-
arch at-
tempts to
get the
pope into
his power;

who is de-
fended by
Luit-
prand.

put to death, the third having escaped into a monastery, where he took the monastic habit, and ended his days ^m. Hereupon the exarch, in compliance with the emperor's orders, resolved to proceed no longer by secret plots, but by open force. Accordingly he drew together a considerable body of troops, and set out at the head of them on his march to *Rome*, with a design to seize on the pope, and send him, as he had engaged to do, in chains to *Constantinople*. But, on this occasion, *Luitprand*, though highly provoked against *Gregory* for having stirred up the *Sevicians* against him, yet resolved to assist him, and the citizens of *Rome*, against the exarch, in order to keep the balance even between them, and, by assisting sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, weaken both. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered the *Lombards* of *Tuscany*, and those of the dukedom of *Spoleto*, to join the pope, and the inhabitants of *Rome*, who, being, by this reinforcement, far superior in strength and number to the exarch, obliged him to return to *Ravenna*, and give over all thoughts of any further attempt on the person of the pope.

The pope
opposes the
emperor's
edict a-
gainst
images.

Several
cities re-
volt.

In the mean time *Leo*, persisting in his former resolution of suppressing throughout his dominions the worship of images, sent fresh orders to the exarch *Paul*, strictly injoining him to cause his edict to be put in execution in all the cities of *Italy* under his empire, especially in *Rome*. At the same time he wrote to the pope, promising him his favour and protection, if he complied with the edict, and declaring him, if he continued to oppose it, a rebel, and no longer vested with the papal dignity. But *Gregory* was so far from yielding to the emperor's threats or promises, that, on the contrary, he solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution; and at the same time wrote circular letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*, to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the chief cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the catholic faith, and to oppose with all their might such a detestable innovation. These letters made such an impression on the minds of the people in *Italy*, that, though of different interests, and often at war with one another, they all united, protesting they would defend the catholic faith, and the life of the pope in so glorious a cause, at the expence of their own; nay, the citizens of *Rome*, and the inhabitants of *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, not contenting themselves with such a protestation, openly revolted from the emperor, and, pulling down his statues, they elected, by their own authority, ma-

^m ANAST. in Greg. II. SIGON. ad ann. 725. MARG. FREHER. in chron. exar. Rav. p. 38.

gistrates to govern them during the interregnum. We are even told, that, transported with a blind zeal, they were for choosing a new emperor, and conducting him to *Constantinople*, not doubting but the people would every-where join them. But the pope, thinking this resolution unreasonable, and not to be easily put in execution, opposed it; so that it did not take place ⁿ.

IN 'the mean time the exarch *Paul*, having gained a considerable party in *Ravenna*, began, pursuant to the repeated orders from the emperor, to remove the images, as so many idols, out of the churches. Hereupon the adverse party, *Great diss* supported and encouraged by the pope, flew to arms, and, *turbances* falling upon the iconoclasts or image-breakers, as they stiled in *Ravenna*, gave rise to a civil war within the walls of *Ravenna*; and *na*; and *and* Great numbers were killed on both sides; but those who were for the worship of images prevailing in the end, a dreadful slaughter was made of the opposite party; and, among the rest, the exarch himself was murdered. *the exarch murdered.* However, the city of *Ravenna* continued faithful to the emperor; but most of the cities of *Romagna* belonging to the exarchite, and all *All Pen* those of *Pentapolis* or *La Marca d'Ancona*, abhorring the *tapolis,* emperor as an heretic, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *and great* *Lombards*, who, pretending a zeal for the catholic religion, *part of* took care to improve the discontent of the people to his ad- *Romagna,* vantage, by representing to them, that they could never *submit to* maintain their religious rights under a prince, who was not *Luit-* only an heretic, but a persecutor of the orthodox. *prand.*

IN *Naples*, *Exhilaratus*, duke of that city, having received peremptory orders from the emperor to cause his edict to be put in execution, did all that lay in his power to persuade the people to receive it; but, finding all his endeavours thwarted by the bishop of *Rome*, for whom the *Neapolitans* had a great veneration, he hired assassins to murder him. But *The Nea-* the plot being discovered, tho' carried on with great secrecy, *politans* the *Neapolitans*, highly provoked against the duke, tore both *put their* him and his son to pieces, and likewise put to death one of *duke to* his chief officers, who had composed a libel against the pope o. *death.* *Luitprand*, and *Grigvy*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, laying hold of so favourable an opportunity to make themselves masters of the dukedom of *Naples*, did all that lay in their power to persuade the *Neapolitans* to submit to them, But the *Neapolitans*, bearing an irreconcilable hatred to the *Lombards*, with whom they had been constantly at variance,

ⁿ PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 9. REGIN chronol. l. i. p. 47. SIGON, ad ann. 726. ^o SIGON. ibid. MAIMB. hist. iconoclast. p. 73.

rejected every overture of that nature with the utmost indignation, and, continuing stedfast in their allegiance to *Leo*, received from *Constantinople* one *Peter*, who was sent to govern them in the room of *Exhilaratus*. Some writers suppose the *Neapolitans*, in this general revolt of the cities of *Italy*, to have shaken off the yoke with the rest, and to have appointed magistrates of their own election to govern them, in the room of the officers hitherto sent from *Constantinople*, or named by the exarch: but they are therein certainly mistaken; it being manifest from history, that *Peter* succeeded *Exhilaratus* in that dukedom; and that the *Neapolitans* continued to live under the emperor, till they were conquered many years after by the *Normans*, as we shall relate hereafter.

Eutychius, the new exarch, attempts to get the pope murdered.

IN the mean time *Leo*, hearing of the murder of the exarch, and the general revolt of the cities, and not doubting but the pope was the chief author of so much mischief, sent the eunuch *Eutychius* into *Italy*, with the title and authority of exarch, strictly injoining him to get the pope dispatched by some means or other, since his death was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of *Italy*. The exarch spared no pains to get the pope into his power; but a messenger, whom he had sent to *Rome*, being apprehended by the citizens, and an order from the emperor found upon him to all his officers in that city, commanding them to put the pope to death at all events, the pope's friends thenceforth guarded him with such care, that the exarch's emissaries could never afterwards find an opportunity of executing their design. As for the messenger, the *Romans* were for putting him to death; but the pope interposed, contenting himself with excommunicating the exarch.

The origin of the pope's temporal power.

AND now the *Romans*, provoked more than ever against *Leo*, and, on the other hand, unwilling to live under the *Lombards*, resolved to revolt from the emperor, and appoint their own magistrates, keeping themselves united under the pope, not yet as their prince but only as their head. This they did accordingly, and from these slender beginnings the sovereignty of the popes in *Italy* took its rise, though they did not then, as is commonly supposed by historians, but many years after, become sovereign lords of *Rome* (N).

EUTY-

¶ FREHER. in chron. exarch. Raven. p. 82.

(N) The Greek writers (who flourished long after *Gregory*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*) tell us, that the *Romans*, revolking from the em-

peror *Leo*, chose *Gregory* for their prince, and took an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope readily accepted the sovereignty offered him; that

EUTYCHIUS failed in his design upon the life of the pope ; but, having brought with him from *Constantinople* a good number

that he forbade the *Romans*, and the other inhabitants of *Italy*, to pay tribute for the future to the emperor ; that he absolved all the subjects of the empire from their oath of allegiance ; and finally, that, with great solemnity, he excommunicated and deposed *Leo*. Hence, say the *Greek* writers, to wit, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, the temporal dominion of the popes over *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom, took its rise ; to which were afterwards added, by *Pipin* and *Charles the Great*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis* or the *Marca d'Ancona*, and several other cities of *Italy*. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Damasenus*, take no notice of the pope's deposing or excommunicating the emperor, of his forbidding tribute to be paid to him ; or of his accepting from the rebellious *Romans* the sovereignty of *Pope*. These writers only say, that he opposed with all his might the edicts of *Leo* ; that he prevented them from being received by the people ; and that he earnestly exhorted and conjured the emperor to revoke them, and give over, as they stile it, such an impious undertaking. *Anastasius*, after having told us, that *Leo* deposed *Germanus* patriarch of *Constantinople* for opposing his edict, and appointed *Anastasius* in his room, adds, that *Gregory* excommunicated the new patriarch, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting

him to revoke his edict. Had he likewise excommunicated the emperor, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Anastasius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Damasenus*, would have passed over in silence such a remarkable incident, it being agreed on by all writers, that no prince or emperor had been excommunicated till that time. As for what *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, write of the pope's deposing the emperor, it is evidently false, since *Gregory* acknowledged *Leo* for emperor as long as he lived, as did likewise *Gregory III.* his successor, who wrote several letters to him full of respect ; nay, the title of most of that pope's letters bear the years of *Leo's* reign ; and in that, which he wrote to *Boniface*, he gives *Leo* the title of *Most pious, Imperante demum piissimo Augusto Leone imperii ejus* 1111 (6). Hence the *French* writers, and among the rest *P. de Marca*, *Natalis*, and *Du Pin*, maintain, that *Gregory* never excommunicated, or attempted to depose, the emperor *Leo* ; that what the above mentioned *Greek* authors have written on that head, ought to be deemed fabulous, and that, in so remarkable an incident, the silence of the *Latin* writers, who flourished in times less distant, ought to be of far greater weight with every unbiassed reader, than the authority of the *Greeks*, who, out of their natural aversion from the *Latin* church, have obtruded such fables on the public. But most of our

(6) *Greg. III. ep. iii. P. de Marca de con. fac. & imp. l. ii. c. xi. num. 5.*

number of troops, he easily quelled the rebellion in *Ravenna*, and severely punished the authors of the late disturbances.
As

protestant writers seem to give intire credit to the *Greeks*, and by all means will have it, that *Gregory* excommunicated the emperor; that he absolved all his subjects from their allegiance; that he forbad them to pay him the usual tribute; and that, being offered the sovereignty of *Rome* by the rebellious *Romans*, he accepted the offer, and thenceforth took upon him all the state of a temporal prince *Spanheimius* thinks, that all this was denied by the *French* writers, left, in the reign of *Lewis the Great*, they should seem to acknowledge such a power in the popes (7). The *Italian* writers, even those among them who are most addicted to the court of *Rome*, agree with the protestants in giving credit to the *Greeks*, but with a different view, to wit, to shew, that the power of excommunicating and deposing princes was so early exerted by the popes. To conclude, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, say, that *Gregory II* not only excommunicated the emperor *Leo*, but absolved his subjects from their allegiance, declaring, that they were no longer bound to obey him; that on this occasion the *Romans*, shaking off the yoke, offered the sovereignty of *Rome* to the pope; and that he, accepting the offer, became sovereign lord of that city, and its dukedom. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius*, and *Damasenus*, who flourished before the *Greek* writers, only say,

that the pope opposed the edicts of *Leo*; that he excommunicated both the exarch of *Ravenna*, and the patriarch of *Constantinople*; and that he exhorted the emperor to revoke his edict. Some modern writers give intire credit to the *Greeks*; others, from the silence of the *Latins*, conclude the accounts of the *Greeks* to be fabulous: and such truly they appear to us, since *Gregory*, so long as he lived, acknowledged *Leo* as emperor; and *Gregory III*. his successor, not only wrote respectful letters to him, but dated those he wrote to others by the years of his reign, as we have hinted above. As for the temporal dominion of the popes in *Rome*, we shall shew in a proper place, that it did not begin till several years after; and that their first acquisitions were in the exarchate; that they became afterwards masters of *Pentapolis*, of several places in the *Roman* dukedom, and lastly of *Rome*. As for the famous donation of all *Italy*, said to have been made by *Constantine the Great* in the year 324. to pope *Sylvester*, it is now universally exploded as fabulous. It was indeed formerly defended with great warmth by most of the *Italian* writers, who even maintained in their works, that the emperors, who succeeded *Constantine*, had no title or right to any part of *Italy*, as belonging to the pope, and being the patrimony of *St. Peter*; that from thence the investitures given by the popes took their rise;

for the rebellious *Romans*, he was well apprised he could never reduce them, so long as they were supported by the king

and that, from that time, *Italy* began to be disjoined from the empire, and was never afterwards subject to the emperors: nay, *Matteo d'Affitti*, a civilian of no small account, from this supposed donation, will have the constitutions published by the emperors, the successors of *Constantine*, to be of no force in *Italy*, since those princes had not the power of causing them to be received by the inhabitants of that country, who were no longer subject to them; and several eminent civilians, members of the collateral council in *Naples*, were of opinion, that in *Italy* recourse ought to be had to the canon, and not to the civil law (8). But, in later times, it has been evidently proved by many able writers (9), that this donation was forged in the eighth or ninth century, and then inserted into the decrees of *Gratian*, no mention of it being made by any writer before that time. The many copies of this famous instrument, which are still extant, and widely differ from each other, are so many evident proofs of forgery to every person who does not delight in darkness, to use the expression of *Pietro Gianone*, and therefore shuts his eyes, lest he should be forced to see. A copy of this supposed donation is still to be seen in the *Vatican* library, but greatly differing from that which we read in

the decrees of *Gratian*. It is related in quite different words by the popes *Melchias*, *Nicolas II.* and *Leo IX.* and quoted by *Petrus Damianus*, *Balsar*, *Juo de Chartres*, *Bursattus*, and *Albericus*, with great disagreement both in words and sense. Besides, who can imagine, that *Eusebius*, and other cotemporary writers, who have transmitted to posterity the most minute incidents of *Constantine's* reign, would have passed over in silence this, perhaps the most remarkable of all? This donation is said to have been made by *Constantine* at *Rome*, in the spring of the year 324. and four days after his baptism. But it is evident from history, that *Constantine* was not then at *Rome*, but engaged in a war against *Licinius* in the East; and that, the war being ended, he went the same year to *Theffalonica*, and continued there till the year following (1). He defeated *Licinius* in his third consulship, having *Crispus* for his colleague, who was likewise in his third consulship, as is affirmed by all historians. Now, according to the unanimous consent of chronologers, *Constantine* and *Crispus* were consuls for the third time in 324. and in the spring of that year, the very time when he is supposed to have made that donation, he was at *Theffalonica*, as is manifest from two of his constitutions still to be seen in the

(8) *Affit. in consit. in prælud. q. 2. num. 2. & q. 20. num. 1. Tappia de jur. reg. l. i. de legib. l. i. num. 6.*
Schol. frat. antiq. illust. par. ii. diff. 3. c. 8.
Sæmund.

(9) *Marca, l. iii. c. 12. & l. vi. c. 6.*

(1) *Vide L'oj. l. ii. & anonym.*

king of the *Lombards*; and therefore he employed all art and policy to take off that prince from the party of *Romans*, and bring him over to his own.

An alliance between the exarch and Luitprand.

LUITPRAND, for some time, withstood all his offers; but *Thrasimund* duke of *Spoleto* revolting at this very juncture, the exarch, laying hold of that opportunity, offered to assist the king with all his strength against the rebellious duke, provided he would, in like manner, assist him against the pope, and the *Romans*. With this proposal *Luitprand* readily closed; and, a league being concluded upon these terms between him and the exarch, the two armies joined, and began their march towards *Spoleto*. At their approach, the duke, despairing of being able to resist two such powers, came out with a small attendance to meet them, and, throwing himself at the king's feet, sued, in that humble posture, for pardon; which *Luitprand* not only granted him, but confirmed him in the dukedom, after he had obliged him to take a new oath of allegiance, and give hostages for his fidelity in time to come. From *Spoleto* the two armies marched, in pursuance of the treaty, to *Rome*, and encamped in the meadows of *Latio*, between the *Tiber* and the *Latican*.

They besiege Rome.

GREGORY had caused the city of *Rome* to be fortified in the best manner he could; but, being sensible that the *Romans* alone could not long hold out against two such armies, and reflecting on the kind treatment the duke of *Spoleto* had met with upon his submitting to the king, he resolved to follow his example, and accordingly, taking with him some of the clergy, and the principal inhabitants of the city, he went to wait on the king in his camp, and there, with a pathetic speech, as he was a great master of eloquence, solt-

Theodosian code, the one bearing the following date, *Dat viii d Mart Thessalonica, Crispo III & Constantino III coss* the other dated thus; *Dat xi d Aprilis, Thessalonice, Crispo III & Constantino III coss* (2). The latter is directed to *Leo I*, that year prefect of *Rome*, as appears from the *notitia* of the prefects of that city, where we read *Crispo III & Constantino III coss* *Iulius Firmus praefectus urbis*. From these confusions and likewise from the most credible

historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, it has been evidently proved by several writers, that *Constantine* was baptized in *Nicomedia* when he was dying, and not in *Rome* by pope *Sylvester*, to whom he is supposed to have made the above mentioned donation forty days after his baptism: so that, upon the whole, we may conclude *Constantine's* leaving *Rome* to *Sylvester*, and his receiving baptism at the hands of that pope, to be equally fabulous.

came *Luitprand* to such a degree, that, throwing himself at the feet in the presence of the whole army, he begged pardon for entering into an alliance against him; and, assuring him of his protection for the future, he went with him to the church of St. *Peter*; and there, disarming himself in the presence of his chief officers, he laid his girdle, his sword, and his gantlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and cross of silver, on the apostle's sepulchre. After this, he reconciled the pope with the exarch, who was thereupon received into the city, where he continued for some time, maintaining a friendly correspondence with the pope. At this time an impostor, taking the name of *Tiberius*, and pretending to be descended from the emperors, seduced a great many people in *Tuscany*, and was by them proclaimed emperor. The exarch resolved to march against him; but, as he had not sufficient forces to oppose the rebels, *Gregory*, who let no opportunity slip of obliging *Leo*, persuaded the *Romans* to attend the exarch in this expedition; by which means the usurper being taken in a castle, his head was sent to the emperor, and the rebellion utterly suppressed. But, the emperor still insisting upon his edict against the images being received in *Rome*, the *Romans*, at the instigation of the pope, publicly renounced their allegiance to *Leo*, paid him no more tribute, and withdrew for ever their obedience to the emperors of the East.

LEO, informed of this revolt, and not questioning but the pope was the author of it, immediately caused all the patrimonies of the church of *Rome* in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and his other dominions, to be confiscated. At the same time he ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design to recover the towns that had revolted, to chastise the *Romans* for their rebellion, and, above all, to be revenged on the pope, who had raised all these disturbances, by opposing himself, and persuading others to oppose, the execution of his edict. *Gregory*, greatly alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on throughout the empire, and well apprised, that they were chiefly designed against him, and the *Romans*, resolved to recur to the protection of the *Lombards*, the only nation at that time capable of coping with the emperor, and on whom, on account of their zeal for religion, he thought he might depend. The *Lombards* were then very powerful; but, as they wanted to be masters of *Rome*, he did not think it advisable to trust them. The *Venetians*, though zealous in the defence of the pope, were not yet in a condition to withstand the power of the emperor, and, besides, were jea-

The pope persuaded Luitprand to raise the siege.
 Year of the flood
 3077.
 Of Christ
 729.
 Of Rome
 1477.

lous of the *Lombards*, who watched all opportunities of enlarging their dominions at the expence of their neighbours. As for *Spain*, it was then in a most deplorable condition, being over-run, and almost wholly ruined, by the *Saracens*.

who has
recourse
to the
French.

THE *French* nation was at this time governed by the celebrated *Charles Martel*, who had distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the wars of *France* and *Germany*, and had, not long before, gained a signal victory over the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Tours*; whence he was generally reputed the best commander, and the greatest hero, of his time. To him therefore *Gregory* sent a solemn embassy, with a great number of reliques, earnestly intreating him to take the *Romans*, and the church, under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of *Leo*. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour, and a treaty soon concluded between them and *Charles*, who engaged to march into *Italy* in person, at the head of a powerful army, in defence of the *Romans*, and the church, if they should be attacked either by the emperor, or the *Lombards*. On the other hand, the *Romans* were to acknowledge him for their protector, and confer on him the honour of the consulship, as it had been formerly conferred on *Clovis* by the emperor *Anastasius*, after that prince had defeated the *Visigoths*. The ambassadors returned from *France* loaded with rich presents^r. But *Gregory* did not long enjoy the fruit of their negotiations; for he died the same year 731. and was succeeded by *Gregory III.* in whose time some place the above-mentioned embassy (O).

^r Vide append. ad GREG. TUR. p. 15.

(O) These authors tell us, king of the *Lombards* to raise that *Luitprand*, having defeated the siege, and, contenting himself with four cities only, to *Thrasimund*, who had revolted a second time, invaded, after his leave *Rome*, and the rest of that victory, the *Roman* dukedom, to the *Romans*, and the and laid close siege to *Rome*, being pope (3). Be that as it will, it provoked against *Gregory* for receiving and entertaining the rebel; that the pope, finding his is certain, that, upon the pope's prayers and intreaties did not recurring to *France*, the *French* not make the same impression on the first began to concern themselves in the affairs of *Italy*; and afterwards, by degrees, made themselves masters of the country, as we shall relate hereafter.

(3) *S. gen. ad rom. 739.*

IN

In the mean time died the emperor *Leo*, and was succeeded ~~by~~ ^{by} his son *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, who, treading ^{in the footsteps of his father,} renewed his edict against images, ^{in Italy,} and began to prosecute all those, who stood up in their defence; nay, not satisfied with ordering the images to be removed, he went farther, and forbad the invocation of saints, especially of the virgin *Mary*, not suffering any holidays to be kept in her honour, or her assistance to be implored. This edict occasioned new disturbances in *Italy*, and confirmed the *Romans* in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves intirely from the empire, the more as, being now under the protection of *Charles Martel*, they had nothing to fear from the emperor. They therefore drove out of their city such of the imperial officers, as they had hitherto suffered to continue there; and by that means abolished the very shadow of dominion, which the emperor had till this time among them. Soon after the emperor *Leo*, died *Gregory III.* and was succeeded by *Zachary*; who was no sooner elected, than he dispatched a solemn embassy to *Luitprand*, intreating him to restore the four cities, which had been yielded to him upon his raising the siege of *Rome*. *Luitprand* received the ambassadors with extraordinary marks of honour, and seemed inclined to comply with their request; but, as the desired restitution was put off from time to time, *Zachary*, in imitation of *Gregory*, went in person to wait on the king, attended by all the clergy of *Rome*. *Luitprand*, who was then at *Terni*, received him with the greatest respect imaginable, and not only granted him his request, but restored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony in *Sabina*, which had been confiscated thirty years before, and concluded a peace with the *Romans* for twenty years. Towards the latter end of his reign, being impatient of rest, he invaded the exarchate; and, having taken *Cesena*, was making the necessary preparations for besieging *Ravenna*, and bringing that place once more under his dominion. But *Zachary*, for whom the king had the greatest veneration, interposing, *Luitprand*, at his request, not only laid aside all thoughts of making further conquests, but even restored *Cesena*, and some other places, which he had taken *.

Not long after, *Luitprand* died, in the year 743. the thirty second of his reign, and was buried with great pomp ^{and solemnity} in the church of *St. Adrian* in *Pavia*. *Paulus Diaconus* bestows on him the highest encomiums: and not undeservedly; for he was endued with every good quality becoming a prince †. He governed with great justice and

* PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 57, 58.

† Idem ibid.

Year of the flood 3091. Of Christ 743. Of Rome 1491. moderation, treating his subjects as his children, and giving daily instances of his generosity and good-nature, even to his greatest enemies. He enlarged his dominions by the addition of *Pentapolis*, and the greater part of *Æmilia*; and this his thirst after conquests, and his ambition, are the only faults, which the writers of those times have been able to discover in his character. He founded many churches and monasteries, enumerated by *Paulus Diaconus* ^u, whereof the vestiges are admired to this day (P).

Hildebrand succeeded by his grandson *Hildebrand* or *Hildebrand*, whom he had, some years before, taken for co-heir, but his partner in the kingdom. But the *Lombards*, finding him unequal to so great a charge, deposed him, after a short reign of seven months, and in his room raised to the throne *Rachis* duke of *Friuli*, a person highly esteemed for his piety, and eminent virtues ^w. He ascended the throne in 744. to the unspeakable satisfaction of the whole nation, and, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the peace with *Zachary*, and the *Romans*, which had been granted them by his predecessor. In the second year of his reign, finding the laws of the *Lombards* still defective, notwithstanding the many alterations and additions made by the preceding kings, he resolved to add some new laws to them, and soften the rigour of others. Accordingly, having convened the states in *Pavia*, with their consent and approbation, he published a new edict in 745. and ordered it to be observed throughout his dominions. This edict, containing eleven chapters, is still to be seen in the

He publishes a new edict of laws.

^u PAUL DIACONUS l. vi. c. 57, 58. in hist. princ. Longob. p. 5.

^w LACH apud Peregrin.

(P) With the death of *Luitprand*, *Paulus Diaconus* closes his history of the *Lombards*. He was deacon of the church of *Forum Julii*, in the territory of which city his great grandfather's father settled, when the *Lombards*, his countrymen, first came into *Italy*. He left five sons, who were carried into captivity by the *Suaves*, when *Forum Julii* was betrayed to them, as we have related above, by *Romilda* the wife of *Gisulf*. Of the five

brothers, one only, by name *Lupicus*, returned to the place of his nativity, where he married, and had a son named *Arechis*. The son of *Arechis*, named *Warnesfrid*, had, by his wife *Theudelinda*, *Paul Warnesfrid* our historian, commonly called *Paulus Diaconus*, or *Paul the Deacon*. He betrays, throughout his whole work, great partiality for his countrymen, of which the reader will find several instances in the learned *Carullo Peregrino* (4).

(4, Camus' Peregrin. in d. Jure. f. d. uat. Beron. a. l. f. e. p. 37.

code of the monastery of *Cava* in the kingdom of *Naples* ².

HAVING thus provided his subjects with excellent laws, and settled the affairs of the kingdom to his satisfaction, though naturally inclined to peace, he turned all on a sudden his thoughts upon war, and, pushed on by an ambition of enlarging his dominions, as his predecessors had done, he raised a considerable army, and, putting himself at the head of it, he first retook several places in *Pentapolis*, which had revolted from him, and then, entering the *Roman* dukedom, He *in-* laid close siege to *Perugia*. The emperor was at a great *vades the* distance, and did not mind the affairs of *Italy*. The exarch *Roman* was not in a condition to defend himself, if attacked, much *dukedom,* less to protect his neighbours. *Zachary* therefore, instead of *and lays* soliciting the assistance either of the emperor or the exarch, *siege to Pe-* resolved to try, whether, by his own authority and character, *rugia.* he could divert the king of the *Lombards* from pursuing his conquests. As his former journey had proved successful beyond his expectation, he resolved to undertake another. Accordingly, he went in person to the camp of *Rachis*, under the walls of *Perugia*, and, being received by that prince with great marks of respect and veneration, he represented to him, with such force and energy, the punishment that is reserved for those, who unjustly invade the property of others, that *Rachis*, wonderfully affected with his speech, not only raised *He raises* the siege of *Perugia*, but restored all the places he held in *the siege,* *Pentapolis*; nay, the presence and authority of the bishop, *and turns* made such a deep impression on his mind, that the following *monk.* year he went to *Rome*, with his wife *Tasia*, and his daughter *Ratruda*, to pay him a visit. Being overcome, while he was in that city, with the secret force of religion, he renounced his kingdom, and, prostrating himself at the pope's feet, took the habit of *St. Benedict*, and retired to the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, where he spent the remainder of his days, and was honoured after his death by those monks as a saint (Q). *Tasia*

² *Евхн. apud Peregrin. in hist. princ. Longob. p. 5.*

(Q) *Giorganni Villani*, in his history of *Florence*, supposes the large statue of *Charal*, which is still to be seen at *Battista*, a city of *Apulia*, and is called *Arrachio*, to have been erected by the *Lombards of Benevento* to this prince (5). *Beatillus* (6), and the abbat *de Nuc* (7), are of the same opinion; for, at this time, the dukedom of *Benevento* extended as far as *Bari*, so that it com-

(5) *Villan. l. ii. c. 9.*
Nouv. des Opusc. l. i. c. 2.

(6) *Beatill hist. di St. Sabino, f. 23.*

(7) *De*

Tasia his wife, and *Ratruda* his daughter, followed him example, retiring into a monastery of virgins, founded by them at a small distance from *Monte Cassino*.

His brother *Astulphus* than, assembling in *Pavia*, they chose his brother *Astulphus*, or *Aistulphus*, in his room, a man of great gallantry in the field, and wisdom in council. He raised the kingdom of the Lombards to the highest pitch of its grandeur; which gave occasion to its total ruin, as we shall soon relate. In the beginning of his reign, he confirmed the peace concluded

Year of
the flood
3099.
Of Christ
751.
Of Rome

Y ERM apud Peregrin. in hist. princ. Longob. p. 5. & LEO OSTILIN. chron. l. i. c. 8.

1499.

prised the city of *Barletta*; and it is not improbable, say they, that the Lombards of *Benevento* should, in one of their cities, erect a statue to their king. They were, it is true, immediately subject to their own duke; but both he and they were at the same time subject to the king—the kingdom of the Lombards comprising not only that country, which is now known by the name of *Lombardy*, and the other small dukedoms, but likewise the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*. But *Pietro Giannone* alleges two strong arguments against the opinion of *Villani*, and the two above-mentioned writers, who have espoused, without due consideration, his opinion. In the first place, it is altogether improbable, says he, that the Lombards of *Benevento* would have erected such a large and magnificent statue in a town at that time of no account, and situated on the very borders of their dukedom, and not in *Benevento* their metropolis, or in some other city of note, such as *Capua*, *Salerno*, *Bari*, &c. which were all cities of that dukedom. *Fil-*

iani, who flourished in the reigns of *Charles II.* of *Anjou*, and *Joan I.* his niece, when *Barletta* was become one of the most considerable cities of *Apulia*, thinking it had been such in the reign of *Rachis*, and seeing a statue there, called by the natives *Arrachio*, concluded it to be the statue of *Rachis*. The other reason alleged by *Giannone* is, that the prince represented by that statue is dressed after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, has in one hand a cross, in the other a globe, and no beard; whereas the kings of the Lombards are represented, as appears from the antient code of the monastery of *Cava*, with long beards, military garments, a sceptre in their right-hand, and a crown on their head, none of them having either the cross or the globe. Hence *Giannone* concludes it to be the statue of some *Roman* emperor, perhaps of *Heraclius*, there being some resemblance between that emperor's name, and the name, which, time out of mind, has been given to the statue by the inhabitants of *Barletta* (8).

(8) *Piet. Giannone. hist. civil. di Napoli*, v. c. 1. sect. 21.

between his brother and pope *Zachary*, who died the following year 752. and was succeeded by *Stephen II.* But *Stephen*; having held the see three days, died on the fourth, and in his room was chosen another named likewise *Stephen*, whom the antients call *Stephen II.* not reckoning his predecessor, who died before he was consecrated; for, in those days, the election alone did not make a pope, but the consecration; and hence this pope is by *Echerepertus*, and *Leo Ostiensis*, called *Stephen II.* and not *Stephen III.* but at present it is a settled point in the church of *Rome*, that the pope receives all authority from his election, contrary to what was believed by the antients; and therefore the writers of later times reckon *Stephen*, who lived but three days, and was not consecrated, among the popes, altering by that means the number of the subsequent *Stephens*; so that the second is by them called the third, the third called the fourth, &c. and the ninth called the tenth, which has bred confusion in the history of the church. *Stephen II.* or, as the modern writers call him, the third, three months after his election, dispatched legates to king *Astolphus*, with rich presents, to confirm the peace, which had been lately granted by that prince to *Zachary*.

THE king received the new pope's legates with the greatest respect, and not only ratified the peace, but extended it to forty years more. This he did with no other view, but to divert the pope from thwarting the design he had upon the exarchate, which he was resolved to invade, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* being then engaged in a war with the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, and all *Asia* and *Greece* miserably wasted by a dreadful plague. He thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of subjecting *Ravenna*, and the rest of the exarchate; and therefore, having raised a very considerable army, he marched straight to that city, and closely besieged it. *Eutychius*, who was still exarch, defended the place for some time with great valour; but, finding his men quite tired out, and despairing of relief, he at last abandoned it to the enemy, and returned by sea to *Constantinople*. *Astolphus*, thus become master of the metropolis of the exarchate, reduced, with great ease, the other cities, and all *Pentapolis*, which he added to his kingdom, and, by that addition, raised the power of the *Lombards* to an higher pitch than any of his predecessors had done. Thus ended the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and with it the splendor of that city, which, ever since the time of *Valentinian*, the emperors had chosen for the place of their residence, as it was afterwards the seat of the *Gothic* kings, and, upon their expulsion, of the exarchs, who, for the space of an hundred and eighty-three years, maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the East

He confirms the peace with the pope.

He invades the exarchate, and takes Ravenna.

An end of the exarchate, which is changed into a dukedom.

Year of the flood 3100.
Of Christ 752.
Of Rome 1500.

in *Italy*. As the dukes of the other cities of *Italy*, and of *Rome* itself, were under the exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*, the bishops of that see contended for precedency even with the bishops of *Rome*. But a period was, at the same time, put to the exarchate, and to the lustre of that antient metropolis, which was reduced by the *Lombards* to a dukedom; so that, by degrees, it decayed, and, in process of time, came to the deplorable condition in which it is at present.* *Marquardus Freherus*, in his chronology of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, writes, that the exarchate lasted for the space of an hundred and seventy-five years². But he does not reckon well; for he himself tells us, that it began in 568. and ended in 752. so that, even according to him, it must have lasted an hundred and eighty-three years.

Astulphus **ASTULPHUS**, now master of the exarchate, thought he had a just title to all the places depending on it, and consequently to the *Roman* dukedom, and to *Rome* itself. He therefore dispatched a messenger to that city, requiring the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and alleging, in justification of his demand, that the exarchate, which was his by right of conquest, gave him the same power which the emperors had till then in *Italy* over the inhabitants of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom. At the same time he marched his army towards *Rome*, and, having taken *Narnia*, now *Narni*, he sent from thence to acquaint the pope, that he was determined to plunder *Rome*, and put all the *Romans* to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him, by paying him yearly a golden *solidus* a head. The pope, alarmed at this severe message, attempted first to divert the king from this resolution by a solemn embassy, at the head of which were the two abbats of *Monte Cassino* and *St. Vincentius*, who, meeting the king at *Vulturnum*, a city in *Campania*, standing on a river of that name, put him in mind of the peace he had lately concluded with *Stephen* and the *Romans*; and endeavoured, by arguments, prayers, and intreaties, to persuade him not to break it, but to employ his arms elsewhere³. The two legates had brought rich presents with them for the king; but he, rejecting them, insisted upon his being acknowledged by the pope and the *Romans* for their sovereign. This threw *Stephen* into the gravest perplexity imaginable; for he found the king of the *Lombards* unalterably determined upon the reduction of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom; and, on the other hand, the emperor was no way in a condition to defend them, or put a stop to the conquests of so powerful and warlike a prince. The

The pope endeavours in vain to divert him from that invasion.

* *Freher.* in *Leuenclav.* tom. i. *jur. Græc. Rom.*
con. ann. 753.

* *Si-*
pope,

pope, upon the first irruption of the *Lombards* into the ex-archate, had written pressing letters to the emperor, representing to him the danger *Italy* was in, the disgrace which, from the loss of the countries he still held there, would, in future ages, redound upon his memory, and the glory that would accrue to him from preserving so valuable a portion of the empire.

BUT the emperor, instead of an army, sent one *John*, with the character of ambassador, to the king of the *Lombards*, requiring him to restore the places he had already taken, and not to disturb the peace of *Italy*, by attempting the reduction of others. *John* went first to *Rome*, and from thence, attended by *Paul*, the pope's brother, to *Ravenna*, where *Astulphus* then was. The king received the message with the utmost contempt, and dismissed the messengers with great scorn, which they might well have expected. Hereupon the pope sent his brother to *Constantinople*, to acquaint the emperor, that the king of the *Lombards* was not to be restrained by his authority alone, and to intreat him to send a powerful army into *Italy*, without which *Rome*, and the remains of the *Roman* empire in that country, would be irreparably lost. But *Constantine* at that time had no troops to spare, being engaged in other wars; so that the pope, upon the invasion of the *Roman* dukedom, thinking it was in vain to have recourse to him, resolved, after the example of *Zachary*, and the two *Gregories*, to recur to the protection of *France*. That kingdom had been transferred some years before from the *Merovingian* to the *Carlovingian* line; and the celebrated *Pepin*, son to *Charles Martel*, was then king.

As pope *Zachary* had had a great share in that translation, *Pepin* had promised to protect his see against all its enemies, especially against the *Lombards*. *Stephen* therefore, not doubting but *Pepin* would readily perform what he had promised, dispatched privately a messenger into *France*, to acquaint him with his distress, and the desire he had of conferring with him in person, provided he could do it without danger, and a safe conduct were procured for him from the king of the *Lombards*, who already kept *Rome*, in a manner, blocked up. *Pepin*, glad of the opportunity of obliging the pope, sent immediately two persons of distinction, to beg, in his name, of the king of the *Lombards*, leave for *Stephen* to come out of the city, and go with him into *France*. The two ambassadors found the *Lombards* in possession of all the castles and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and ready to invest that city. However, *Astulphus* willingly complied with their request, and suffered the pope not only to come safe out of *Rome*, but to re-join them to *France*, where he was received by *Pepin*.

Pope Stephen applies in vain to the emperor.

Recurs to Pepin king of France

He goes in person into France.

with the greatest marks of esteem and veneration. He laid before the king the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the *Lombards*, and, imploring his assistance and protection, he promised, as one good turn deserves another, to employ all the authority of the apostolic see in his behalf. On the other hand, *Pepin* assured him of his assistance; and, having prevailed upon him to stay till the winter was over, and the army ready to march, both he, and his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, were in the mean time anointed by him with the holy unction, and, with great solemnity, consecrated in the church of *St. Denis* kings of *France*. This ceremony, *Pepin* thought, would recommend him to the respect of his subjects, and greatly contribute to the establishing of the kingdom in his person and posterity ^b.

Astulphus In the mean time *Astulphus*, not aware of the danger that threatened him, was wholly intent upon publishing a new *publishes a* new edit. edict of laws, which is still to be seen in the code of the monastery of *Cava*, and contains twenty-two chapters. The preface prefixed to this edict is couched in the following words. 'Having maturely and seriously weighed and examined the laws enacted by my predecessors, I have found many things wanting, and great disorders arising from that want: Therefore, in the fifth year of my happy reign, in the name of GOD, on the first day of *March*, the seventh indiction, having called together the chief lords and judges of my kingdom, I have caused to be added to the laws of my predecessors, and to my own, what to me seemed just, and pleasing to GOD.' But while *Astulphus* was busied in making new laws, pope *Stephen* was negotiating in *France* the ruin of him and his kingdom. *Pepin*, upon the arrival of *Stephen* in *France*, had promised to assist him against the *Lombards* with the whole strength of his kingdom, and to drive them out of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which were to be restored, as *Pepin* understood, to the emperor, from whom the *Lombards* had taken them. But, the pope finding the king ready to gratify him in all his demands, he resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of aggrandizing himself; and therefore insinuated to *Pepin*, that he could not better acquit himself of his obligations to the apostolic see, consult the welfare of his soul, or reward him for the dangers he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the safety of *Italy*, and the church, than by granting both the exarchate and *Pentapolis* to *St. Peter*, that is, to himself. As for *Constantine*, the pope pretended he had forfeited all right to those countries, by forsaking the protection of *Italy*, and persecuting the church.

^b LEO OSTIENS. lib. i. c. 8.

PEPIN, to oblige the pope, not only promised to put him in possession of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, if he should succeed in driving the *Lombards* out, but confirmed his promise with a solemn oath, which was likewise taken by his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman* c. When *Pepin* was ready to set out on his march for *Italy*, in order to perform his promise, the pope was taken ill; so that the expedition was put off till the month of *August*. In the mean time the pope, by frequent letters and messages, endeavoured to persuade *Astulphus* to restore what he had taken, conjuring him by the holy mysteries, and the tremendous day of judgment, to prevent, by his compliance, the effusion of Christian blood. *Pepin* likewise interposed his good offices, sending three different embassies to the king of the *Lombards*, and earnestly intreating him to content himself with such countries as had been held by the kings his predecessors. But, finding *Astulphus* deaf to his intreaties, he resolved to employ force; and accordingly, putting himself at the head of his army, he marched, attended and spurred on by the pope, towards the *Alps*, sending a party of chosen men before to open the passes. These *Astulphus* attacked with great vigour; but his men being put to flight by the *French*, who had the advantage of the ground, he fled with great precipitation to *Pavia*.

PEPIN, finding the passes clear, crossed the mountains unmolested, and, entering *Italy*, advanced to *Pavia*, where the king had taken refuge, and closely besieged it. *Astulphus*, apprised of the danger he was in, sent one of his chief lords to *Pepin* to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his engaging, by a solemn oath, to restore the places he had seized in the *Roman* dukedom, the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, not to the emperor, but to the pope. For the performance of these articles, he delivered up forty hostages to *Pepin*, who sent them into *Thrace*, and soon after followed them thither with his whole army, though in the depth of winter. As for *Stephen*, he returned with great joy to *Rome*, not doubting but *Astulphus* would soon put him in possession of the countries which he had, by a solemn oath, promised to deliver up to him; but *Astulphus*, without the least regard either to his oath, or the hostages, when he thought the storm blown over by the departure of *Pepin*, instead of delivering up the countries he had seized, broke unexpectedly into the *Roman* dukedom, and made himself master of several cities, destroying all with fire and sword. At last he approached *Rome* with his army, and closely besieged it, not imagining that *Pepin* would pass the *Alps* a second time. In this extremity, *Stephen* had

Pepin is persuaded by the pope to make war upon the Lombards.

He enters Italy, and besieges Astulphus in his metropolis. The exarchate and Pentapolis given by Pepin to the pope. Year of the flood 3102. Of Christ 754. Of Rome 1502.

recourse to his protector, writing to him the three letters that are still extant^d, and couched in the most submissive terms imaginable. *St. Peter*, to whom the donation had been made, is introduced speaking in these letters to the king, his two sons, and all the states of *France*, conjuring them to come to his relief, on pain of being debarred from the kingdom of heaven^e. *Pepin*, greatly affected with the pope's letters, and looking upon the breach of faith in the king of the *Lombards* as an affront offered to him, resolved to have recourse anew to arms. Having therefore, with great expedition, assembled his forces, he again set out on his march for *Italy*; which *Astulphus* no sooner heard, than, breaking up the siege of *Rome*, which had lasted already three months, he returned in great haste to the defence of his own country. In the mean time *Pepin*, having defeated, as formerly, the troops that had been sent to defend the passes in the *Alps*, and entered *Italy*, *Astulphus*, whose army was not near so numerous as that of *Pepin*, threw himself a second time into *Pavia*, with the flower of his army. Thither *Pepin* followed him, and invested the city on all sides.

Astulphus
besieged a
second time
in Pavia.

The empe-
ror sends
embassa-
dors to
claim the
exarchate.

In the mean time the emperor *Constantinus Copronymus*, receiving intelligence of the agreement between the pope and *Pepin*, in virtue of which the king was to drive the *Lombards* out of the exarchate, and then deliver it up, not to him, but to the pope, immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Pepin*, to protest against that donation, to convince him, if possible, of the injustice of it, and persuade him to restore to the empire what had been rent from it, and not to the pope, who had no manner of claim to any part of his dominions. The ambassadors went first to *Rome*, and thence to *Marseilles*, where they were informed, that *Pepin* had already passed the *Alps*. Hereupon one of them made privately the best of his way to *Pavia*, where he understood the king then was, leaving the rest at *Marseilles* with the legate, whom the pope had sent with them from *Rome*, and who, as they apprehended, would have thwarted their negotiations. The ambassador, who was immediately introduced to the king, after having extolled, in his master's name, the courage, valour, and conduct, which he had shewn in the present war with the *Lombards*, the common enemy of the empire and *France*, represented to him, that the exarchate, without all dispute, belonged to the empire, from which it had been taken with the greatest injustice, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Saracens*; that, since the king had retaken it from the unjust invader, it was agreeable to the rules of equity, that he should restore

^d Tom. vi. concil. p. 239. & BARON. ad ann. 755.
CHESNE hist. tom. iii. p. 705.

^e Du

to the emperor what was his; that the bishop of Rome was his subject; and that since he suffered him peaceably to enjoy what had been given him by princes and private persons for maintaining his dignity, he could not usurp the dominions of his sovereign, without being guilty, at the same time, of high treason, and the most crying injustice. The ambassador concluded his speech by telling the king, that his master, who desired nothing of others but what seemed agreeable to equity, was ready to practise it himself; and therefore would willingly reimburse him all the expences he had been at in the recovery of the exarchate, and other places taken by the *Lombards*.

PEPIN, having heard with great attention what the ambassador said, replied, that the exarchate belonged to the conqueror of the *Lombards*, who had acquired it by right of war, as their forefathers had done; that many places had, of their own accord, submitted to *Luitprand*, the inhabitants having no other means to maintain their religion; that therefore the right of the *Lombards* to those countries was no more to be questioned, than that of the *French* to the countries which they had taken from the *Romans* and *Visigoths*; that the right which the *Lombards* had was devolved upon him, so that he could dispose of those countries as he thought fit; and he had judged it proper to bestow them on the pope, that the catholic faith might be preserved in its full purity, and be no longer defiled with the many abominable errors of the *Greeks*; that this was his firm resolution, which nothing could make him alter; and that he was determined to maintain, to the last drop of his blood, the pope, and the church, in the possession of what he had given them. He then dismissed the ambassadors, without suffering them to reply^f; and, pursuing the siege of *Pavia* with great vigour, reduced *Astolphus* to such straits, that, being no longer able to hold out, he sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which was granted him by *Pepin*, upon his promising to perform immediately the treaty made the year before, and, over and above, to deliver up to the pope the city of *Commachio*, a place at that time of great importance. This promise was confirmed by a solemn oath, and hostages were given as formerly. *Pepin* then renewed his donation, whereby he yielded to St. *Peter*, and his successors, the exarchate, *Emilia*, now *Romagna*, and *Pentapolis*, now *Mar-a-d'Ancona*, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever; and, having caused a new instrument of the donation to be drawn up, he delivered it, signed by himself, by his two sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, and by the chief barons and prelates of

^f ANASTAS. in vit. Steph. III. p. 87. P. de MARCA de concord. sacerdot. & imper. lib. i. c. 1. num. 5.

and puts
him in pos-
session of
the ex-
archate,
&c.

Year of
the flood

3104.

Of Christ

756.

Of Rome

1504.

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Whether  
the pope  
was  
vested  
with the  
sovereign-  
ty over  
those coun-  
tries.

France, to *Fulard* abbat of *St. Denis*, to be given into the pope's hands. *Fulard*, whom *Pepin* had appointed his commissary, having received this instrument, went, together with the commissaries named by *Astulphus*, to all the cities of the exarchate, *Æmilia*, and *Pentapolis*; and, taking possession of them in the pope's name, he received hostages, with whom he repaired to *Rome*, carrying with him the keys, and *Pepin's* donation, which were laid by the pope on *St. Peter's* sepulchre. *Pepin*, having thus performed the promise he had made to the pope, left *Italy*, and returned with his army to *France* <sup>R</sup>. The pope committed the government of the exarchate to the archbishop of *Ravenna*, who thereupon took the title of exarch, not as archbishop, but as an officer of the pope, now a temporal prince. Thus was the sceptre added to the keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the *Lombard* kings, and the *Roman* emperors.

As those countries belonged, without all doubt, to *Constantine* then emperor, some authors have thought, that this donation was made in his name, and that this gave rise to the fable of the donation of *Constantine the Great* <sup>h</sup>. Be that as it will, from this time the popes left off taking notice of the years of the emperors in their bulls and letters, as they had done hitherto; and, depending upon the protection of *France*, they withdrew their obedience to the emperor, and would be no longer deemed his subjects. The *French*, who pique themselves upon being the first authors of the pope's temporal grandeur, will not, however, allow *Pepin* to have ever vested them with the sovereignty, it being manifest, say they, that the sovereignty remained in *Pepin* and his descendants; and was exercised by them all over *Italy*. With them most authors agree, and, among the rest, the learned *Sigonius*. *Petrus de Marca* maintains this opinion, and, at the same time,

<sup>R</sup> LEO OSTIENS. lib. i. c. 8. ANAST. ibid.  
de imag. contra Maimburg.

<sup>h</sup> SPANIEM.

(R) The exarchate comprised, according to *Sigonius* (9), the following cities, to wit, *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachin*, *Adria*, *Cervia*, and *Secchia*, which were all delivered to the pope, except *Faenza* and *Ferrara*. *Pentapolis*, or *Marca d'Ancona*, comprehend-

ed *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Cenca*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Umana*, *Jesi*, *Fossombrone*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, the *Balnesian* territory, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Bugubio*, with their territories and districts, as appears from the donation of *Lewis the Pious*, by which *Pepin's* donation was confirmed.

(9) *Sigon.* ad ann. 756.

tells us, how the popes, by degrees, became sovereigns of *Rome*. The exarchate of *Ravenna*, says that writer, being yielded to the pope, the government of *Rome*, of course, devolved on him; for the *Roman* dukedom had been always subject to the exarch: the sovereignty indeed was vested in the emperor, but the administration belonged to the exarch; whence the pope, when he became master of the exarchate, claimed it, and continued to govern *Rome*, not as sovereign, but only with the authority that had been vested in the exarch, till the year 876. when the authority of the emperors, successors of *Charlemagne*, declining in *Italy*, *Charles the Bald* yielded all his claim to, and sovereignty over *Rome*, to the apostolic see<sup>i</sup>. Hence *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, describing the state of *Europe* in his time, that is, about the year 914. writes, that *Rome* was subject to the pope as its sovereign. It was upon the declension of the Western empire, when it was confined to *Germany* alone, that the pope, as well as the several princes of *Italy*, assumed the sovereignty, which they enjoy to this day, as we shall plainly demonstrate in our modern history. A modern writer has endeavoured to prove, from the coins of the popes, that the *French* emperors were never sovereigns of *Rome*, nor had any authority in that city but what was granted them by the pope; so, according to him, the senate and people of *Rome*, shaking off the yoke of the emperors of the East, subjected themselves to the pope, and acknowledged him for their sovereign<sup>k</sup>. But that writer is, in our opinion, fully confuted by *Le Blanc*, in a treatise which he published on the coins of *Charlemagne*, *Lewis the Pious*, *Lothairs*, and their successors, coined in *Rome*<sup>l</sup>.

BUT to return to *Astulphus*: That prince, finding himself constrained to surrender the exarchate, and the other countries, to one who had no more right to them than himself, began to make vast preparations, with a design to retake what he had been obliged to give up, and, at the same time, to put himself into a condition of withstanding the *French*, who, he did not doubt, would return into *Italy*, and renew the war. But while, in the height of these warlike preparations, he was one day taking the diversion of hunting in a neighbouring forest, he was killed, according to some, by a wild boar, according to others, by a fall from his horse. *Erchempertus* writes, that he was killed with an arrow<sup>m</sup> (L). As the deceased

<sup>i</sup> P. de MARCA, lib. iii. c. 11. num. 7, 11, 12. CONST. PORPHYR. de themat. lib. ii. <sup>k</sup> VIGNOLI antiquior. pont. Rom. detar. p. 19. <sup>l</sup> Vide DE BLANC. p. 17. <sup>m</sup> ERCHEMP. p. 6.

(S) We should perhaps have been able to give a more favourable account of his reign, had *Paulus Diaconus* continued his history;

Year of the flood  
3104.  
Of Christ  
756.  
Of Rome  
1504.  
Desiderius causes himself to be proclaimed king.

ceased king left no issue male behind him, and his brother *Rachis* had taken the monastic habit, the *Lombard* lords began to assemble, in order to proceed to a new election. But in the mean time *Desiderius*, whom *Astulphus* had raised to the dukedom of *Tuscany*, and besides made him his *comes stabuli*, or master of the horse, caused himself to be proclaimed king by his *Tuscan Lombards*. This *Rachis* no sooner understood, than, repenting of his former resolution, he resolved to quit the monastic life, and resume the purple, being encouraged thereunto by several persons of great authority among the *Lombards*, and by the inhabitants of *Liguria* and *Venetia*, who began to flock to him in great numbers.

He is supported by the pope, to whom he yields some cities.

THIS gave great uneasiness to *Desiderius*, who thereupon had recourse to the pope, offering him the cities of *Faenza*, *Ancona*, *Secchia*, and *Ferrara*, which had not been restored by *Astulphus*, provided he assisted him at this juncture, and, by his authority, maintained him on the throne. The pope readily closed with the proposal, and, entering into an alliance with *Desiderius*, found means to persuade *Rachis* to continue in the state he had embraced, and lay aside all thoughts of recovering the kingdom, which was held by his friend and ally. *Desiderius*, being thus delivered from the danger that threatened him, surrendered the above-mentioned cities to the pope, pursuant to the agreement. Pope *Stephen* died soon after, that is, on the twenty-sixth of *April* of the present year 757. To him the church of *Rome* is chiefly indebted for the grandeur it still enjoys. He was succeeded by his brother *Paul*, who renewed the alliance with the king of the *Lombards*, but died in the third year of that prince's reign. In his room was chosen *Stephen* the third, or, as the modern writers will have it, the fourth, between whom and *Desiderius* great jealousies arose, which at last came to an open rupture. *Desiderius* having, by his interest, caused one of his intimate friends, named *Michael*, to be chosen by the people and clergy archbishop of *Ravenna*, the pope, not approving the election, drove him from that see. Hereupon the king, to be revenged on the pope, caused the eyes of *Christopher* and *Sergius* to be put out. These were two legates sent from *Rome* to demand the restitu-

history; but that writer, living in the time of *Charlemagne*, the son of *Pepin*, prudently declined writing the history of this and the following king's reign, lest, relating the transactions of times, he should disoblige the *French* princes, who, having

driven out the *Lombards*, succeeded them in the kingdom of *Italy*. His countrymen were, for the same reason, all silent; so that those events have been transmitted to posterity by such writers only, as were biased in favour of the prevailing party.

tion of some lands belonging to that church. After this, *Desiderius*, not doubting but the pope would have recourse to the kings of *France*, resolved to be beforehand with them, and gain them over, if possible, to his side. In order to this, he offered his two daughters in marriage to *Charles* and *Carloman*, who, upon the death of their father *Pepin*, had divided the kingdom between them. Pope *Stephen* was no sooner informed of this treaty, than he wrote to the two princes, earnestly intreating them not to enter into any sort of alliance with the king of the *Lombards*; and threatening them with excommunication, nay, and damnation<sup>a</sup>, if they consented to marry his daughters.

BUT *Desiderius* having gained *Bertrade*, the mother of the two princes, the marriages were, by her means, concluded, in spite of the utmost endeavours of the pope to prevent them. This alliance, however, was but short-lived; for *Charles* soon after divorced his wife, pretending that she was incapable of bearing children, and married in her room *Ildegarda*, a princess of *Suevia*. His brother *Carloman* dying about the same time, *Berta*, the deceased king's widow, not thinking herself, and the two sons he had by him, safe in *France*, fled to her father in *Italy*, and put herself, and her children, under his protection. *Desiderius*, who was highly incensed against *Charles* for divorcing his daughter, received them with great joy, not doubting but he should, one time or other, be able, by their means, to raise disturbances in *France*; which would both give him the satisfaction of being revenged on *Charles*, and divert that prince from intermeddling with the affairs of *Italy*. In the mean time died pope *Stephen*, and *Adrian I.* was, in the year 772. chosen in his room. He no sooner saw himself raised to the apostolic see, than he sent two legates to conclude a lasting peace with *Desiderius*; and it was agreed, that neither of them should disturb the other in the possession of the countries they held. *Desiderius*, concluding, from this step taken by *Adrian*, that he did not entertain such jealousies and suspicions of the *Lombard* kings, as his predecessors had done, nor was so attached to the princes of *France*, proposed to him the consecrating and anointing the sons of *Carloman* kings, not doubting but that would raise tumults and disturbances in *France*, and, at the same time, create a misunderstanding between the pope and *Charles*; which would give him an opportunity of recovering the countries taken by *Pepin*, and yielded to the church. The ceremony of anointing, after the example of *Pepin* and his two sons, had been, by degrees, introduced among Christian princes, the people deeming those who

*Misunderstanding between him and Charles-magne.*

<sup>a</sup> Tom. vii. concil. p. 582.

were thus anointed, lawful kings. But *Adrian*, who, notwithstanding this peace he had concluded with the *Lombards*, was no less jealous of their power than his predecessors had been, peremptorily refused to comply with the request of *Desiderius*, being well apprised, that, by granting it, he should incur the displeasure of *Charles*, the only prince capable of protecting him against the *Lombards*.

He quarrels with the pope, and takes several cities.

*DESIDERIUS* left no art unemployed to bring the pope into his measures; but, finding he could obtain nothing by fair means, he resolved to employ force. Accordingly, he broke unexpectedly into the exarchate, and, having made himself master of *Ferrara*, *Comacchio*, and *Faenza*, he threatened *Ravenna* itself with a siege. *Adrian*, alarmed at these hostilities, immediately dispatched ambassadors to put the king in mind of the peace lately concluded, and to demand the restitution of the places which he had taken with an open breach of the late treaty. The king received the ambassadors with the greatest marks of honour, and told them, that he was desirous of treating with the pope in person; and that, if he came himself, nothing should be denied him. But *Adrian*, rejecting the invitation, answered with great haughtiness, That he would never appear before him, unless he restored the cities he had seized. *Desiderius*, highly provoked at this answer, marched his army into *Pentapolis*, and, having there laid waste the territories of *Sinigaglia*, *Monteseretro*, *Urbino*, and *Eugubio*, he approached *Rome*, destroying all with fire and sword, and carrying into captivity such of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. Hereupon *Adrian* ordered the abbot of *St. Vincent*, attended by twenty monks, in great reputation for the sanctity of their lives, to wait upon the king in his name, and earnestly intreat him to restore the places he had taken, and desist from further hostilities. The king received them in a very obliging manner, and assured them, that, if the pope would come in person to confer with him, the cities should be immediately restored, and an end put to all hostilities. Not satisfied with signifying to the legate his earnest desire of a private interview with the pope, he sent ambassadors of his own to acquaint *Adrian* therewith, and persuade him, if possible, to comply with his request, since he had matters of the utmost importance to impart to him. But *Adrian*, firm in his former resolution, solemnly protested, that he would never appear before the king, till the towns he had taken were restored; but it, as soon as they were restored, he would meet him in at place soever he should think proper to appoint, in order settle, in concert with him, the tranquillity of *Italy*. Upon the return of these ambassadors, *Desiderius* sent others, to whom the pope made the same answer, adding, that, if he did

did not comply with the king's request, as soon as the cities were restored, he gave him leave to take them anew, and invade the territories of the church at his pleasure. But *Desiderius*, provoked more than ever at the obstinacy of the pope, threatened to bring his army before *Rome*, and, by that means, oblige *Adrian* to grant him his request.

THE pope was so terrified with these menaces, that, thinking himself in the utmost danger, he resolved, in imitation of his predecessors, to have recourse to *France*. Accordingly he sent one *Peter* by sea, all the passes by land being guarded by the *Lombards*, to acquaint *Charlemagne*, then king of *France*, with the danger he was in; and not only to implore his assistance, but to invite him to the conquest of *Italy*, almost entirely ruined by the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* was no sooner informed of the arrival of the pope's legate in *France*, and of the things laid there to his charge, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, assuring him of his inclination to live in peace with the pope, and complaining of *Adrian's* obstinacy, in refusing him a private interview for settling the tranquillity of *Italy*. But *Charlemagne*, who only wanted a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on *Desiderius* for keeping his two nephews, with a view, as he supposed, of raising disturbances in *France*, received the invitation made him by *Adrian* with incredible satisfaction, and began to make such preparations, as plainly shewed, that his design was not only to assist the pope, but to make an entire conquest of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. He appointed *Geneva* for the place of the general rendezvous, and there, when the troops were all assembled, he divided his numerous army into two bodies, whereof the one he led in person, and committed the other to the conduct of his uncle *Bernard*. On the other hand, *Desiderius*, having certain intelligence of his motions, sent some troops to guard the passes in the *Alps*, and then, making numerous levies in the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Benevento*, *Spoletto*, *Etruria*, and the other dukedoms of which his kingdom was composed, he raised a mighty army, and, putting himself at the head of it, marched to *Turin*, with a design to give *Charlemagne* battle, in case he forced the streights, and came into the plain country (T).

• SIGON. p 138-143.

(T) We are told, that *Charlemagne*, as he drew near the *Alps*, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, dispatched ambassadors to the king of the *Lombards*, offering him fourteen thousand *solidi*, provided he restored to the pope the cities he had taken; but that *Desiderius* would hearken to no proposals, being bent on the conquest of all *Italy*.

• CHARLE-



Charle-  
magne en-  
ters Italy

Deside-  
rius re-  
tires, and  
is besieged  
in Pavia.

Verona  
besieged by  
Charles,  
and taken.

CHARLEMAGNE pursued his march to the *Alps*; and, finding the passes guarded by the *Lombards*, he sent a detachment, under the conduct of experienced guides, to cross the mountains another way. This they happily accomplished, and, falling unexpectedly upon those who guarded the passes, struck them with such terror, that, abandoning their posts, they fled in the utmost consternation. Upon their retreat, *Charlemagne* passed unmolested with his whole army, and, descending from the mountains, marched in quest of the enemy. Some authors write, that the two armies came to an engagement, in which, after an obstinate dispute, *Desiderius* was defeated. They add, that the place where the battle was fought, from the great number of the slain, took the name of *Mortuaria*. Others, less affected to the *Lombards*, tell us, that, at the approach of *Charlemagne*, they fled in the utmost confusion, not daring to look the enemy in the face. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Desiderius* retired, and shut himself up in *Pavia*, not being in a condition to keep the field. At the same time he sent his son *Adalgisus*, and his daughter *Berta*, the widow of *Carloman*, with her two sons, to *Verona*, a place not inferior in strength to *Pavia* itself. *Charlemagne*, hearing that the king had shut himself up in *Pavia*, led his whole army against that city, and closely besieged it. The *Lombards* defended the place with great vigour; and, on the other hand, *Charlemagne*, determined not to withdraw his troops from before it till it had submitted, sent for his wife and sons, and continued with them in the camp till *Christmas*, which festival he celebrated with great pomp; and then, leaving his uncle *Bernard* to pursue the siege of *Pavia*, he went, with part of the army, to invest *Verona*.

ADALGISUS defended the town, for some time, with great bravery; but, in the end, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of relief, he withdrew in the night; and, after having wandered a long time about the country in disguise, he found means, at last, to make his escape by sea to *Constantinople*, where he was received and entertained with great kindness by the emperor. Upon his departure, the garrison and inhabitants of *Verona* surrendered to *Charles*, who, having got *Berta* and her two sons into his power, sent them immediately, under a strong guard, into *France*: but what became afterwards of these two unfortunate princes, was never known. *Verona* being reduced, all the other cities on the same side of the *Po* submitted, upon the first summons, to the conqueror, who, returning before *Pavia*, pursued the siege with more vigour than ever.

BUT,

BUT, in the mean time, *Easter* approaching, *Charles* re- Charles  
solved to keep that solemnity at *Rome*; and accordingly, com- goes to  
mitting a second time the care of the siege to *Bernard*, he set Rome.  
out for that city with a splendid train; and being received, in  
all the places through which he passed, with the greatest marks  
of honour imaginable, he reached *Rome* the day before *Easter*.  
*Adrian* exerted himself on this occasion, thinking it incumbent  
upon him to receive so great a prince, and one to whom the  
church was so highly indebted, with the greatest demonstrations  
of honour, gratitude, and esteem. By his orders the His recep-  
magistrates and judges, with their banners, and the badges of tion there.  
their respective offices, met him thirty miles from the city.  
At a mile from the gate he was received by a procession of  
children, carrying in their hands branches of palms and olives,  
and singing his heroic exploits and virtues. After them came  
a great number of cross-bearers, who were usually appointed  
to attend the public entries of the exarchs and patricians.  
*Charles*, as soon as he saw the crosses, alighted from his horse,  
and, attended by his own nobility, and the *Roman* magistrates,  
went the rest of the way on foot. As for the pope, he repaired  
early in the morning, with the clergy and people, to the  
church of the *Vatican*; and there, sitting on a kind of throne  
on the steps, waited the arrival of the king, who, going di-  
rectly to the church, ascended the steps, kissing each of them  
as he mounted. Being arrived at the throne, the pope, com-  
ing down, received him with great tenderness; and, after mu-  
tual embraces, and congratulatory speeches, they went toge-  
ther into the church, the people following them with loud ac-  
clamations, and the clergy frequently repeating, *Blessed is he*  
*that cometh in the name of the Lord*. When they came to the  
place, called then, as it is to this day, *the confession*, prostrate-  
ing themselves on the ground, they returned thanks to the  
Almighty, and to his apostle *St. Peter*, for the success that  
had hitherto attended the king's arms against his enemies, and  
the enemies of the church, that is, the unhappy *Lombards*,  
who, in reality, were as well-wishers to the church as *Charles*,  
but were not willing the churchmen should rob them of the  
countries they had purchased at the expence of their blood and  
treasure.

AFTER this, *Charles* begged leave to go into the city (for  
the *Vatican* stood then without the walls) to perform a vow,  
and visit the holy places; which was granted by the pope, after  
they had both sworn upon the body of the apostle, that they  
designed no harm or injury to each other. The day follow- Honours  
ing, being the festival of *Easter*, the king made a solemn entry done to  
into the city, attended by the nobility, clergy, and *Roman* him at  
people, who accompanied him to the church of *St. Mary* at *Rome*.

*Præsepe*, whence, after divine service, he went to the *Lateran*, and dined there with *Adrian*. The next day he assisted at public prayers in the *Vatican*; and, when the service was over, *Adrian* caused thanks to be given him for his kindness to the church, in an oration; on which occasion the generosity of *Charles Martel*, and his son *Pepin*, to the church of *Rome*, were highly extolled, the exemplary piety of their most illustrious family mightily commended, and great encomiums bestowed on the whole nation. The orator told his auditors, that *Charles*, not degenerating from the piety of his glorious ancestors, was come, with a mighty army, to humble the enemies of the church; that he had hitherto, with the assistance of Heaven, been as successful in so commendable an enterprise as he had been ready to undertake it; and that, according to all appearance, *Italy* would, in a few days, have occasion to congratulate him upon his accomplishing the work which he had so happily begun, as now both *Italy* and the church returned him their hearty thanks for what he had already performed.

He confirms the donation of Pepin.

Whether be added other countries to that donation.

WHEN the rejoicings, feastings, and congratulations, were over, *Adrian* came to the main point, requiring *Charles* to confirm the donation which his father *Pepin* had made to the church of *Rome*. *Charles* readily complied with the pope's request; and, having ordered *Iternus* his secretary to draw up a new instrument, he signed it himself, caused it to be signed by the abbats, bishops, and other great men, who had attended him to *Rome*, and, with his own hand, says *Leo Ostiensis*, laid it, thus signed, on the altar of *St. Peter*. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* writes, that *Charles*, not satisfied with the donation of *Pentapolis*, and the exarchate, made by *Pepin*, added to them the island of *Corfica*, and that large country, which, extending from *Luna* to *Sorano* and *Monte Bordone*, comprehends the cities of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, and *Monfelic*: nay, according to that writer, the generosity of *Charles* did not even stop here; for he tells us, that the new instrument comprised the provinces of *Venetia* and *Istria*, and the two dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spolet*. In the chronicle of the monastery of *St. Clement*, *Charles* is said to have added to the donation of *Pepin* only those two dukedoms. *Sigonius* will have the donation of *Charles* to have comprised, besides those dukedoms, and the countries given by *Pepin*, the *Sabinian* territory, lying between *Umbria* and *Latium*, with part of *Tuscany* and *Campania*. *Petrus de Marca* adds all *Campania*,

† LEO OSTIEN. lib. i. c. 12. ANASTAS. BIBLIOTHEC. in Adrian.  
p. 75.      † LEO OSTIEN. ibid.      † ANAST. BIBLIOTHEC. in Adrian.

*nia*, with the city of *Naples*, and the provinces of *Abruzzo* and *Puglia*; and hence, according to him, the kings of *Naples* have ever been, as they still are, invested by the pope \*. Some modern writers suppose *Charles* to have given likewise *Saxony*, which he had lately conquered, and other countries, which he never conquered; to wit, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; for these two islands were held by the emperors of the East, till the *Saracens* became masters of them. But as no copy of the supposed donation of these several countries is to be found, either in the archives of the *Vatican*, or the annals of *France*; and, on the other hand, it is manifest from history, that *Charles*, as king of *Italy*, held the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, in the same manner as they had been held by the *Lombard* kings his predecessors, and that they were immediately governed by their own dukes; we may conclude from thence, that *Charles* only confirmed the donation of the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, made by his father *Pepin*. *Charles* indeed caused the patrimonies, which the church of *Rome* possessed in the *Alpes Cottiae*, and in the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoletto*, to be restored; and hence, according to the learned civilian *Pietro Giannone*, arose the mistake of those writers, who will have *Charles* to have given that province, and those dukedoms, to *St. Peter*: they confounded the patrimonies of the church in those countries with the countries themselves †.

*CHARLES*, having thus satisfied his own curiosity, and the *Charles* desires of the pope, after a stay of eight days in *Rome*, returned *returns to* to the camp before *Pavia*; which city he was resolved, at all *the siege of* events, to reduce, being well apprised, that, if *Desiderius* remained master of it, he might easily recover all the rest. *Pavia*. The same motive that prompted *Charles* to exert his utmost endeavours in the reduction of the place, animated the king of the *Lombards* to defend it with all his might. *Charles*, finding his men constantly repulsed in their repeated attacks, and despairing of being able to carry it by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. Accordingly, besieging it more closely, he shut up all the passes and avenues; so that nothing could possibly be conveyed into the city, which by that means was, in a short time, reduced to the utmost extremity. *Desiderius*, however, still held out for a considerable time; but, a violent plague beginning to rage within the walls, and carrying off daily great numbers both of the garison and inhabitants, the unhappy prince, not able to contend with so many enemies at once, was obliged, in the end, to surrender the place, and deliver up *Desiderius* himself, with his wife and children, to *Charles*, who sent *rius taken*

\* *P. de MARCA* de concord. sacerdot. & imper. lib. iii. c. 10. num. 5. † *PIET. GIANN.* hist. civil. di Napol. lib. v. c. 4.

prisoner, them all to *France*, where they ended their days, being never afterwards heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, after they had held that country for the space of two hundred and six years. They were at first a cruel and barbarous nation; but, divesting themselves, by degrees, of their native fierceness and barbarity, especially after they had embraced the Christian religion, they governed with such equity and mildness, that most other nations envied the happiness of those, who lived under them.

Year of  
the flood

3122.

Of Christ

774.

Of Rome

1522.



The *Lombards* undeservedly aspersed by the popes.

As they had no other kingdom, nor dominions elsewhere, *Italy* became their own country; whence the natives looked upon their kings as their natural princes, not thinking themselves governed, much less kept in slavery, by a foreign nation, as it happened to them afterwards, when, by frequent changes, they groaned under the heavy yoke, sometimes of one nation, and sometimes of another. Under the government of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus* <sup>u</sup>, and with him agrees the abbat of *Wesperg*, no violence was committed, no one unjustly dispossessed of his property, none oppressed with taxes; theft, robberies, murder, and adultery, were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least apprehension of danger, whither he pleased. And truly their many wholesome laws, restraining, and severely punishing, all sorts of crimes, the magnificent churches, and rich monasteries, with which they filled that part of *Italy*, which was subject to them, the many bishopricks which they erected, the towns and cities which they either built, or repaired, in most provinces of *Italy*, their generosity even to the bishop of *Rome*, their avowed enemy, and, finally, the great numbers of persons among them, whose sanctity and eminent virtues have been acknowledged by the popes themselves, must convince every impartial reader, that the *Lombards* were not such a savage, barbarous, and inhuman nation, as they are described by some of the popes, especially by *Adrian*, the chief author of the downfall of their kingdom. They were the only power in *Italy* capable of defeating the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*, whom they would not suffer to enrich themselves with the spoils of the emperors, but looked upon them as their own by right of conquest; and hence arose the inveterate hatred, which the popes bore them, and could not help betraying in all their writings. But the many wholesome laws which they left behind them, and devouring time has spared, are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom, and, at the same time, a full confutation, as *Grotius* observes, of the many calumnies, with which the popes, and their partisans, have endeavoured to asperse them.

<sup>u</sup> PAUL. DIAC. hist. Long. lib. iii. c. 8.

Their laws were found so just and equitable, that they were retained in *Italy*, and observed there, some ages after their kingdom was at an end. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Grotius*, *Gunter*, who was secretary to the emperor *Frederic I.* and several other writers, equal, and, in many particulars, prefer, the laws of the *Lombards* to those of the *Romans* themselves. *Gunter*, who was far from being prejudiced in their favour, after examining their laws, could not help calling them a sagacious, wife, and industrious people, and, above all, excellent lawgivers. Hence it sufficiently appears, with how much injustice they are stiled by pope *Adrian*, in his letters, an unpolished, barbarous, and cruel people.

BEFORE we dismiss this subject, it may not be improper to give the reader a succinct account of the state of *Italy* at the time *Charlemagne*, by the captivity of *Desiderius*, put an end to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and of the new form of government introduced by the conqueror. *Italy* was, at that time, divided, as it were, into four states, held by the *Venetians*, the *Lombards*, the popes, and the emperors of the East. The *Venetians*, by their trade to the *Levant*, were become very considerable, and, having a great number of vessels, they bore no small sway in the affairs of *Italy*, though we do not yet find them possessed of any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generosity of *Pepin*, and his son *Charles*, was master of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which we have described above. The dukedom of *Naples*, and some cities in the *Hither* and *Farther Calabria*, were still held by the emperors of the East. All the other provinces of *Italy* were held by the *Lombards*, to wit, the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, and the provinces of *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Tusiany*, and the *Alpes Cottiae*, which were properly called the kingdom of the *Lombards*. When *Desiderius* was taken prisoner, the dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by *Arechis*, son-in-law to the unhappy prince. It comprised then almost all the present kingdom of *Naples*; for, of the twelve provinces, into which that kingdom is now divided, nine were subject to the duke of *Benevento*, to wit, *Terra di Lavoro*, *Contado di Molise*, the *Hither Abruzzo*, *Capitanata*, *Terra di Bari*, *Basilicata*, the *Hither Calabria*, and the *Hither* and *Farther Principatoes*; so that it was bounded on the west by the dukedoms of *Rome* and *Spoleto*; on the south by *Gaeta*, and its territory; on the east by the territories of *Cosenza* and *Cassano*; and on the north by *Siponto*, and the promontory of *Gargano*. This dukedom, on account of its extent, was by the *Latins* called *Italia Cistiberina*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Longobardia Minor*, to distinguish it from the *Greater*, which,

*The state of Italy in the time of Charlemagne.*

*The extent of the dukedom of Benevento;*

lying on both Sides the *Po* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, retains to this day the name of *Lombardy*.

and its go-  
vernment. THIS extent of the dukedom induced the dukes to divide it, for the more convenient administration of justice, into several districts, called *counties*, each of which had its proper governor, stiled *count*, or *gustald*. These counts or *gustalds* were, at first, appointed and removed by the dukes at their pleasure; but, in process of time, it became customary not to remove them, unless convicted of treason, and not to transfer the counties to other families, till their male line was extinct: and this was the first origin of counts and counties in that part of *Italy*. The only difference between the counts and *gustalds* was, that the latter governed only during pleasure, and the former were never removed, unless guilty of treason: hence the title of count denoted dignity, and that of *gustald* only office.

The duke-  
dom of  
Naples,  
its extent  
and go-  
vernment.

THE other two great dukedoms, to wit, of *Spolets* and *Friuli*, were far inferior, both in power and extent, to that of *Benevento*. The former comprehended all *Umbria*, in which were many cities of great note; and the latter all *Friuli*, and the greater part of *Istria*. The dukedom of *Naples*, which continued subject to the emperors of the East, extended towards the west as far as *Cuma*, comprehending within its limits the islands of *Ischia*, *Nisita*, and *Provida*, with the maritim towns of *Pozzuolo*, *Baia*, and *Miseno*; towards the south, *Castellamare*, *Sorrento*, *Amalfi*, and the island of *Caprea*, were comprised in it; towards the east and north, its limits were much confined, the dukedom of *Benevento* reaching almost to the very gates of the city. The cities of this dukedom were governed by their particular *rectores*, who were appointed by, and subordinate to, the duke of *Naples*. These *rectores* were likewise called counts; but were not, as in the dukedom of *Benevento*, feudatories: they only governed during the pleasure of the duke; so that they were upon a footing with the *Lombard* *gustalds*. As for the duke, he was appointed and removed at pleasure by the emperor. The duke of *Naples* was likewise stiled *magister militiæ*, and consul; but how the title of consul came to be given him, no writer has yet had the curiosity to inquire (U). Besides the dukedom of *Naples*, the empe-

(U) The title of consul, which the emperors had long had in esteem, and looked upon as an honour to themselves, was, towards the latter end of the empire, intirely slighted by them, and laid aside. What made

them undervalue and despise it, was its being assumed by those princes, whom they looked upon as barbarians and usurpers. Thus *Charlemagne*, to shew, that he succeeded to all the rights of the emperors of the West, took upon

emperors of the East possessed several cities in ancient *Calabria*, Cities in and in the country of the *Bruttii*, now known by the name of Italy be- *Farther Calabria*. In ancient *Calabria*, they held the cities of *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*; and, in *Farther Calabria*, *Reggio*, *Gerace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, and, besides these, the two cities of *Amantea* and *Agripoli*, with the promontory now called *Capo di Licosa* \*, the dukedoms of *Gasta* and *Amalfi*. All these cities were immediately governed by their *rectores*, who were appointed and removed by the patrician, as he is stiled, or governor, of *Sicily*; for to him were subject, at this time, all the places, the dukedom of *Naples* excepted, which the emperors still held in *Italy*: hence they are all comprised by *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* under the *thema* of *Sicily* (W). In

\* PELLEGRIN. in dissert. de finib. ducat. Benevent. p. 72.

upon him, among other titles, that of consul. The other *French* emperors, his successors, followed his example, as did likewise the *Italian* emperors, *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli*, and *Guido* duke of *Spoletto*; nay, even the *Saracens*, after they had conquered *Spain*, in imitation of the emperors of *Constantinople*, stiled themselves consuls. Thus *Abderamus*, who began to reign in *Cordova*, in the year 821. and *Mohammed*, his son and successor in that kingdom, marked, in their writs, not only the years of their reign, but likewise of their consulship (1). The emperors therefore, finding it thus assumed by foreign and barbarous nations, took it no longer themselves, but gave it to their officers. Father *Pagi* thinks, that the emperors laid it quite aside about the year 933 (2). The *Saracens* gave the title of consul to their admirals; whence, in process of time, it became common not only to them, but to all the governors

of the maritim towns, and to those who, residing in the sea-ports, took care, that justice should be administered to the merchants of their respective countries. Thus *Codinus* (3), *Pachimer* (4), and *Gregoras* (5), observe, that the *Pisan* and *Anconitan* magistrates, residing at *Constantinople*, were stiled consuls. No wonder therefore, that the title of consul was given to the dukes of *Naples*, since it was bestowed, on magistrates of a much inferior rank.

(W) The empire of the East being, by the invasion of several barbarous nations, who had seized on *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Syria*, and other large provinces, confined to *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, and a small part of *Italy*, with *Sicily*, and the adjacent islands, no further regard was had to the ancient division of provinces; but new divisions into districts, which had their particular governors, were introduced, and called *themata*. Of

(1) *Pagi de consulib.* p. 370. & *Eulog. in memorial. sanctior. lib. ii. c. v.*  
 (2) *Pagi ibid.* (3) *Codin. c. 7. num. 9.* (4) *Pachimer. l. 4. c. 32.*  
 (5) *Gregor. lib. iv. c. 6.*



In more ancient times, only the *Farther Calabria* was subject to the patrician of *Sicily*; but the cities, which the emperor held in that part of *Italy*, being reduced to a very small number, they were all put under the government of the patrician, who was sent from *Constantinople* to govern *Sicily*, as is evident from the *themata* of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* 7, and likewise from one of pope *Adrian's* letters to *Charlemagne*, wherein he complains of the *Beneventan Lombards*, whom he

7 CONST. PORPHYR. de themat. p. 8.

these *themata* or divisions, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* wrote two books, whereof the first contains the *themata* or provinces of *Asia*, seventeen in number, and the second those of *Europe*, which were but twelve. Among the *themata* of *Europe*, *Sicily* is the tenth, and *Longobardia*, or *Lombardy*, the eleventh. We have observed above, that, under the name of *Lombardy*, properly speaking, came those provinces in *Cisalpine Gaul*, of which the kingdom of the *Lombards* was composed, and that the dukedom of *Benevento* was likewise called *Lombardy*. Of these two *Lombardias* the former was called *Longobardia Major*, and the latter *Longobardia Minor*; but neither of them was in the possession of the *Greeks*, the *Greater Lombardy* being held by the *French kings* of *Italy*, and the *Lesser* by the *Beneventan Lombards*, whose dukes had the same power and authority under the *French kings* of *Italy*, as they had under the princes of their own nation. By the province of *Lombardy* therefore, mentioned by *Constantine* in his *themata*, must be understood that small part of *Italy*, which was still possessed by the emperors, who, out of vanity

and ostentation, gave it the name of *Lombardy*. The countries, which *Constantine* names under the *thema* of *Lombardy*, are the dukedom of *Naples*, and ancient *Calabria*, in which however the *Greeks* possessed, at this time, but two cities, to wit, *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*. The country of the *Bruttii*, now *Farther Calabria*, with the cities of *Reggio*, *Girace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, and some other places, are comprised under the *thema* of *Sicily*, as being subject to the patrician or governor of that island. That magistrate seems to have had some authority even in the dukedom of *Naples*; for *Anthemius* duke of that city being dead, and disputes arising about the election of a new duke, the *Neapolitans* had recourse to the patrician of *Sicily*, who appointed one *Theoclistus* to be their duke; but the emperor, not approving of his choice, removed *Theoclistus*, and sent one *Theodore* to govern in his room (6). From this account *Capacius*, or whoever else is the author of the *Latin history* of *Naples*, and *Camillo Pallentino*, conclude the *Neapolitans* to have been, at least sometimes, allowed to choose their own dukes.

(6) Ughell. Ital. sacræ, tom. ix. in archiepisc. S. Severin.

with a most wicked race, for taking from him the city of *Gerace*, and restoring it to the patrician of *Sicily*. *Gerace* belonged to the emperor, and was under the government of that patrician; *Charles* took it from the emperor, and yielded it to the pope; the *Lombards* of *Benevento* retook it, and restored it to its lawful owner; and, on that account, they are called by the pope a most wicked people\* (X).

*DESIDERIUS* being taken captive, as we have related above, and the city of *Pavia* reduced, all the other cities submitted of their own accord to *Charles*; who thereupon, claiming the kingdom of the *Lombards* by right of conquest, caused himself to be crowned king of *Lombardy*, with an iron crown, by the hands of the archbishop of *Milan*, at a place called *Modestia*, about ten miles from that city. *Charles*, as we read in an ancient ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, was led out of his chamber by several bishops to the church; and, being conducted to the high altar, after some solemn prayers, the archbishop asked the people, *Whether they would subject themselves to Charles, and, with constant fidelity, obey his commands?* The people answering they would, the bishop anointed his head, breast, shoulders, and arms, praying, that the new king might prove successful in his wars, and happy in his issue. He then girt him with a sword, put bracelets on his arms, gave him a robe, a ring, a sceptre, and, having placed the crown upon his head, he led him through the choir to the throne, and, having seated him there, and given him the kiss of peace, he celebrated divine service. *Charles* ordained, that the same ceremony should be observed in the coronation of his successors, and performed by the archbishop of *Milan*, who thenceforth began to contend for dignity with the archbishop of *Ravenna*.

\* *ADRIAN*. ep. lxxiii. *PELLEGR*. in fin, duc. *Benevent*. ad *Merid*.  
 \* *Ordo Roman*. apud *SIGON*.

(X) From the superintendency over the countries on this side the *Faro*, which, in those times, belonged to the patrician of *Sicily*, some writers will have those countries to have been called *Sicily*; which name was afterwards extended by the *Norman* and *Suevian* princes, and likewise by the popes, to all the provinces, of which the present kingdom of *Naples* is composed. It is certain,

that, in the time of the *Normans*, the name of *Sicily* was common to that island, and to the present kingdom of *Naples*; but with this difference, that the former was called *Sicily beyond the Faro*, and the latter *Sicily on this side the Faro*, as appears from a charter of *Roger the Norman*, of the year 1115. quoted by *Ugbehus* (17).

He goes to  
Rome, and  
where  
great ho-  
nours are  
conferred  
upon him.

THE ceremony of the coronation being over, *Charles*, now king of *Italy*, thought it necessary to settle the frame and polity of his new kingdom; and, in order to this, resolved to go to *Rome*, and advise with *Adrian*. The pope, having notice of his design, assembled fifty bishops, and a great number of abbats, and other dignitaries, in order to consult with them, what honours ought to be paid to so great a prince, whose father and grandfather, as well as himself, had so much deserved of the *Roman* church. After several consultations, it was unanimously agreed, that he should be made a *Roman* patrician; that, throughout the provinces, he should institute all bishops and archbishops, who were not to be consecrated, unless instituted by him; and that he should appoint the bishop of *Rome*, and be declared protector of the apostolic see. *Charles*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, was received by the pope, and the *Roman* people, with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, and the honours we have mentioned were, with the unanimous consent of all, conferred upon him. The naming of the bishop of *Rome* was granted to him, for preventing the tumults that, to the great scandal of all good Christians, began to arise among the people and clergy, on occasion of those elections, no one having any power or authority to restrain them; but this right *Charles* used with great moderation, and, after some time, remitted it to the clergy and people. The dignity of patrician was, at that time, the first in the whole empire, and the conferring of it belonged of right to the emperor; but, his authority being now extinct in *Italy*, the pope arrogated to himself that, as well as he did, by degrees, all the other imperial honours and ornaments. *Charles*, extremely well pleased with the reception he met with at *Rome*, continued some time in that metropolis, consulting with the pope about the manner of settling the affairs of *Italy*; and then returned to *Pavia*, where he declared, that he intended to maintain the same form of government, which had been introduced by the *Lombard* princes his predecessors. Accordingly, he allowed every one full liberty to live under the same *Roman* or *Lombard* laws, to which they had been accustomed; but to the latter he added, as king of the *Lombards*, some of his own. He did not disturb the emperors in the possession of the dukedom of *Naples*, and of the other places, which they still held in *Italy*.

He retains  
the same  
form of  
govern-  
ment.

Allows  
the dukes  
the same  
power.

As for the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, he allowed those dukes the same power and authority, which they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* kings, requiring only, that, as they had been subject to these princes, they should acknowledge him for their king. The exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the dukedom of *Rome*, he yielded to the pope; but retained the sovereignty to himself. The other pro-

provinces, which we have mentioned above, he kept as the kingdom of *Lombardy* <sup>b</sup>. He continued, as his predecessors had done, the other dukes in their dukedoms, contenting himself with the oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, as well as the greater dukes, to take annually to him. The oath was conceived in the following terms: *I promise, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my sovereign Charles, and his sons, as long as I live; and I swear, by these holy gospels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign; neither will I divulge any thing, which, in virtue of my allegiance, he shall commit to me.* The dukedoms he never transferred from one family to another, but, when the dukes broke this oath, or died without issue male. This translation from one to another was called *investiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by investiture, as was afterwards observed with respect to other vassals and feudatories, to wit, counts, captains, and valvasours, the model of whose services and tenures was afterwards perfected by the princes of *Germany*.

THE limits of the kingdom, and the towns, *Charles* committed to the care of counts, who were vested with great *Magistrates* authority. These limits or borders were called *marchæ*, or *pointed by* *marches*; whence those, who had the superintendency of them, *him*, were stiled *counts of the marches*, and *marquises*; and hence the title of *marquis* had its rise. These were the ordinary magistrates appointed by *Charles* for the government of the cities, and the limits of the kingdom; but he sometimes appointed extraordinary magistrates, or commissaries, who had greater authority than the counts, and were called *missi*. It was their province to par: and distinguish the limits of each city, which, under the *Lombards*, were greatly confused; whence arose frequent disputes among the neighbouring cities about their boundaries: but the *missi* assigned to each city its boundaries, and, for the most part, following nature, appointed mountains, rivers, brooks, valleys, and other perpetual and lasting limits to serve for marches, that time might not alter and confound them. He likewise obliged the cities to take an oath of allegiance to him, and imposed upon them, as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monasteries, a kind of tribute called *fodrum*, *parata*, and *mansuaticum*, which was to be paid to *Tribute* *him*, especially when he came into *Italy*; but this tribute he afterwards generously remitted for himself and his successors. That *Italy* might retain at least some shadow of liberty, as often as he returned thither, he convened a general assembly of all the bishops, abbats, and barons, of the kingdom, in order to settle with them the public affairs of importance. The *Lombards* had but one state, composed of barons and judges; but

the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, to wit, the ecclesiastics and nobility: hence by Charles was added the wife in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of the ecclesiastics to that of the barons or nobility. This custom of assembling the two states lasted in Italy till the time of the emperor Frederic I. They met, for the most part, at Roncaglia, a place not far distant from Placentia, and there enacted several laws for the better regulation of public affairs.

The duke of Friuli revolts;

THE affairs of Italy being thus settled, Charles, leaving a strong garison in Pavia, returned to France in the year 774. But he was scarce gone, when the Lombard dukes, those especially of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, tcorning to live subject to a foreign prince, resolved to shake off the yoke, and make themselves absolute in their respective dukedoms. While Charles therefore was engaged in a war with the Saxons, Rodgand duke of Friuli, laying hold of that opportunity, renounced his allegiance, and caused himself to be acknowleged sovereign in his dukedom. But Charles, who had already put an end to the Saxon war, by the reduction of that country, was no sooner informed of the revolt of Rodgand, which, he apprehended, might prove of dangerous consequence, if it was not timely suppressed, than he hastened into Alsace, and, having kept his Christmas there, marched, in the depth of winter, with a powerful army, cross the Alps, and entered the dukedom of Friuli. Rodgand met him with all the forces he could

but is defeated, and put to death.

raise; but, in the engagement that ensued, he was utterly defeated, taken prisoner, and, soon after, publicly beheaded. Charles did not appoint another duke; but adding the cities, of which this dukedom was composed, to his kingdom, appointed counts to govern them in the same manner as the other cities of his kingdom were governed. Thus ended the dukedom of Friuli, the first that was erected under Alboinus, and likewise the first that was suppressed by Charlemagne (Y). Hildebrand duke of Spoleto, who had likewise revolted, upon the news of the defeat and death of Rodgan., submitted of his own accord, and was again received into favour by Charles.

That dukedom existed.

\* Vide SIGON. p. 163. & FRANKEN. diss. de Majum. Maicamp. & Roncal. p. 42.

(Y) Paulus Aemilius tells us, that it was afterwards restored by Charles, who appointed one Henry, a native of France, to govern it with the title of duke (8). But

of this, and the dukes who are supposed to have succeeded him, no mention is made by other historians.

# *Book IX. The History of the Lombards.*

At this time *Arechis*, who had married *Adalberta*, daughter of *Aldobertus*, the last king of the *Lombards*, was duke of *Benevento*; but he, waiting a more favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke, continued quiet till such time as *Charles*, after having appointed *Pepin* his eldest son king of *Italy* in 781. was returned to *France*, and engaged there in other wars. Then *Arechis*, scorning to live in subjection to a foreign prince, *Arechis* as he had done to his father-in law, and trusting to his own strength, and the affection his subjects bore him, not only revolted, but, laying aside the title of duke, assumed that of prince, causing himself to be anointed and crowned, with great solemnity, as king, by his bishops, and dating thenceforth all his writs and diplomas from our most sacred palace, according to the stile of other princes and sovereigns. As it was then customary among princes, when they were crowned, to cause their images to be placed in all the churches throughout their dominions, representing them with a crown on their head, this custom was likewise observed by *Arechis*, who was thereupon acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the dukedom as their sovereign. He coined money with own image, made what alterations he thought fit both in civil and military affairs, without consulting either *Charles* or *Pepin*, and even enacted several laws; for his *capitularia* have reached our times; and, in the often-mentioned manuscript code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*, among the edicts of the *Lombard* kings, is to be found one of this prince, containing seventeen chapters. His example was followed by the other princes his successors, namely, by *Adelchis*, *Siardus*, and *Radelchisus*, as appears from their *capitularia* published by *Camillo Pellegrino*.<sup>d</sup> Thus, to the laws of the *Lombard* kings were added those of the princes of *Benevento*. *Charles*, finding that his son *Pepin* was not able to reduce the *Beneventan* *Lombards*, returned in 786. with a powerful army, into *Italy*, being then disengaged from other wars. But, *Arechis* suing for peace, *Charles* granted him it upon the following terms; to wit, that he should pay *Pepin* a yearly tribute, that he should deliver up to him his treasure, and with it his son *Grimoald*, and his daughter *Adalberta*, by way of hostages. The peace being thus concluded, *Charles* returned to *France*, leaving *Arechis* in possession of the principality of *Benevento*, which was held by him, with the title of prince, as it was by his successors, who greatly enlarged it. A cruel war being kindled in the bowels of their country *The Beneventan* between *Siconulphus* and *Radelchisus*, two competitors to the throne, the one invited the *Saracens* of *Africa*, and the other, by

duke of  
Bene-  
vento  
changes  
his dukes-  
dom into a  
principa-  
lity.  
Year of  
the flo-  
3129  
Of Chri-  
781.  
Of Rom  
1529.

<sup>d</sup> CAMILL. PELLEGRIN. capit. Arech princ. p 309. & cit. hist. 73-92.

other

their intestine  
broils, to  
submit to  
the emperors of the  
West.

other those of *Spain*, to their assistance; who, after a twelve years war, completed the ruin of both: so that, to get rid of their troublesome auxiliaries, they were obliged to have recourse to *Lewis* king of *France*, and, by taking an oath of allegiance to him, acknowledge him for their sovereign. *Lewis* divided the provinces of *Benevento* between the two competitors, by which division two principalities were made out of one: that of *Benevento* was allotted to *Radelchifus*; and the other, called from its metropolis the principality of *Salerno*, to *Siconulphus*, the emperors of the West exercising, as kings of *Italy*, the same authority over them, as the *Lombard* kings had formerly done.

*The END of the NINETEENTH VOLUME.*





they in-  
laine  
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ror of the  
West.

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*The END of the NINETEENTH VOLUME.*

